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THE

LIFE

OF

ERASMUS.

Illud certe præsagio, de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius judicaturam Posteritatem: tametsi nec de meo seculo queri possum.

ERASMUS.

LONDON,

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PREFACE.

LE CLERC, *whilſt he was concerned in publiſhing an Edition of the Works of Eraſmus at Leyden, drew up his* Life, *in French, collected principally from his* Letters, *and inſerted it in the* Bibliotheque Choiſie, *and had the pleaſure to find that it was favourably received by the Public. It is ſo performed, in the main, that I could not hope to do it in a better manner, and was not inclined to do it in another manner.*

It is therefore taken, as a ground-work to build upon, and is tranſlated, not ſuperſtitiouſly and cloſely, but with much freedom, and with more attention to things than to words. I found his way of thinking and judging, for the moſt part, correſpondent with mine; and I have ſeldom had occaſion to declare a diſſent from him.

But at the ſame time continual additions are made, not only with relation to the hiſtory of thoſe days, but to the life of Eraſmus, eſpecially where Le Clerc grew more remiſs, either wearied with the taſk, or called off from theſe to other labours.

At

At firſt it was intended to diſtinguiſh his property from the reſt; but it ſoon appeared that the thing was hardly practicable, and quite needleſs. They who have a mind to ſee, in any part of this work, what belongs to each of us, may ſatisfy their curioſity by comparing us together; for we write in the ſame method, and diſtribute our remarks under a ſeries of years.

I pay my grateful acknowledgments to him once for all. His labours and mine are blended together; and I am perſuaded that his Manes, *if the Deceaſed concern themſelves about ſuch things, will not be offended at the uſe which is here made of his work. What is collected from others, is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by proper marks.*

A large quantity of Latin is diſtributed up and down in the Notes, which may diſguſt certain Readers, and which ſeems to call for an apology. I would therefore inform them, that the ſubſtance of theſe paſſages is ſometimes to be found in the text; that ſometimes it is not poſſible to tranſlate them, without depriving them of their ſpirit and beauty; that if they were tranſlated, they would be of ſmall ſervice to perſons not verſed in claſſical literature; and, in ſhort, that I ſometimes uſe this variety and mixture, to pleaſe my own taſte, be it good

good or bad. As I have endeavoured, in the greater part of this Book, to give my Engliſh Readers inſtruction and entertainment, they muſt alſo give me leave to have more extenſive views, and to write for the Learned, and for Students, who, if they carefully peruſe theſe Citations, will have ſome obligation to me, and find their time and pains well employed.

Under the names of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, with whom Eraſmus was connected or concerned, references are made to ſome of the Authors, who have given us an account of them. This part of the work, which is entirely my own, though I am ſenſible that it is imperfectly executed, will be of uſe to ſuch Readers as may deſire to acquaint themſelves more particularly with thoſe illuſtrious men, and with the learned hiſtory of that Age.

At the end of this Book, there are Plates, containing Specimens of the hand-writing of Eraſmus, and of other celebrated men. I intend to give ſome more in the next Volume. This is all that I think neceſſary to ſay to the Public, by way of Preface.

I now addreſs my diſcourſe to YOU, *who are my* FRIENDS; *returning you my thanks for all your good offices; recommending myſelf to your favour, whilſt I*

am

am with you, and my name, when I am gone hence; and intreating you to join with me in a wiſh, That I may paſs the evening of a ſtudious and unambitious life, in an humble, but not a ſlothful obſcurity, and never forfeit the kind continuance of your accuſtomed approbation.

John Jortin.

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THE

LIFE

OF

ERASMUS.

A. D. MCCCCLXVII.

[a] ERASMUS was born at Roterdam, October 28, [b] 1467. He took his denomination from this city, and always called himſelf [c] *Roterodamus*; and ſhe made ſuitable returns of gratitude to a name by which ſhe was ſo much ennobled, and perpetuated her acknowledgments by inſcriptions, and medals, and a ſtatue placed near the principal Church.

His father, who was called [d] Gerard, of the town of Tergou, made love to Margaret daughter of Peter, a phyſician of Sevenbergen; by whom, after ſolemn promiſes to marry her, he had Eraſmus.

[e] Gerard was a man of gayety and wit; and his ſon took after him, and had the ſame lively diſpoſition.

[a] Le Clerc *Bibl. Choiſ.* Knight's Life of Eraſmus. Bayle ERASME. Du Pin B. E. T. xiv. p. 12. Rhenani Vit. Eraſmi. Compend. Vit. Eraſmi. Eraſmi Opera, edit. Lugd. 1703. Appendix, &c. &c.

[b] See Bayle ERASME, Not. A.

[c] Should it not have been *Roterodamius*, or *Roterodamenſis?*

[d] Bayle Not. B.

[e] Bayle ibid.

A. D. 1467. The relations of Gerard intended to make him an Eccleſiaſtic, hoping to ſhare his patrimony amongſt themſelves. By much ill uſage they forced him to leave his country. So he went to Rome, where he employed himſelf in tranſcribing ancient authors. His friends, hearing where he was, and intending to fruſtrate his deſign of returning to Margaret, ſent him word that ſhe was dead. His grief upon this occaſion gave him a religious caſt of mind, and made him take Orders. Upon his return to Holland, he found that he had been impoſed upon. He then lived ſeparate from his Margaret, and ſhe never would marry any other perſon. He took care of his child, and ſent him to ſchool, when he was four years of age.

Soon after, the boy, having a pretty voice, was choſen Choriſter in the Cathedral church of Utrecht.

A. D. MCCCCLXXVI. Ætat. IX.

At nine years of age, he went to a ſchool at Daventer, where Alexander [f] Hegius was his maſter, and Adrianus Florentius, afterwards Pope Adrian VI, was his ſchool-fellow, and continued to be his friend.

Zinthius, viſiting that ſchool, and taking notice of the abilities of young Eraſmus, is ſaid to have foretold the progreſs which he afterwards made in literature. It is reported of him, that he had then a great memory, and could repeat all Terence and Horace by heart.

[g] The affectionate mother of Eraſmus followed him to Daventer, to have an eye over her child; but died there of the plague, when her ſon was about thirteen. His father Gerard, much affected with the loſs, followed her ſoon after; and they both died aged a little more than forty years.

"[h] The

[f] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 133.

[g] Compend. Vit. Eraſmi. He wrote this Compendium himſelf.

" [h] The mother of Eraſmus might have ſaid, with Dido in A. D. 1476.
" Virgil,

" *Huic uni forſan potui ſuccumbere culpæ.*

" This fault of hers, very different from that of a common " Proſtitute, produced ſo excellent a perſon, that if ſhe had lived " long enough to ſee the abilities and the merit of her ſon, ſhe " would have had more reaſon to have boaſted of her failings, " than the mother of Peter Lombard, of Gratian, and of Co- " meſtor, is ſaid to have done: for twenty ſuch authors put " together are not worth one half of Eraſmus."

A. D. MCCCCLXXX. Ætat. XIII.

Gerard had left his ſon in the hands of [i] three guardians, who proved baſe and diſhoneſt men, and agreed together to devote the poor boy to a *Religious* life, that they might the more eaſily plunder his ſmall patrimony. They drove him into a Convent of Friers, at Bolduc in Brabant.

There he paſſed, or rather, as he ſays, loſt three years of his life, having a perfect averſion from the monaſtic ſtate, which [k] ſtuck by him all his days. But, young as he was, he had the reſolution not to part with his liberty, not to admit himſelf as a Regular, and ſubmit to obſerve all their ſtupid and ridiculous ceremonies. He could diſcern even then that religion was the thing leaſt regarded in Religious houſes.

Then they tried him at another Convent, Sion, near Delft; and when that attempt would not do, they ſent him to a [l] third, where at laſt he was conquered, and went through his year of probation, though with an unwilling mind.

[h] Bayle ERASME, Not. B.

[i] Horum præcipuus erat Petrus Winckel, tum ludi literarii magiſter Gaudæ, &c. *Compend.*

[k] See *Eccleſiaſt.* T. V. c. 909, 910.

[l] Stein, near Tergou.

A. D. 1480. In his youth he took the name of Eraſmus, having before gone by that of Gerard, which in the German language means *Amiable*. Following the faſhion of learned men of thoſe times, who affected to give their names a Latin or a Greek turn, he called himſelf *Deſiderius*, which in Latin, and *Eraſmus*, which in Greek hath the ſame ſignification. Afterwards he was ſenſible that he ſhould rather have called himſelf *Eraſmius*; and he gave this name to his godſon, Joannes Eraſmius Frobenius.

" The father of Eraſmus, ſays [m] Du Pin, had two ſons by " Margaret, the elder who was called Peter, and our Eraſmus. " They were both ſent by their tutors to the Monaſteries above- " mentioned, and both compelled to become Monks.

" Eraſmus entered into the houſe of the Regular Canons of " Stein, near Gouda, where he was attracted by one Cantel, his " ſchool-fellow. He took the habit, aged ſeventeen, or eighteen; " and made his Profeſſion in 1486, aged nineteen. The brother of " Eraſmus broke looſe from his confinement, and led a profligate " diſſolute life; whilſt Eraſmus, tho' he quitted his Monaſtic ſtate, " to which he had no inward vocation, applied himſelf cloſely to " his ſtudies, and behaved himſelf ſoberly and regularly. He was " ordained prieſt by the Biſhop of Utrecht, A. 1492, aged " twenty-five."

The account which Du Pin and others have given us of the younger years of Eraſmus, is taken partly from a remarkable [n] Epiſtle of Eraſmus to Grunnius, in which he is generally ſuppoſed to have deſcribed himſelf under the feigned name of Florentius [o].

As to his brother, Eraſmus hath once [p] accidentally mentioned him as dead in Ep. 922; though I do not find that this circumſtance hath been obſerved.

A. D.

[m] Bibl. Eccleſ. Tom. xiv. p. 12. See alſo Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 229.

[n] Ep. 442. c. 1821.

[o] Appendix.

[p] Fratris germani mortem moderatiſſime tuli; Frobenii deſiderium ferre non poſſum. c. 1053. E.

A. D. MCCCCXC. Ætat. XXIII.

This year Eraſmus was with Henry à Bergis, Archbiſhop of Cambray, who had taken him out of the Monaſtery into his family. He ſays of himſelf, that he was not fit to bear the watchings, nor the faſtings, nor the diet, nor the auſterities of a Monaſtery. He complains that he was often ill at the Archbiſhop's houſe, though he wanted for nothing there; and it appears from many of his letters, that he was of a weakly conſtitution. He had a mind to go to Italy, and there to take a Doctor's degree; and complains of the Archbiſhop's parſimony, who gave him little beſides good words and fair promiſes, and would not furniſh him with the neceſſaries for ſuch a journey and ſuch an undertaking. He did not go to Italy till thirteen or fourteen years after. Ep. 3. A. D. 1490.

A. D. MCCCCXCVI. Ætat. XXIX.

Eraſmus was now at Paris, where the Archbiſhop had promiſed to aſſiſt him with a ſmall penſion; but he ſent him nothing. Here he had ſome young pupils, and undertook to read them lectures. He found it hard enough to ſubſiſt, wanting money to buy books, or to get tranſcripts of them; for in thoſe days printed books were ſcarce and dear.

Eraſmus, ſays [q] Baillet, was a ſtudent in the College of Montaigu. He returned to Cambray; thence he went to Holland; and thence again to Paris, where he paſſed ſome years in poverty, which obliging him to ſtudy inceſſantly, and to raiſe himſelf by his induſtry, contributed to make him afterwards ſo illuſtrious in the Republic of Letters.

Amongſt

[q] T. VI. p. 9. edit. 4to.

A. D. 1496. Amongſt his diſciples at Paris, there was none whoſe friendſhip he found more conſtant than [r] William Lord Montjoy, who afterwards gave him an annual penſion of an hundred crowns. His fifth Epiſtle is an excuſe to this young nobleman for having not read a lecture to him upon ſome day. Ep. 4, 5.

At this time, I ſuppoſe, he refuſed a large penſion, and larger promiſes, from a young illiterate Engliſhman, who was to be made a Biſhop, and who wanted to have him for a preceptor. He would not, as he ſays, be ſo hindered from proſecuting his ſtudies for all the wealth in the world. This youth, as [s] Knight informs us, ſeems to have been James Stanley, ſon of the Earl of Derby, and ſon in law to Margaret the King's mother, and afterwards made Biſhop of Ely by her intereſt. *This*, ſays Knight, *ſurely was the worſt thing ſhe ever did:* and indeed, if it be the *Catholic*, it is not the *Apoſtolic* method of beſtowing and of obtaining Biſhopricks. However, it appears that the young Gentleman, though ignorant, had a deſire to learn ſomething, and to qualify himſelf in ſome meaſure for the ſtation in which he was to be placed.

Eraſmus ſays of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, that he was very liberal of his promiſes, but not of his money. Ep. 501. c. 1885. [N. B. that c. ſtands for *columna*.]

A. D. MCCCCXCVII. Ætat. XXX.

He left Paris, on account of the plague, and came to the Low Countries, and was in the caſtle of Tornenhens, which belonged to Anna Berſala, a lady of great merit, and Marchioneſs of

[r] Knight, p. 15, &c.

Inviſerat Angliam in gratiam Montjoii, tum diſcipuli, nunc Mecænatis; ſed *amici* verius quam *benigni*. *Compend.*

Eraſmus hath complained elſewhere, that his patron Montjoy, with many good qualities, had too much parſimony.

[s] P. 19.

of Vere, who was liberal to him, and whom he hath celebrated more than once. Ep. 6, 7, 8, 9, 92. A. D. 1497.

This year he was at London and at Oxford, and became acquainted with [t] John Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and his ſingular friend; as alſo with William Grocyn, Thomas [u] Linacer, and William Latimer.

" [w] Grocyn was Profeſſor, or public teacher of Greek at Oxford, " about the time when Eraſmus was there. Soon after he " removed to London, and then to the College of Maidſton in " Kent, where he was Maſter. Eraſmus owns great obligations " to this man, who by his generoſity to his friends reduced him- " ſelf to ſtraits, and was forced to pawn his plate to Dr. Young, " Maſter of the Rolls. The Doctor returned it to him again, by " his will, without taking principal or intereſt. Grocyn publiſhed " nothing beſides an Epiſtle prefixed to the *Sphere* of Proclus. " Eraſmus repreſents him as one of the beſt Divines and Scholars " of the Engliſh nation. He died of the palſy, old and poor." Ep. 671.

" [x] Linacer was ſo [y] accurate and ſuperſtitiouſly exact in his " compoſitions, and found it ſo difficult to ſatisfy himſelf, that he " had

[t] Appendix. Knight's Life of Colet. Burnet. Hiſt. of the Ref. III. 27.

[u] Baillet I. 214. III. 37. 4to Edit. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 135, &c. P. Jovius Elog. p. 119. Fol. Ed. Baſ. Pope Blount, p. 376, 377. Bayle LINACER. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 253, 254, 255.

[w] Knight's Life of Eraſm. p. 22. Maittaire I. p. 254.

[x] Knight, p. 24.

[y] Paulus Æmilius Veronenſis ſibi nunquam ſatisfaciebat. — Nec multum abfuit ab hoc vitio Thomas Linacrus Anglus, vir undequaque doctiſſimus. *Tom.* IV. *Apophth.* xxxv. c. 315.

This learned man was ſo far from being of the Ciceronian party, that he could not endure the ſtyle of Cicero. *Certe Linacer — Ciceronis dictionem nunquam probare potuit, nec ſine faſtidio audire.* Gard. Epiſt. ad Chek. Baker's Reflect. p. 46.

Primum omnium, cum propter hominis ætatem, tum propter inſignia in rem literariam beneficia, adeamus Thomam Linacrum,

A. D. 1497. " had like to have publiſhed nothing: which made Eraſmus preſs " him earneſtly to communicate his labours to the public. He " lived long at Oxford, teaching the Greek language; and though " he were originally of that Univerſity, he belonged to Cambridge " alſo, and founded a Lecture in St. John's College there, as he " had founded two before at Merton College in Oxford.

" He was phyſician afterwards to the Royal Family, and Eraſ- " mus often conſulted him, on account of his frequent indiſpo- " ſitions, which came early upon him; and when he was ſick at " Paris, he complains that he had no [z] Linacer there, to aſſiſt " him, and preſcribe for him.

" Another time, [a] he writes to him from St. Omers, deſiring " he would ſend him a preſcription; and ſpeaks in a way which " ſhews that our phyſicians, in thoſe times, did not make up " their own medicines, but ſent their bills to the apothecaries.

" His tranſlation of Galen *De Temperamentis, &c.* was one " of the firſt books printed at Cambridge by John [b] Siborch, " who, with his brother Nicolas, were friends to Eraſmus at " Cambridge: *Veteres ſodales*, Ep. 782.

" Linacer was ill uſed by one [c] Bernard Andreas, tutor to " prince Arthur. Linacer had tranſlated Proclus, and dedicated " it to Henry VII: and this ſycophant told the king, that Proclus " had been already tranſlated by another hand; and ſo it had, " but in a wretched manner. The king hearing this, was ſo " prejudiced againſt Linacer, that he ever after abhorred him as " an impoſtor."

Thus indeed Eraſmus himſelf hath related the ſtory, and Knight follows him: but Eraſmus was miſtaken in ſome of the circumſtances.

Linacrum, quo nemo majorem orationis nitorem, caſtitatem, et condecentiam ad interpretationes contulit: quarum virtutum integritatem dum diligentius tueri ſtudet, fidelem verborum affectationem, raro quidem, at aliquando tamen omiſit. *Huetius* De Clar. Interpr. p. 234.

[z] Ep. 165. [a] Ep. 157.

[b] Eraſmus calls him *Siburgus*.

[c] Ep. 1091. c. 1263.

circumſtances. Linacer was Preceptor to prince Arthur, and to him he dedicated his verſion of Proclus. Maittaire hath publiſhed the Dedication, *Ann. Typ.* I. 253. A. D. 1497.

" [d] However, Linacer was in great favour with Henry VIII, " who had an high opinion of his ſkill as a phyſician; and he " warmly recommended his friend Eraſmus to the king. After " this he went into orders, and had only the Chantorſhip of the " Church of York. He [e] died of the ſtone, in great pain, in " 1524.

" From his epitaph (ſays Wood) we may gather this character, " that he was a moſt ſkilful Critic in Greek and Latin, and a " moſt excellent phyſician, having performed ſome almoſt mira- " culous cures, &c. His works are enumerated by Wood, and " ſufficiently evince the character which Eraſmus gives of him, " that he was, *Vir non exacti tantum, ſed ſeveri judicii.*

" It ſeems, he had done ſomething to [f] offend Eraſmus, who " yet was willing to overlook one diſkindneſs, conſidering how " much he had been obliged to him. However this happened, " Linacer had a very amiable character. He was a great bene- " factor to the public; for, beſides his founding lectures both in " Oxford and Cambridge, he was one of the chief founders of " the College of phyſicians, in Knight-Riders Street in London, " of which he was the firſt Preſident. His picture is ſaid to be " in Merton College, Oxford."

Eraſmus hath [g] bantered Linacer, but without naming him, for giving himſelf up too much to Grammatical ſtudies.

C Linacer,

[d] Knight.

[e] *Ep.* 431. c. 1814.

[f] *Ep.* 699.

[g] Novi quendam πολυτεχνότατον, Græcum, Latinum, Mathematicum, Philoſophum, Medicum, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλικὸν, jam ſexagenarium, qui cæteris rebus omiſſis, annis plus viginti ſe torquet ac diſcruciat in Grammatica; prorſus felicem ſe fore ratus, ſi tamdiu liceat vivere, donec certo ſtatuat quomodo diſtinguendæ ſint octo partes orationis, quod hactenus nemo Græcorum aut Latinorum ad plenum præſtare valuit. *Moriæ Encom.* c. 458.

See Knight's Life of Colet, p. 139.

A. D. 1497. Linacer, in his youth, went to Italy, and contracted an acquaintance with ſeveral illuſtrious and learned men, and particularly with [h] Hermolaus Barbarus.

" Eraſmus [i] begged the aſſiſtance of William Latimer in pre-
" paring his New Teſtament for a ſecond edition, knowing him
" to be very accurate.

" We have nothing extant of this learned man, he being, as
" we have his character by Eraſmus, a man of more than [k] virgin
" modeſty, under which was veiled the greateſt worth. After he
" left Oxford, he retired to the Rectory of Eaſtberry in Glou-
" ceſterſhire, where he died very aged. He had alſo the Rectory
" of Weſton under Edge, and a Prebendſhip in the Church of
" Saliſbury; and what preferment he had, he owed to the
" favour of Cardinal Pole, to whom he had been tutor, or
" maſter. He was one of the greateſt men of that age, learned
" in all ſacred and profane letters, and anſwered fully the cha-
" racter which Eraſmus gives of him, that he was, *vere Theo-*
" *logus, integritate vitæ conſpicuus.*

" There is a painting in the Chancel window at S. Saintbury, of
" a Religious perſon praying to St. Nicolas, which is ſaid by an
" ingenious Antiquary to be done for him. He adds, that in the
" old parſonage-houſe at Weſton ſub Edge in Com. Glouceſt.
" there were the letters W. L. old faſhioned, carved upon the
" ſtone-work, and wood-work, before the houſe was altered,
" and the ſame are ſtill in ſeveral of the windows, and that the
" houſe

[h] Ingreſſo Vaticanam Bibliothecam, et Græcos codices evolventi, ſupervenit Hermolaus, ad pluteumque humaniter accedens, Non tu, hercle, inquit, ſtudioſe hoſpes, uti ego plane ſum, Barbarus eſſe potes, quod lectiſſimum Platonis librum (is erat Phædrus) diligenter evolvas. Ad id Linacrus læto ore reſpondit, Nec tu, ſacrate heros, alius eſſe jam potes, quam ille fama notus Patriarcha Italorum Latiniſſimus. Ab hac amicitia, uti caſu evenit feliciter conflata, egregiis demum voluminibus ditatus in Britanniam rediit. *Jovius.*

[i] Knight, p. 29.

[k] Ep. 363.

" houſe was probably built by him, which is of the ſize of a little A. D. 1497.
" College, and in the ſame faſhion."

" At [l] Oxford Eraſmus was acquainted with More, with Tho-
" mas Wolſey, burſar of Magdalen College, with John Clay-
" mond, afterwards Preſident of Magdalen College, and thence
" removed to the Headſhip of Corpus Chriſti College by Biſhop
" Fox, the founder, and with Thomas Halſey, afterwards Peni-
" tentiary of the Engliſh nation in St. Peter's Church of Rome,
" the Pope's Protonotary of Ireland, and Biſhop of Laiglin.
" With theſe Eraſmus kept up a correſpondence."

" He [m] ſtudied at Oxford, as Wood ſays, in St. Mary's College,
" in the years 1497, 1498, if not all of 1499: but he ſeems to
" ſtretch his ſtay too far."

In a long letter in anſwer to one of [n] Joannes Sixtinus, who was then ſtudying at Oxford, he ſpeaks modeſtly of himſelf, and writes, though in no Ciceronian ſtyle, yet with much wit and vivacity. Ep. 13.

" [o] Sixtine, who died in 1519, was a Phryſian by birth, bred
" in the Univerſity of Senes in Tuſcany, where he took the
" degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law; and was incorpo-
" rated in Oxford. He was Rector of Eccleſcliffe in the Dioceſe
" of Durham, and of Hakkamb in the Dioceſe of Exeter. Wood
" ſays, that he was likewiſe dignified in the Church of England,
" and one of the foreigners who were excuſed from paying a
" ſubſidy to the King in 1513, namely, Peter Carmelian, Poly-
" dore Virgil, Eraſmus, Ammonius, &c. By his will he ordered
" his body to be buried in that part of Paul's which was called
" Pardon Church-yard, his grave to be covered with a marble
" ſtone, and a plate of braſs on it with this inſcription, *Orate*
" *pro anima Johannis Sixtini, &c.* As to his eſtate in Phryſia,

[l] Knight, p. 28.
[m] Knight, p. 20.
[n] Knight, ibid.
[o] Knight's Life of Colet, p. 218.

A. D. 1497. " he gave one moiety to the poor of Bolſward in that country, " and the other half to the Monaſtery of Owgocloyſter, where " his ſiſter was a Profeſt Nun, on condition that his brother Albert " ſhould enjoy one half part of the profits during his life. He " gave ten pounds to the reparation of the Church of Eccleſcliffe, " though he had not one peny for dilapidations from his prede- " ceſſor Weſt, Biſhop of Ely, and twenty pounds to be diſtri- " buted among the poor of the ſaid pariſh, for buying of tools " and inſtruments neceſſary for their country labours. He left " alſo toward the reparation of the Church of Hakkamb, though " he had there likewiſe not a peny for dilapidations, fifteen pounds. " He bequeathed forty pounds to be diſtributed for Exhibitions to " poor ſcholars in Cambridge and Oxford: and, laſtly, twenty " marks to Cutbert Tunſtal, Maſter of the Rolls.

" Eraſmus [p], who condoled his death, obſerves, that he was of " ſo ſtrong a conſtitution, that, without a violent ſhock of ſickneſs, " he might have lived to the age of Neſtor; that he had a maſterly " wit, a quick apprehenſion, and a tenacious memory; and that, " beſides the knowledge of Canon and Civil Law, he was hap- " pily converſant in every other part of learning."

In the 14th letter, which is to Piſcator, (Robert Fiſher) he ſpeaks with much affection of Lord Montjoy, who had brought him over to England, and with much reſpect of the Engliſh *Literati*.

" Fiſher [q] ſeems to be the ſame perſon who was preſented to " the Church of Chedſey, in the Dioceſe of Bath and Wells, " and had afterwards a Canonry in the Collegiate Church of " Windſor, in which he was ſucceeded by Thomas Wulcey (or " Wolſey) the King's Almoner, and great favourite, in the year " 1510.

" Of

[p] Epiſt. 671.

[q] Knight, p. 36.

" Of Wolſey Eraſmus had at firſt conceived too good an A. D. 1497.
" opinion, and had ſaid many things in his favour; but found
" himſelf deceived in ſeveral inſtances by a man, who had more
" of the Courtier, than of the friend and patron. If therefore
" he did in ſome of his later writings alter his ſtyle, and ſpeak
" ſevere things of him, we muſt attribute it to a courſe of ill
" uſage, which he, in common with his beſt friends, had met
" with from him; to ſay nothing of the general odium Wolſey
" had incurred by his pride and inſolence."

Eraſmus went from England to Paris, whence he wrote a letter to one [r] William, who was of Gouda. It is full of complaints, but he doth not tell what it was that made him ſo uneaſy: only it appears from it, that he did not paſs his time agreeably at Paris, and from ſome following letters, that he had pupils there. Ep. 15.

He deſcribes a battle between his hoſteſs and her maid, who had been ſecretly inſtructed by him how to defend herſelf. The ſtory is well told, and extremely comic. Ep. 19.

The next letter is a violent invective againſt ſome perſon, who had deprived him of his pupil Thomas Grey, ſon [s] perhaps to the Marquis of Dorſet. Ep. 20.

In a letter to his young friend Grey, he tells him that a friendſhip like theirs, founded upon probity and a love of literature, would be [t] perpetual.

Colet had read divinity lectures at Oxford upon St. Paul's Epiſtles, and wanted Eraſmus to do the ſame upon the Old Teſtament. Eraſmus very prudently excuſeth himſelf from undertaking the taſk, as being too great and heavy for him. His letter

[r] Gulielmum Hermannum Gaudenſem, literis deditiſſimum juvenem, aliquot annis ſtudiorum ſodalem habuit, cujus exſtat Odarum Sylva. *B. Rhenan.* Vit. Eraſmi.

[s] Knight, p. 18.

[t] Et quoniam virtutis ſtudium nec *ſanitatem* novit, nec caſibus fortuitis ſubjacet, non poteſt bonorum benevolentia non eſſe perpetua. Ep. 21.

It is thus alſo in the Baſil Edition; but it ſhould be, I ſuppoſe, ſatietatem.

A. D. 1497. letter to Colet (without any date of time) is written, *Oxonio, è Collegio Canonicorum Ordinis Divi Auguſtini, quod vulgo dicitur S. Mariæ.* Ep. 403. c. 1789. It belongs probably to this year.

A. D. MCCCCXCVIII. Ætat. XXXI.

Eraſmus had moved, the year before this, from Paris to Orleans, and had ſtayed there three months; but now he was at Paris, whence he wrote ſeveral letters. He had been ill there in Lent, and he ſays that St. Genevieve had cured him; but it was not without the aſſiſtance of William Cope, a ſkilful phyſician, and a man of learning. Ep. 29. Ep. 504. c. 1884.

He was preparing his book of *Adagies*, and applying himſelf cloſely to the Greek language; and he ſays, that as ſoon as he could get any money, he would purchaſe, firſt, Greek authors, and ſecondly, clothes. There are few ſtudents, who would do the ſame. Ep. 58.

The Marchioneſs of Vere invited him, by [u] James Battus, a particular friend of his, and tutor to her ſon, to come and ſee her. But he wanted money and an [x] horſe for the journey, and wiſhed that the Lady would furniſh him with both. It ſeems that he underſtood a little French, and had written to her in that language.

He projected to go to Italy and take a Doctor's degree, if his friends would furniſh him with neceſſaries. Ep. 29, 31, 34, 36.

From ſome of his letters it appears that he was this year in England.

A. D. MCCCCXCIX. Ætat. XXXII.

He did not make any long ſtay in England, for we find him at Paris in the beginning of 1499. He had not carried away much

[u] See the character of Battus in Eraſmus. T. V. c. 69.

[x] Non peto magnificum Bucephalum, ſed cui non pudeat virum inſidere.

much money from England, ſince they ſent him eight franks by a ſpecial meſſenger: but eight franks were then worth more than twenty-four of the preſent money. Ep. 52, &c. A. D. 1499.

He complains of his bad ſtate of health, and of his poverty, and wiſhes that his patroneſs, the Marchioneſs of Vere, would ſend him two hundred franks; a very trifle, as he ſaid, compared with her ſuperfluous expenſes on other occaſions, and her liberalities to ſome raſkally Monks, whom ſhe maintained, and whom he calls, *cucullatos ſcortatores, et turpiſſimos nebulones.*

Eraſmus was reprinting his book *De ratione conſcribendi epiſtolas, De copia verborum, &c.* and intended to dedicate them to Adolphus, ſon of the Marchioneſs.

"The [y] Tract *De ſcribendis Epiſtolis* was firſt written at the "ſuggeſtion of Montjoy, at Paris, about the year 1493, and "finiſhed in twenty days. Eraſmus was afterwards ſenſible that "he had drawn it up too haſtily."

Upon ſome journey he loſt his wallet, which contained his linnen, and ten pieces of gold, and his *Preces Horariæ*; and could not take a ſecond journey, as he tells his friend Battus, partly for the loſs of the money, but principally for having loſt his prayer-book. Ep. 53.

At Midſummer he went to the Low Countries, as far as to Holland. He ſays that [z] the air of Holland agreed with him; but that he was much offended at their Epicurean repaſts. Add to this, that the people are ſordid, unpoliſhed, deſpiſers of learning, which meets there with no encouragement, and much envy.

Things have been much altered in this reſpect, ſays Le Clerc: Holland is become the *aſylum* of letters ſince the beginning of the ſeventeenth century; and it may be affirmed, that, during that age,

[y] Knight, p. 49.

[z] In Hollandia, cœlo quidem juvor, ſed Epicureis illis comeſſationibus offendor. Adde hominum genus ſordidum, incultum, ſtudiorum omnium contemptum præſtrenuum, nullum eruditionis fructum, invidiam ſummam.

A. D. 1499. age, no country hath furniſhed ſo many ſuccours to Europe for the advancement of literature. Ep. 59.

He wrote a jeſting letter to Fauſtus [a] Andrelinus, the poet laureate, and yet no extraordinary poet, exhorting him to leave France, and repair to England with all ſpeed, for the ſake of converſing with the [b] Britiſh Ladies, &c.

But though he liked the Engliſh faſhion of ſaluting the Ladies, he did not like the faſhion of ſearching thoſe who left the nation, and of not ſuffering them to carry away more than ſix Angels, nor the rudeneſs of a cuſtom-houſe officer, who ſtripped him of all the money which he had above that ſum, namely of twenty pounds, when he wanted to paſs from Dover to France. This [c] affront, as he thought it, ſtuck in his ſtomach extremely. Ep. 62, 80, 94.

There is a ſtory, that Henry the eighth ordered the cuſtom-houſe officers to pillage Eraſmus, who returned to complain to the King; and that the King laughed at him, and ſent him away with a preſent, and with orders to receive his money again. Bayle treats it as a fable; and Henry did not reign till the year 1509.

Towards the end of the year he was at Orleans, and thence returned to [e] Paris. He had much ado to ſubſiſt there, and was ill

[a] Baillet IV. 329. Bayle ANDRELINUS.

[b] Sunt hic Nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camœnis facile anteponas. Eſt præterea mos nunquam ſatis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium oſculis exciperis; ſive diſcedas aliquo, oſculis dimitteris; redis, reduntur ſuavia; venitur ad te, propinantur ſuavia; diſceditur abs te, dividuntur baſia; occurritur alibi, baſiatur affatim; denique quocumque te moveas, ſuaviorum plena ſunt omnia, &c. Ep. 65.

[c] Vulnus illud in Anglia acceptum —hoc magis dolet, quod cum indigniſſima ſit conjunctum contumelia, nulla tamen a me talio referri poteſt. Quid enim ego aut cum Anglia univerſa dimicem, aut cum Rege? Nihil illa commeruit; et in eum ſcribere, qui poſſit non ſolum proſcribere, verum etiam occidere, dementiæ extremæ puto, &c.

See Knight, p. 53, &c.

[d] ERASME, Not. B. B.

See *Catal. Lucubr.*

[e] Cupiam exſtare Orationes aliquot concionatorias, quas olim habui Lutetiæ, quum agerem in Collegio Montis Acuti. *Catal. Lucubr.*

ill uſed by one Auguſtin, who had obligations to him, and who robbed him. A. D. 1499.

He deſcribes in a very lively manner the great danger, to which he was expoſed, of being robbed and murdered in going from Amiens to Paris. Ep. 81.

From ſome letters dated this year, it appears that he intended to publiſh St. Jerom, and that he was quite in love with this Father, whom he extols to the ſkies; and, with a ſort of poetical rapture, he promiſes himſelf that he ſhall have the aſſiſtance of the Saint in the great undertaking. Certainly there was infinitely more to be learned from Jerom, than from the Schoolmen, from Scotus and Albertus, and the reſt of the crew.

Ep. 86 is to Robertus[f] Gaguinus, with whom he was acquainted, and whom in other letters he hath highly commended. In his *Ciceronianus*, he ranks him amongſt Hiſtorians of low degree, and ſays that his ſtyle is hardly good enough to be called Latin.

Gaguinus tranſlated Cæſar's Commentaries into French, A. 1488.

A. D. MD. Ætat. XXXIII.

Erasmus wrote from Paris a letter to Antonius à Bergis, Abbot of St. Bertin, and another to the Marchioneſs of Vere. He is not ſparing in his compliments to either, and he wanted to get ſome ſubſidies from them, which he found difficult to obtain, though he was well ſkilled in the arts of begging, and of ſetting forth his wants. He deſires his friend Battus to plead his cauſe to the Lady. Tell her, ſays he, that ſhe, who feeds a ſet of illiterate preachers, ought much more to conſider me[h], &c. He also

[f] Bayle EMILE, Not. F. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 67. Pope Blount, p. 361.

[g] Maittaire I. 207.

[h] *Tell her* —— ejuſmodi indoctorum Theologorum permagnam ubique eſſe copiam, mei ſimilem vix multis ſeculis inveniri; niſi forte adeo ſuperſtitioſus es, ut religio tibi ſit in amici negotio mendaciolis aliquot abuti. *Ep.* 94.

A. D. 1500. alſo deſires him to perſuade her to procure him ſome Eccleſiaſtical preferment, that he might have a place to ſit down and ſtudy in. But theſe were his younger thoughts.

He begins his letter to his patroneſs, Anna Berſala, with telling her that there were three [i] *Annes*, famous in ancient hiſtory, to whom ſhe deſerved to be joined. Ep. 92.

He tells her that it was neceſſary for him to go to Italy, and take a Doctor's degree, which, as he obſerves, makes one neither better nor wiſer; [k] but it muſt be done, ſays he, if a man would be eſteemed by the world. Elſe Eraſmus, as he informs us himſelf, in the Abridgment of his life, which is before the Firſt Tome, [l] had in thoſe days no great inclination to the ſtudy of Theology, and no mind to engage in it, leſt he ſhould oppoſe the commonly received opinions, and ſo paſs for an heretic.

As there was then no tranſmitting letters and bills by the Poſt, he was obliged to ſend ſpecial meſſengers, and young men, who were his *amanuenſes*. This was an expenſive method; and Eraſmus, who was always of a weakly conſtitution, could not live in an hard and frugal way.

He ſpent ſome time in the Caſtle of the Prince of Courtemburn, and borrowed from his neighbours ſome of the works of the Fathers.

His Adagies were printed at Paris, for the firſt time.

A. D. MDI. Ætat. XXXIV.

We have few letters of this and of ſome following years. There is an handſome Epiſtle from Antonius à Bergis to the Cardinal De

[i] Bayle ANNE, where ſome additions are made to his liſt.

[k] — quando nunc, non dicam vulgo, ſed etiam iis qui doctrinæ principatum tenent, nemo doctus videri poteſt, niſi *Magiſter noſter* appelletur; etiam vetante Chriſto, Theologorum principe.

[l] A ſtudio Theologiæ abhorrebat, quod ſentiret animum non propenſum, ne omnia illorum fundamenta ſubverteret, deinde futurum ut hæretici nomen inureretur.

De Medicis. Eraſmus compoſed it for him, and was then in Flanders with this Abbot. Ep. 98. A. D. 1501.

A. D. MDII. Ætat. XXXV.

The plague being at Paris, he ſpent ſome time at Louvain. This year he loſt his friend and patron the Archbiſhop of Cambray. Ep. 100. [m] He celebrated him in four epitaphs, for which he was poorly paid, as he informs Gulielmus Goudanus.

In the *Appendix Epiſtolarum*, there is a ſort of Dedication to Henry a Bergis, the Archbiſhop of Cambray, which muſt have been written before the year 1503. Eraſmus preſents to him the poems of his friend [n] Gulielmus Goudanus, which he publiſhed without the author's leave. Whether they deſerved the commendations which he beſtows upon them, I know not: but the praiſes, which he occaſionally gives to Baptiſta [o] Mantuanus, are ſurely far beyond that man's poetical merits. Ep. 395. c. 1781.

In another Epiſtle, he laments [p] the condition of the Marchioneſs of Vere, who had married, as it ſhould ſeem, beneath herſelf. Bayle [q] knew nothing of this circumſtance. Eraſmus had complimented her for rejecting even the moſt advantageous offers.

[m] Epiſcopum Cameracenſem tribus Latinis epitaphiis celebravi; uno Græco; miſerunt ſex florenos tantum, ut etiam mortuus ſui ſimilis eſſet. Ep. 445. c. 1836.

[n] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 351.

[o] See Baillet IV. 324. 4to Edit. and Du Pin B. E. XIV. 97. Mantuan is ſaid to have voided fifty-five thouſand verſes. Paul Jovius ſpeaks of him ſlightingly: *Incidit in ea tempora*, ſays he, *quibus nullus mediocribus poëtis locus erat. — Mantuæ deceſſit, non plane felix, quum in extremo vitæ actu, defenſionem contra Criticos ſcribere cogeretur, qui ejus poëmata obeliſcis non inanibus miſere confodiſſent.* Elog. p. 117.

[p] Dominam Verienſem matrimonium pluſquam ſervile eripuit. Ep. 446. c. 1837.

[q] Dict. BERSALA.

A. D. MDIII. Ætat. XXXVI.

A. D. 1503. He publiſhed divers of his works at Louvain, a tract *De reformidatione Chriſti*, a *Pæan*, an *Obſecratio*, and particularly the [r] *Enchiridion Militis Chriſtiani*. Then he went to Paris, whence he wrote to [s] Petrus Ægidius of Antwerp, who was one of his beſt friends, and for whom he compoſed an *Epithalamium*, which is in his Colloquies. Ep. 101, 102, 746.

This year died the wicked Pope [t] Alexander VI.

A. D. MDIV. Ætat. XXXVII.

This, and the three following years, if the dates of the letters are right, he was ſometimes at Paris.

He congratulates his friend John Colet, who was made Dean of St. Paul's. He gives him ſome account of his own occupations, and ſays that his mind was entirely ſet upon religious ſtudies, and that he intended to devote the reſt of his life to them, and that he had been three years applying cloſely to the Greek language. He would alſo have maſtered the Hebrew tongue; but he ſoon grew tired of the attempt, in all probability for want of proper inſtructors and helps; elſe he did things infinitely harder than it is to learn Hebrew. He alſo complains that want of money hindered him from finiſhing ſome treatiſes, becauſe it forced him to ſpend much of his time in reading lectures to young ſtudents. He mentions his deſign of publiſhing a ſecond Edition of his [u] Adagies, becauſe the firſt was imperfectly executed by him, and faultily printed. Ep. 102.

He

[r] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 202.

[s] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 647.

[t] See Gordon's Life of Alexander. Alexander omnium, qui unquam fuerunt, perfidia, libidine, ſævitia, ſceleratiſſimus, cujus filius, Cæſar Borgia, perfectum præbuit Machiavello callidi ſed nefarii Principis exemplar. *Perizonius* Hiſt. Sec. XVI. p. 7.

[u] Maittaire An. Typ. II. p. 195, 251.

He ſpeaks alſo of ſome other works, and mentions a remarkable thing of his *Enchiridion*[x], that he compoſed it, not to make a parade of wit or eloquence, but rather to correct a vulgar error of thoſe, who ſuppoſed religion to conſiſt in mere ceremonies and bodily obſervances, which ſurpaſſed even Jewiſh ſuperſtitions, and who ſtrangely neglected the things which concerned true piety. A. D. 1504.

Hence it may be ſeen, that long before Luther made his appearance, Eraſmus had cenſured the minute devotions, which the directors of conſciences impoſed upon the people, inſtead of inſtilling into them that true piety, which conſiſts in the practice of Chriſtian virtues.

Eraſmus informs us of the occaſion on which he compoſed this book, in a letter to Botzem containing a catalogue of his works. He had a [y] friend much addicted to women, and a very bad huſband to his wife, whom he uſed ſo brutiſhly as ſometimes to beat her. She perſuaded Eraſmus to undertake this work, without letting her huſband know any thing of it. He began it A. D. 1494, at the caſtle of Tornenhens, and finiſhed it nine [z] years after at Louvain. At firſt it did not ſell; but, in the year 1518, he put a preface to it, which made it go off, by exciting the clamours of the Dominicans. We will ſay more of it hereafter. It appears from a letter of Eraſmus, that he, for whom this book was compoſed, was not made better by it. Inſtead of thanking his monitor, he ſaid maliciouſly, that there was much more holineſs in that little book, than in its author. The man was of the military profeſſion, and this might induce Eraſmus to intitle his book, *The Chriſtian Soldier's Dagger*, or *Manual*.

A. D.

[x] Enchiridion non ad oſtentationem ingenii aut eloquentiæ conſcripſi, verum ad hoc ſolum, ut mederer errori vulgò Religionem conſtituentium in cærimoniis et obſervationibus pluſquam Judaicis rerum corporalium; ea quæ ad pietatem pertinent mire negligentium.

[y] Theologos omnes fortiter contemnebat, uno me excepto. *Ep. ad Botz.*

[z] *But it is dated*, Apud Divum Audomarum, Anno a Chriſto nato ſupra milleſimum quingenteſimo primo.

A. D. 1504. " It cannot be denied that this book is full of good maxims " and of uſeful inſtructions. Yet was it decried by the Arch- " deacon of Palença, as containing ſome hereſies. Louis Coronel, " a Doctor of Divinity, undertook the defenſe of it. It was read " in Spain, even by Charles V. It took very much, and was " ſoon tranſlated into Italian, French, Spaniſh, and German. " Some perſons have not found in it all the UNCTION, which " were to be wiſhed in a Book of Devotion. Maffæus, in his " Life of Ignatius Loyola, informs us, that this Saint, when he " peruſed it, found that it had a bad effect upon him, and cooled " his devotion: and one of the moſt ſpiritualized men of this age, " Monſieur de Saint Cyran, made the ſame obſervation. It is " true, that in this work there are things not altogether proper for " Godly Books intended for the common people; and yet it " muſt be granted, that there are alſo things extremely con- " ducing to inſtruct them in their duty, and to preſerve in them " a ſpirit of true piety." Du Pin B. E. XIV. 56.

The judgment of Ignatius is altogether worthy of him; and every Fanatic in the world, if he were to peruſe this Treatiſe of Eraſmus, would be of the very ſame opinion, and would want ſomething more pathetic and ſavoury, ſomething with more *Unction*, and leſs morality and common ſenſe.

A. D. MDV. Ætat. XXXVIII.

He drew up a good apology for [a] Laurentius Valla, whoſe [b] annotations on the [c] New Teſtament he had diſcovered in ſome Library.

[a] Bayle VALLA. Boiſſard Icon. p. 113. P. Jovius Elog. p. 25. Baillet II. 219, and the Notes of La Monnoye, III. 19, 220, 221. Pope Blount, p. 325.

[b] Valla had a deſign to tranſlate the New Teſtament into Latin; but being forbidden by the Pope, he could only write notes upon the Vulgate, cenſuring the bad Latinity and the inaccuracy of this verſion. As he was a mere Latin Grammarian, ſays Father Simon, his remarks are inconſiderable. *Bibl. Univ.* XVI. 66. This Critic hath not done juſtice to Valla.

[c] Valla primus ſcripſit notas in Novum Teſtamentum; ſecundus Eraſmus; poſtea Camerarius. *Scaligeran.* p. 400.

Library. Valla had drawn a great odium upon himſelf for daring to cenſure the Vulgate. There was ſome reſemblance between the genius of Valla and of Eraſmus; but the latter was better tempered, and had more diſcernment. Each of them met with numerous adverſaries of much the ſame ſtamp and character. Ep. 103. A. D. 1505.

[d] He was this year at Paris, and dedicated his tranſlation of Lucian's *Alexander* to a French Biſhop.

A. D. MDVI. Ætat. XXXIX.

Eraſmus wrote ſome letters this year to his Engliſh correſpondents from Paris, in which he greatly commends the friends whom he had in this iſland. Ep. 104, 105, 106.

This year he was alſo in England, and dedicated the *Tyrannicida* of Lucian to Richard Whitford, and a [e] declamation of his own in anſwer to it. More had alſo made a declamation on the ſame ſubject.

[f] Whitford, as Wood ſays, was bred at Oxford, and was "firſt chaplain to Biſhop Fox, about the latter end of Henry VII: "but affecting a retired life, and laying aſide the thoughts of "preferment,

[d] T. I. c. 230.

[e] Latine declamare cœpi, idque impulſore Thoma Moro, cujus, uti ſcis, tanta eſt facundia, ut nihil non poſſit perſuadere vel hoſti: tanta autem hominem caritate complector, ut etiam ſi ſaltare me, reſtimque ductare jubeat, ſim non gravatim obtemperaturus. — Neque enim arbitror, niſi me vehemens in illum fallit amor, unquam naturam finxiſſe ingenium hoc uno præſentius, promptius, oculatius, argutius, breviterque dotibus omnigenis abſolutius. Accedit lingua ingenio par, tum morum mira feſtivitas, ſalis plurimum, ſed candidi duntaxat, ut nihil in eo deſideres quod ad abſolutum pertineat patronum. — Hortor autem ut et Moricam conferas, itaque judices, num quid in ſtylo ſit diſcriminis inter nos, quos tu ingenio, moribus, affectibus, ſtudiis uſque adeo ſimiles eſſe dicere ſolebas, ut negares ullos gemellos magis inter ſe ſimiles reperiri poſſe.—Vale meum delicium, Richarde feſtiviſſime. Tom. I. c. 266.

[f] Knight, p. 64. Rooper's Life of More, p. 30.

A. D. 1506. " preferment, he entered himſelf a Monk of the order of " St. Brigit, in the Monaſtery called Sion, near to Brentford in " Middleſex; and there living till the diſſolution of religious " houſes, he was turned out to ſeek his bread.

" Being accounted a very pious and learned man, he had been " entertained by Lord William Montjoy, and by him made " known to Eraſmus, by whom he was much valued.

" He left behind him many pious tracts, which ſhew that " his bent was towards religion, and that he was a very ſtrict " Roman Catholic, the names of which are ſet down by Wood, " and in moſt of which he ſtyles himſelf *The Wretch of Sion.*

" It plainly appears that he was of Cambridge, from a Licence " which was granted to him by the Maſter and Fellows of " Queen's College, whilſt he was Fellow there, in which the " reaſon given for leave of abſence was, that he might attend " upon Lord Montjoy in foreign parts."

About the ſame time Eraſmus dedicated the tranſlation of Lucian's *Timon* to Dr. Thomas Ruthall.

" Ruthall [g], who was ſecretary to Henry VII, had a great " eſteem for Eraſmus, and was kind to him in the next reign, " when he came to be Biſhop of Durham. And Eraſmus long " afterwards ſent this Biſhop his Paraphraſe upon the Epiſtle to " the Galatians, and begged his protection againſt the many " enemies that began to oppoſe him."

Eraſmus publiſhed a tranſlation of other dialogues of Lucian, with an elegant dedication to Ruthall, in which he attacks the fabulous Legends and the lying miracles, which had been admitted by Chriſtians even in early times, and by ſome of which Auguſtin himſelf had been impoſed upon. Ep. 475. c. 1862.

" He [h] was this year at Cambridge, where his ſtay was ſhort.

" One might expect the moſt authentic account from our " learned hiſtorian Dr. John Caius, or Keys; and yet all the particulars

[g] Knight, p. 80.

[h] Knight, p. 85.

" particulars related by him cannot be depended upon. He ſays, A. D. 1506.
" *that Eraſmus lived at Cambridge about the year* 1506, *at what*
" *time Henry* VII *made a viſit to that place; that he read the Greek*
" *tongue there, and wrote a treatiſe* De Conſcribendis Epiſtolis,
" *and had it publiſhed by Sibert; and had alſo his Grace to be*
" *Batchellour of Divinity; that he uſed much to commend the*
" *ſtudents, and the ſtate of learning in this Univerſity; that he was*
" *ſucceeded by Richard Crook, a ſcholar of Grocyne, who alſo was*
" *Profeſſor of the Greek tongue in the Univerſity of Leipſic, and*
" *flouriſhed about* 1514.

" That Crook did ſucceed Eraſmus, appears from his Oration
" in praiſe of Greek learning, wherein he makes honourable
" mention of Eraſmus, and ſpeaks modeſtly of himſelf, as unwor-
" thy to ſucceed ſo great a man.

" Other particulars are not to be depended upon. We can-
" not find, that Eraſmus was at Cambridge at any time that
" Henry VII came thither. Nor does it appear, that he taught
" Greek, as Profeſſor, at his firſt coming in 1506: it was not
" till his return in 1509, or ſome time after. He might poſſibly
" get his Tract *De Conſcribendis Epiſtolis* printed at Cambridge;
" but if any ſuch impreſſion be extant, it will probably be found
" to be of a later date. Nor are his commendations of the ſtate
" of learning to be applied to this time, but to the improvements
" that were afterwards made, &c.

" The[1] greateſt Maſter of the Antiquities of our Univerſity is
" pleaſed to ſay no more, than that Eraſmus had his Grace at
" Cambridge in the year 1506, to commence B. D. and D. D.
" at the ſame time, performing his exerciſe, and ſatisfying the
" Beadles; and was afterwards admitted the Lady Margaret's
" Profeſſor about the year 1511.

[1] Mr. Baker, I ſuppoſe.

A. D. 1506. " R. Crook, ſucceſſor to Eraſmus in the Greek profeſſorſhip,
" was [k] famous in his time; and Eraſmus had ſo good an opinion
" of him, that, knowing his ſtrait circumſtances, he deſired Dean
" Colet to aſſiſt him.

" Though the Oxford hiſtorian mentions Eraſmus as teaching
" Greek at Oxford, and living there many years at different
" times; yet, by all that I can find, it is probable that he never
" went there after his firſt coming to England in 1498, or made
" no ſtay there. By his own account, he had not Greek enough
" to ſet up for a teacher, even ſome years after his leaving
" England for the firſt time. He purſued thoſe ſtudies at Paris,
" as ſoon as he left England; and ſays in one of his letters, that
" his application to Greek had almoſt killed him, and that he
" had no money to buy books, or to retain a maſter. He ſpeaks
" of a Profeſſor of Greek at Paris, one [l] George Hermonymus, a
" ſurly old blockhead, who was neither willing nor able to teach
" it. He was therefore forced to make his own way, by tranſ-
" lating Greek writers. In a letter to Colet in 1504, he ſays that
" he had cloſely applied himſelf to Greek for the three laſt
" years."

" [m] Budæus, though he owed his erudition almoſt entirely to
" his own induſtry, yet learned ſomething of Faber Stapulenſis,
" Joannes Laſcaris, and *Hermonymus*. As ſoon as the latter
" arrived at Paris, Budæus employed him, and gave him a large
" ſalary. He explained to Budæus ſome Greek authors, as well
" as he could, which was [n] very poorly."

" [o] Eraſmus

[k] Camerarius beſtows great commendations on Crook, under whom he had ſtudied at Leipſic. Præcept. Vitæ Puer. Epiſt. Nuncup. p. 17. Crenius De Erudit. Comp.

[l] Lutetiæ tantum unus Georgius Hermonymus Græce balbutiebat; ſed talis, ut neque potuiſſet docere, ſi voluiſſet; neque voluiſſet, ſi potuiſſet, &c. *Cat. Lucubr.*

Eraſmus hath made mention of this man T. I. c. 933.

[m] Bayle BUDÉ.

[n] Quem Budæus nactus magna mercede conductum ad ſe accerſivit, et antequam dimitteret, amplius quingentis nummis

"[o] Erasmus was at London in January 1506, and sent a "translation of [p] Lucian's *Toxaris*, as a new-year's gift to "Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester." A. D. 1506.

His dedication of some Dialogues of Lucian to Hier. Buslidianus is from Bononia, in November 1506. T. I. c. 311.

A. D. MDVII. Ætat. XL.

He went to Paris, we cannot exactly say when, and took with him the sons of Dr. Joannes Baptista, first physician to Henry VII.

Erasmus, when he went to Italy, and was crossing the Alps, composed a [q] poem, on horseback, concerning the inconveniences and infirmities of old age, addressed to William Cope, a physician; he complains that he already [r] felt them, though he was not then quite forty years of age. From this time forwards he repre-

 sents

summis aureis donavit. — Huic Græco cum aliquot annos operam dedisset, et ex prælegente audivisset Homerum [illegible]sque alios insignes, nihilo doctior [illegible]ctus: neque enim præceptor ille [illegible] docere quam scire poterat. *L. Regius.*

Anno 1476 in Gallia consedit, Parisiisque literas Græcas professus est Georgius Hermonymus, Spartanus, &c. Alius ab hoc Hermonymo erat senex iste Græculus indoctus, a quo Græca rudimenta, circa annum 1491, edoctus est Gulielmus Budæus, de quo in epistola ad Cuthbertum Tonstallum scribit, &c. (Erasmi Epist. 249.) *Hodius* De Græc. Illustr. p. 233, 238.

[o] Knight, p. 93.

[p] Lambert Bos hath pointed out an error of Erasmus in his translation of a passage in Lucian. *Ellips.* p. 145.

[q] Tom. IV. c. 756.

[r] Quam nuper hunc Erasmum
Vidisti media viridem florere juventa?
Nunc is repente versus
Incipit urgentis senii sentiscere damna,
Et alius esse tendit,
Dissimilisque sui; nec adhuc Phœbeïus orbis
Quadragies revexit
Natalem lucem, quæ bruma ineunte Calendas
Quinta anteit Novembres.
Nunc mihi jam raris sparguntur tempora canis, &c.

A. D. 1507. ſents himſelf as an old man, being in this reſpect quite the reverſe of Henr. Valeſius, who at ſeventy imagined himſelf young, as his brother [s] informs us. With an infirm conſtitution, and many diſtempers, and an uncommon application to literature, he lived on to a good old age; and is one of thoſe examples, which ſerve to ſhew that ſtudious occupations are not [t] unwholſome, if they be accompanied with ſobriety and moderate exerciſe.

A. D. MDVIII. Ætat. XLI.

He went to Italy, and took his [u] Doctor's degree, as it appears in ſome letters written from Bononia, or Florence. At Bononia he ſtayed about a year, and thence went to Venice, where he publiſhed a third Edition of his Adagies. Then he paſſed the winter at Padua, and went to Rome the year following. At Venice he contracted an acquaintance with [w] Marcus Muſurus, and [x] Scipio Carteromachus, who taught the Greek language at Padua and Bononia, and conſulted theſe learned men upon ſuch difficulties as occurred to him in the explication of Greek proverbs. He alſo was particularly intimate with Hieronymus [y] Aleander, who was afterwards

[s] Natus annis ſeptuagĩnta, nec ſibi ipſe videbatur ſenex, nec aliis videri volebat, qui mala et incommoda ſenectutis nulla ſentiret. In literis, quas ad eum miſerat Gronovius Gronovii filius, longam & felicem ſenectutem ei precatus erat. Senectutis nomine offenſus eſt Valeſius, epiſtolamque ceu a juvene juveniliter et inepte ſcriptam projecit; tanquam ſibi dedecus aliquod falſo exprobraretur. Id mihi poſt, ſed ridens, referebat; ita ut appareret ipſum in ſe poſtea deſcendiſſe, et annorum ſuorum magis quam firmæ valetudinis et virium habita ratione, dictum Gronovii probaviſſe. Adjiciebat inſuper, ante acceptas haſce a Gronovio literas, ſe de ſenectute ſua nunquam cogitaviſſe. *Vit. Valeſ.*

[t] See Huetiana, p. 5.

[u] At Turin. *Bayle.*

[w] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 219, 294, 303, 304. Eraſm. Epiſt. 671. B. Rhenani Vit. Eraſmi. Bayle MUSURUS, which is a good Article. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 288, 293.

[x] Bayle CARTEROMACHUS. Eraſm. Ep. 671.

[y] Bayle ALEANDRE. P. Jovius Elog. p. 181. Remarques ſur Bayle. Relat. Gotting. Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 87. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 99, 240.

afterwards Archbiſhop of Brindiſi, and Nuncio, and then Cardinal. A. D. 1508.
He lodged with him, at the houſe of [z] Aldus Manutius; and the ſame room, and the ſame bed, ſerved them both: but they did not long continue good friends.

He was, at this time, tutor to Alexander Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, natural ſon to James, King of Scotland. In his Adagies he hath given a great character to this youth, who [a], returning to Scotland, was unfortunately ſlain by his father's ſide, and with his father, in the battle fought againſt the Engliſh at Flodden field. Eraſmus was much concerned at his death, and perſuaded Ammonius to draw up an account of this battle, which yet was never publiſhed. Ep. 1257.

A. D. MDIX. Ætat. XLII.

He received a great honour this year from a King's ſon: Henry Prince of Wales wrote him a letter. Ep. 451. c. 1840.

He paſſed the ſpring in Italy, and wrote two letters from Rome to Lord Montjoy. He had not his health in Italy, but was well received there by perſons of the firſt rank, and amongſt the reſt by the Cardinal of St. George.

He hath given a pretty account of the manner, in which he was treated by Cardinal Dominic Grimani, who had ſent him word by Bembus, that he ſhould be glad to ſee him. As he had thus invited me, ſays Eraſmus, once or twice by Bembus, I, who was then very aukward at paying my court to the Great, went rather through ſhame of refuſing, than out of any inclination. There was no creature either at the door, or in the hall; and it was in the afternoon. I gave my horſe to my ſervant, and went in alone. I ſaw no one in the firſt, ſecond, or third room; nor did I find any door ſhut; and I wondered at the ſilence and ſolitude.

At

[z] Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 229, 292. 141. c. 1608. 253. c. 1666, II. 37, &c. Eraſm. Epiſt. 671. c. 1228. [a] Knight, p. 101.

A. D. 1509. At laſt I arrived at a room where I found one man, a Greek, a phyſician as I thought, cloſe ſhaved, who ſtood at an open door. I aſked him what the Cardinal might be doing. He anſwered, that he was converſing with ſome gentlemen; and, as I ſaid no more, he aſked me my buſineſs. I would only have paid my compliments, ſaid I, to the Cardinal, if it had been convenient; but, ſince he is engaged, I will come another time. As I was making a retreat, I looked out at a window, to ſee the ſituation of the place. The Greek came to me again, and aſked me, if I would have him ſay any thing to the Cardinal. It is not neceſſary, ſaid I, to diſturb him: I will ſhortly come again. At laſt he aſked me my name, and I told him: upon which he ſlipped away, unperceived by me, and returning deſired me not to go. In a minute after, I was called in. The Cardinal received me, not as ſuch an one as he might have received a perſon of my low ſtation, but as though I had been one of his collegues. He ordered me a chair, and we converſed together for more than two hours, nor would he ſuffer me to be uncovered: a ſurpriſing civility from a man of his dignity! Amongſt ſeveral things relating to learning, in which he ſhewed great ſkill, he gave me an account of his intention to collect a library, which I hear he hath ſince executed. He exhorted me not to leave Rome, a place where men of genius were encouraged. He offered me his own houſe, and told me, that the air of Rome, being warm and moiſt, would ſuit my conſtitution, that he was ſituated in the moſt wholeſome part of the city, and that a certain Pope had built the palace in which he lived, upon that account. After much converſation, he called in his nephew, who was already an Archbiſhop, and was of a promiſing genius. As I offered to riſe, the Cardinal would not let me, and ſaid, that the Diſciple ought to ſtand in the preſence of his Maſter. Then he ſhewed me his library well ſtored with authors of different languages. Had I known him ſooner, I ſhould never have quitted Rome, where I found

I found more favour than I deſerved: but I was then determined to go, and it was not in my power to ſtay. As ſoon as I told him that I had a call from the King of England, he preſſed me no more, &c. A. D. 1509.

Eraſmus adds, in complaiſance to the perſon to whom he writes this letter, and who was an Italian, that he had done much better, if he had taken up his abode in Italy: but a land of ceremonies, and a land of Inquiſition, was no proper habitation for a man of a temper ſo free and open, and ſo remote from the Italian grimaces. Ep. 1175.

Eraſmus afterwards wrote to this courteous Cardinal, and ſent him his Paraphraſe of St. Paul. Ep. 315.

" [b] At Rome he was received with great applauſe, and the " Pope [c] offered him a place amongſt his Penitentiaries, which " was reckoned both profitable and honourable, and a ſtep to " the higheſt preferment at that court."

" [d] He was taken into the protection of Raphael Cardinal of " St. George, and at his perſuaſion was put upon a very ungrate- " ful taſk, the declaiming backward and forward upon the ſame " argument: firſt, to [e] diſſuade from undertaking a war againſt " the Venetians; and then to [f] exhort to the ſaid war, upon the " Pope's changing his holy mind.

" By his own account of Pope Julius, he ſeems to have found " ſo little ſincerity at Rome, that he was the more glad of a call " back to England."

[g] Montjoy had written him a letter, which is the tenth, and dated 1497: but it ſhould be 1509. In it Montjoy promiſes him great

[b] Knight, p. 102.

[c] B. Rhenani Vit. Eraſmi.

[d] Knight, p. 105. See alſo *Catal. Lucubr.*

[e] He hath touched upon this ſubject in his *Eccleſiaſtes*, T. V. c. 898.

[f] Rurſum ſuaſi bellum in Venetos. Poſterior oratio vicit, tametſi ego priorem majore ſtudio magiſque ex animo tractaveram. Periit perfidia cujuſdam archetypum. *Catal. Lucubr.*

[g] Concerning Montjoy, ſee Knight, p. 14.

A. D. 1509. great favours from Henry VIII, and from Warham; yet he ſeems to have had no particular commiſſion from them to ſay ſo much. He adds, that the Archbiſhop had given him five pounds, to which Montjoy added five more, to facilitate his journey. But ten pounds was no great ſum, to defray a man's charges from Rome to France, and thence to England.

This Lord writes Latin much better than ſome famous Doctors. His letter, which is eaſy and elegant, is kind and affectionate to his friend Eraſmus: and we may collect from it, that the Engliſh were highly delighted at the death of Henry VII, and had great expectations from Henry VIII, whom Montjoy extols to the ſkies; and not without reaſon, for he was a promiſing Prince, very generous, and a lover of learning and of learned men, though afterwards he lived to diſappoint theſe hopes, and to prove a tyrant.

Eraſmus, in the Dedication of his Adagies to this Nobleman, gives him [h] commendations, which in all probability he juſtly deſerved.

[i] Four Dominicans were burned this year at Bern, for pretended revelations, and apparitions of their own contriving.

A. D.

[h] Unice ſtudiorum meorum Mæcenas. Nam quo alio verbo brevius pleniuſve complectar vel tuum iſtum tam ſingularem in nos animum, vel laudum tuarum ſummam? qui quidem es unus pulcherrimo illo Apuleii dignus elogio: *Inter doctos nobiliſſimus, inter nobiles doctiſſimus, inter utroſque optimus:* illud adjiciendum, inter omnes modeſtiſſimus.

[i] Ex Helveticarum rerum ſcriptoribus petendum eſt, quid patraverint Dominicani Bernæ, cum hominem ſemifatuum ementitis apparitionibus, dein fraudis conſcium, in æmulationem Franciſcanorum ſubornaſſent, ut contra conceptionem B. Virginis immaculatam, quam illi ſtatuunt, revelationes publicaret.—Combuſti ſunt ob impoſturam diabolicam, multaque crimina, quorum coram Pontificiis Delegatis convicti fuerunt, ex Dominicanis quatuor. Ampliſſimam immanis ſceleris relationem, a Franciſcano quodam ejuſdem urbis Monacho, ut apparet, deſcriptam, ex Archivo Bernatium produxit Hottingerus. Hiſt. Secul. XVI. Part. V. f. 334 ad 411. *Seckendorf.* L. I. p. 97. Fol. Ed. Frankf. 1692.

A. D. MDX. Ætat. XLIII.

Eraſmus was in England in the beginning of this year, and he ſtayed there a conſiderable time, as we learn from Ep. 109, and the following letters. He received many favours there, as his letters ſhew. In one to Botzem, he ſays, that having tranſlated the *Hecuba* of Euripides into Latin verſes, he added to it ſome poems, and dedicated the volume to Warham. The Prelate received his Dedication courteouſly, but made the Poet only a ſmall preſent. As he was returning to London from the palace at Lambeth, William Grocyn, his friend, who had accompanied him to Lambeth, aſked him in the boat, what preſent he had received. Eraſmus laughing anſwered, A very conſiderable ſum; which Grocyn would not believe. Having told him what it was, Grocyn replied, that the Prelate was rich enough, and generous enough, to have made him a much handſomer preſent; but that he certainly ſuſpected, that Eraſmus had put ſtale goods upon him, and had already dedicated that book elſewhere, and to ſome other patron. Eraſmus aſked him, how ſuch a ſuſpicion could have entered into his head. *Quia ſic ſoletis vos*, ſaid Grocyn: that is, becauſe ſuch hungry ſcholars as you, who ſtroll about the world, and dedicate books to noblemen, to whom you can find acceſs, are apt to make uſe of this trick. A. D. 1510.

Eraſmus ſays, that he had no great mind to ſtay in England; but that the Archbiſhop alone detained him. He adds, that Montjoy had given him thirty ducats. Ep. 109.

He had no cauſe afterwards to be diſſatisfied with the Engliſh, if we may confide in his letter to [k] Servatius. But there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that honeſt Eraſmus magnifies things on this occaſion, becauſe his boaſts to Servatius hardly agree with his complaints in ſome other letters.

F The

[k] Appendix.

A. D. 1510. The King himſelf, ſays he, a little before his father's death, when I was in Italy, wrote me with his own hand a very friendly letter; and now he ſpeaks of me in a moſt honourable and affectionate manner. Every time that I ſalute him, he embraces me moſt obligingly, and looks kindly upon me; and it plainly appears, that he not only ſpeaks, but thinks well of me. The Queen hath endeavoured to have me for her preceptor. Every one knows, that if I would but live a few months at court, the King would give me as many benefices as I could deſire: but I eſteem all things leſs than the leiſure which I enjoy, and the labours and ſtudies in which I am occupied. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of England, and Chancellor of the kingdom, a learned and a worthy man, loves me, as though he were my father or my brother; and, to ſhew you the ſincerity of his friendſhip, he hath given me a living worth about an hundred nobles, which at my requeſt he hath ſince changed for a penſion of an hundred crowns, upon my reſignation. Within theſe few years, he hath given me more than four hundred nobles without my aſking: one day he gave me an hundred and fifty. From the liberality of other Biſhops, I have received more than an hundred. Lord Montjoy, who was formerly my diſciple, gives me a yearly penſion of an hundred crowns. The King, and the [1] Biſhop of Lincoln, who by the King's favour is omnipotent, make me magnificent promiſes. Here are two Univerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, and both would be glad to have me: for I have taught, ſeveral months together, Greek and Divinity at Cambridge, but without receiving any ſtipend, and I am reſolved always ſo to do.

This letter of Eraſmus is, *Ex Arce Hannienſi* (read *Hammenſi*) *juxta Caletium.* Ep. 8. c. 1527. It is alſo prefixed to the firſt Volume of his works. There is much difference between theſe two

[1] Wolſey.

two copies of the ſame letter; and ſome things, which are in Greek in the one, are tranſlated into Latin in the other. A. D. 1510.

At his arrival in England, he lodged with the famous Thomas More, who was then a young man; and whilſt he was there, to divert himſelf and his friend, he wrote in a week a [m] book, called [n] *The praiſe of Folly*, in which he ſhews that there are fools in all ſtations. A copy of it was ſent to France, and printed there, but with abundance of faults: yet it took ſo well, that in a few months it went through ſeven editions. But it drew upon him ſeveral enemies, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

"[o] The deſign of this ludicrous piece is to expreſs his reſentments of being neglected at Rome; and therefore he expoſes that court, not ſparing the Pope himſelf:—ſo that he was never after this looked upon as a true ſon of that Church."

It appears from many letters, that he contracted in England a ſtrict friendſhip with Andreas [p] Ammonius of Lucca, who was ſeeking for ſome employment at the Engliſh court, and was at laſt made Secretary to the King, and died, aged forty years, of the ſweating [q] ſickneſs. There are ſeveral letters of Eraſmus written from Cambridge to Ammonius, who lived at London; and ſeveral from him to Eraſmus, who ſtayed a conſiderable time at Cambridge, though he often ſtepped up to Town, being in his younger days of a rambling genius.

[m] Bayle ERASME, Not. R.

[n] It was printed at Paris, by Gourmont, without any date of the year. *Maittaire* Ann. Typ. II. p. 195, 225, 272. I have occaſion often to cite Maittaire, who was an uſeful compiler, and nothing more.

[o] Knight, p. 107.

[p] Bayle AMMONIUS. Knight, p. 132, 133. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 212—214.

[q] Nuper novum peſtilentiæ genus immiſit [Deus] letiferum ſudorem, quod a Britannis exortum incredibili celeritate per orbem longe lateque divagatum eſt, plurimorum exitio, ſummo terrore omnium; vel quia novum, ut a medicis minimum eſſet opis, vel quia paucis horis tollit quem arripuit, vel quia ſubinde repetit quem reliquit, vel quia pernici contagio latiſſime graſſari ſolet. *Eraſmus* T. V. c. 347. See alſo *Thuanus* L. VI. p. 199. Ed. Genev.

A. D. 1510. Ammonius was a learned man, handſome and genteel in his perſon, ingenious, generous, and good-natured, and a true, kind, and conſtant friend to Eraſmus. He writes very prettily and elegantly.

He was Apoſtolical Protonotary, the Pope's Collector in England, Latin Secretary to Henry VIII, and Prebendary of St. Stephen's Chapel in Weſtminſter, and of Fordington and Writhington in the Church of Saliſbury.

" [r] The ſweating ſickneſs (of which Ammonius died) began " at firſt in 1483, in Henry the Seventh's army, upon his landing " at Milford haven, and then ſpread itſelf in London. It " returned here five times, and always in ſummer; in 1485; in " 1506; afterward in 1517; when it was ſo violent, that it " killed in the ſpace of three hours; then in 1520; then in " 1528, and proved mortal in the ſpace of ſix hours."

" [s] Eraſmus viſited the Church of Canterbury, and the Reliques " in it, in company of an Engliſh friend, Gratian Pullen, who, " it ſeems, had more curioſity than faith; and Eraſmus had much " ado to reſtrain his heretical ſpirit.—They were obliged to kiſs " the old ſhoe of St. Thomas à Becket, and to drop money in " it. An account of theſe incidents is told by Eraſmus, in his " *Colloquy* of *Pilgrimage for Religion*, in a pleaſant manner."

" [t] When Eraſmus ſaw at Canterbury the Tomb of Becket " laden with ſo many pretious jewels, and other ineſtimable " riches, he could not but wiſh that theſe ſuperfluous heaps of " wealth might be diſtributed amongſt the poor; and his tomb " to be better adorned with leaves and flowers, than to heap up " all that maſs of treaſure, to be one day plundered and carried " away by the men of pow[illegible]; which was a prophecy moſt " literally fulfilled in leſs than twenty years.

" In

[r] Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſ. Rooper's Life of More, p. 46.

[s] Knight, p. 116.

[t] Knight, p. 117. Eraſmi Conviv. Relig.

" In another place he ſeems to [u] aſcribe the great power and A. D. 1510.
" wealth of the Engliſh Eccleſiaſtics to the death of this man."

Dr. Knight takes this laſt remark from an Epiſtle, under the feigned name of *Nucerinus*, which is commonly aſcribed to Eraſmus, and not without much probability. In this Epiſtle, which contains an account of the death of More, and of Fiſher, we read, that the Jury brought in a verdict againſt More, *ac pronunciarunt* Killim, *hoc eſt, dignus eſt morte.* He ſhould have ſaid, —*pronunciarunt* Guilty, *hoc eſt, &c.* Ep. 378. c. 1763. I would not adviſe any one to uſe this as an argument, that Eraſmus could not be the writer of the Epiſtle; for he ſeems to have known little or nothing of the Engliſh language, though he lived amongſt us for ſome time. In this Epiſtle Becket is called [x] *Thomas Acrenſis*, and Eraſmus calls him ſo in Tom. V. c. 362. Eraſmus, as it appears from ſome paſſages in his writings, had a better opinion of Becket than he deſerved.

" [y] As Eraſmus was at firſt invited down to Cambridge by
" Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, Chancellor of the Univerſity, and
" Head of Queen's College; ſo he was accommodated by him
" in his own lodgings at his College, and promoted by his
" means to the Lady Margaret's Profeſſorſhip in Divinity, and
" afterwards to the Greek Profeſſor's chair; which places, tho'
" they were more honourable than profitable, yet were of great
" ſervice to the Univerſity."

" [z] How long Eraſmus was Greek Profeſſor in Cambridge, I
" know not. It is made a queſtion by ſome, whether he was
" ever called ſo or not; taking him only for a Reader in that
" language: but I think it pretty plain, by Richard Croke's
" Oration in praiſe of Greek learning, that he ſucceeded Eraſmus
" in

[u] Ep. 378. c. 1771.

[x] Becauſe that Prelate was born in the Pariſh of St. Thomas de Acres, in the city of London. *Knight*, p. 245.

[y] Knight, p. 124.

[z] Knight, p. 133.

A. D. 1510. " in that chair. See an account of [a] Croke, and of his works, in " Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* I ſhall only juſt obſerve, that we have " no reaſon to believe that Eraſmus, though commonly placed in " the liſt of Univerſity *Orators*, as Predeceſſor to Croke, ever " filled that place."

" [b] Eraſmus, at the deſire of Biſhop Fiſher, and by order of " the Univerſity of Cambridge, drew up the Epitaph for Margaret " Counteſs of Richmond, which is inſcribed upon her tomb in " Weſtminſter Abbey; and had for ſo doing twenty ſhillings."

Ep. 109 is to Halſey, with whom he had been acquainted at Oxford, who was made [c] Biſhop of Laighlin in Ireland in 1513, and tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Elphin; and was a good friend to Eraſmus.

A. D. MDXI. Ætat. XLIV.

He earneſtly preſſes Colet to give him fifteen angels, which he had promiſed long before, on condition that Eraſmus would dedicate to him his book *De Copia Verborum*, which was not publiſhed till the following year. See Ep. 115, which is elegantly written, and which ſhews that this worthy man muſt have been in great ſtraits, ſince he was forced to beg ſo importunately for a few pieces of gold. It is not altogether to Colet's honour.

In another letter to Colet, we find that the Academics at Cambridge, where Eraſmus reſided, were [d] as poor as himſelf.

He was much diſtreſſed, becauſe he could not bear malt liquor, and new or bad wine, which gave him fits of the gravel.

Ammonius ſent him ſome Greek wine, for which Eraſmus returned a copy of verſes in praiſe of his benefactor. Ammonius repaid

[a] See alſo *Index Epiſt. Eraſm.*

[b] Knight, p. 139.

[c] Knight, p. 213.

[d] Video veſtigia Chriſtianæ paupertatis. Quæſtum uſque adeo non ſpero, ut intelligam hic demum effundendum mihi, quicquid a Mæcenatibus queam avellere. — De quæſtu nihil video, quid enim auferam a nudis, homo nec improbus, et Mercurio irato natus? Ep. 117.

repaid him, not only with a pretty poem, but with another veſſel of Greek wine. Ammonius had publiſhed, it ſeems, a volume of poems. Ep. 124, 125, 127. A. D. 1511.

Ammonius complains of the [e] plague, which was at London, and of a famine, that would probably enſue; and obſerves, that wood was grown dear, becauſe there had been a great conſumption of it in fagots to burn heretics. But, ſays he, they increaſe upon us; and every [f] illiterate booby ſets up for a teacher, and becomes the head of a ſect. If he had lived here now, he might have beheld meaner perſons carrying on the ſame trade with more ſucceſs. Ep. 127.

Though Eraſmus, as we have obſerved, ſaid to Servatius that he taught *gratis* at Cambridge; yet it appears, that he made ſome profit, and that he expected the payment of thirty nobles, which retained him there, though he wanted to be gone. But he thought that ſo poor a reward might be reckoned a very nothing. He had explained the grammar of [g] Chryſoloras, and intended to read lectures upon that of [h] Gaza. Ep. 119, 123.

" [i] He

[e] Peſtis modum ſævitiæ ferme impoſuit. Sed fames, niſi magiſtratus remedium aliquod adhibeant, ſubſequetur, malum nihilo peſte mitius. Lignorum pretium auctum eſſe non miror: multi quotidie hæretici holocauſtum nobis præbent, plures tamen ſuccreſcunt: quin et frater germanus mei Thomæ, ſtipes verius quam homo, ſectam, ſi Diis placet, et ipſe inſtituit, et diſcipulos habet.

[f] *Angli plerique ſunt fanatici; tales multos novi.* Scaligeran. p. 21. This ſurely was too ſevere upon our forefathers.

[g] P. Jovius Elog. p. 41. Hodius de Græc. Illuſtr. p. 12, &c.

[h] Boiſſard Icon. Baillet II. 223, 603. III. 20, 21, 22. Pope Blount, p. 333. Eraſmus, T. V. c. 115.

Of this learned and illuſtrious Greek Hody hath given a large account, *De Græc. Illuſtr.* p. 55, &c. He ſtands amongſt the *Infelices Literati*, or in the *Philological Martyrology*.

Huetius alſo hath given his opinion concerning Gaza and Argyropylus, and refers the latter, conſidered as a tranſlator, to the former, contrary to the ſentiment of Jovius and of Eraſmus. *De Clar. Interpr.* p. 238.

Eraſmus hath frequently commended Gaza, in his Epiſtles, in his Adagies, in the *Ciceronianus*, and in other places.

A. D. 1511. " [i] He informs Ammonius, that he intended to pay a pious " viſit to the Lady of Walſingam, and to leave behind him a " copy of Greek verſes, as an offering to her ſhrine; and this he " performed. But it ſeems more out of cuſtom than conſcience, " that he gave into this ſuperſtition; — and there never was a " better ſatire againſt this ſort of foolery, than that Colloquy of " his, which he calls *Peregrinatio religionis ergo.*"

The Biſhop of Durham, about this time, made him a preſent of ten crowns.

He complains that the plague was in England, and that the roads were infeſted with highwaymen; and ſays of Cambridge, that it was almoſt deſerted, and that he could not [k] maintain himſelf there, but muſt ſeek ſome other place to live in, or to die in.

In Ep. 135, he gives a noble character to [l] Fiſher, and to [m] Warham. Fiſher had a great zeal to promote literature in others, and

[i] Knight, p. 131.

[k] —— Sumtus intolerabiles, lucrum ne teruncii quidem. Nondum quinque menſes ſunt, quod huc me contuli, interim ad ſexaginta nobiles inſumſi. Unum duntaxat ab auditoribus quibuſdam accepi, eumque multum deprecans ac recuſans.—Ep. 131.

[l] Epiſcopus Roffenſis, vir non ſolum admirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta reconditaque doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis, me, tametſi nihil omnino ſum, pro ſua humanitate, ſingulari favore ſemper ea proſecutus. —

[m] Inſigni benignitate me proſequuntur cum alii permulti, tum præcipue Mæcenas ille meus unicus, Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, imo non meus, ſed omnium eruditorum, inter quos ego poſtremas teneo, ſi modo ullas teneo. Deum immortalem! quam felix, quam fœcundum, quam promptum hominis ingenium? quanta in maximis explicandis negotiis dexteritas? quam non vulgaris eruditio? Tum autem quam inaudita in omnes comitas? quanta in congreſſu jucunditas? ut, quod vere regium eſt, neminem a ſe triſtem dimittat. Ad hæc, quanta quamque alacris liberalitas? Poſtremo, in tanta fortunæ dignitatiſque præcellentia, quam nullum ſupercilium? ut ſolus ipſe magnitudinem ſuam ignorare videatur. In amicis tuendis nemo neque fidelior neque conſtantior. In ſumma, vere Primas eſt, non ſolum dignitate, verum et in omni genere laudis. *Ep.* 135.

Hic

and to excel in it himſelf; and, though of an advanced age, was deſirous of becoming ſkilful in the Greek language, ſo neceſſary for a Divine; and would have engaged Latimer to teach him. See Latimer's letter to Eraſmus, 301; and Knight, p. 139. A. D. 1511.

Eraſmus

Hic mihi ſuccurrit vir omni memoria ſeculorum dignus Guilhelmus Waramus, Arch. Cant. totius Angliæ Primas: non ille quidem titulo, ſed re Theologus; erat enim Juris utriuſque Doctor, legationibus aliquot feliciter obeundis inclaruit, et Henrico ſeptimo, ſummæ prudentiæ Principi, gratus caruſque factus eſt. His gradibus evectus eſt ad Cantuarienſis Eccleſiæ faſtigium, cujus in ea inſula prima eſt dignitas. Huic oneri, per ſe graviſſimo, additum eſt aliud gravius. Coactus eſt ſuſcipere Cancellarii munus, quod quidem apud Anglos plane regium eſt; atque huic uni honoris gratia, quoties in publicum procedit, Regia corona ſceptro Regio impoſito geſtatur. Nam hic eſt velut oculus, os, ac dextra Regis, ſupremuſque totius Regni Britannici Judex. Hanc provinciam annis compluribus tanta dexteritate geſſit, ut diceres illum ei negotio natum, nulla alia teneri cura. Sed idem in his, quæ ſpectabant ad religionem et Eccleſiaſticas functiones, tam erat vigilans et attentus, ut diceres eum nulla externa cura diſtringi. Sufficiebat illi tempus ad religioſe perſolvendum ſolenne precum penſum, ad ſacrificandum fere quotidie, ad audiendum præterea duo aut tria ſacra, ad cognoſcendas cauſas, ad excipiendas legationes, ad conſulendum Regi ſi quid in aula gravius exſtitiſſet, ad viſendas Eccleſias, ſicubi natum eſſet aliquid, quod moderatorem poſtularet, ad excipiendos convivas ſæpe ducentos; denique lectioni ſuum dabatur otium. Ad tam varias curas uni ſufficiebat et animus et tempus, cujus nullam portionem dabat venatui, nullam aleæ, nullam inanibus fabulis, nullam luxui aut voluptatibus. Pro his omnibus oblectamentis erat illi vel amœna quæpiam lectio, vel cum erudito viro colloquium. Quanquam interdum Epiſcopos, Duces, et Comites haberet convivas, ſemper tamen prandium intra ſpatium horæ finiebatur. In ſplendido apparatu, quem illa dignitas poſtulat, dictu incredibile quam ipſe nihil deliciarum attigerit. Raro guſtabat vinum, plerumque jam tum ſeptuagenarius bibebat pertenuem cereviſiam, quam illi *biriam* vocant, eamque ipſam perparce. Porro, quum quam minimum ciborum ſumeret, tamen comitate vultus ac ſermonum feſtivitate omne convivium exhilarabat. Vidiſſes eandem pranſi et impranſi ſobrietatem. A cœnis in totum abſtinebat; aut ſi contigiſſent familiares amici, quorum de numero nos eramus, accumbebat quidem, ſed ita, ut pene nihil attingeret ciborum: ſi tales non dabantur, quod temporis cœnæ dandum erat, id vel precibus, vel lectioni impendebat. Atque ut ipſe leporibus ſcatebat mire gratis, ſed citra morſum atque ineptiam, ita liberioribus jocis amicorum delectabatur: a ſcurrili-

A. D. 1511. Eraſmus complains bitterly of ſome perſon in England, who had made him large promiſes, and had not performed them. Ep. 129.

He informs the Archbiſhop, that he was afflicted with the gravel, which malt liquor had brought upon him; and ſays pleaſantly, that he was fallen into the hands of hangmen and harpies, called phyſicians and apothecaries. I am, ſays he, in travail; it ſticks in my ribs; and when or what I ſhall bring forth, I know not. He ſends the Archbiſhop the *Saturnalia* of Lucian tranſlated into Latin; and, for the reaſon mentioned above, he adds, that he had not dedicated it to any other perſon. Ep. 188, 189.

" [n] Warham

tate et obtrectatione tam abhorrebat, quam quiſquam ab angue. Sic ille vir eximius ſibi faciebat dies abunde longos, quorum brevitatem multi cauſantur. *Eccleſiaſt.* T. V. c. 810.

Eraſmus wrote this after the death of Warham.

IT is with a melancholy kind of pleaſure that I tranſcribe theſe paſſages, and ſhall in other parts of this work inſert other teſtimonies to the honour of the Archbiſhop; whilſt in the character of this amiable Prelate, drawn by ſo maſterly an hand, I contemplate that of my late Patron, (Thomas Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury) who, beſides the good qualities in which he reſembled Warham, had piety without ſuperſtition, and moderation without meanneſs, an open and a liberal way of thinking, and a conſtant attachment to the cauſe of ſober and rational liberty, both civil and religious. Thus he lived and died, and few Great men ever paſſed through this malevolent world, better beloved, and leſs cenſured, than he.

He told me once, with an obliging condeſcenſion, which I can never forget, that he would be to me, what Warham was to Eraſmus; and what he promiſed, he performed: only leſs fortunate in the choice of his humble friend, who could not be to him, what Eraſmus was to Warham. But if theſe Pages ſhould live, protected by the ſubject which they treat, and the materials of which they are compoſed, they may perhaps aſſiſt in doing juſtice to his memory.

His mihi dilectum Nomen, Maneſque verendos,
His ſaltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico
Munere! Non totus, raptus licet, optime Præſul,
Eriperis: redit os placidum, moreſque benigni,
Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit Imago.

" [n] Warham was a great Canoniſt, an able Stateſman, a dextrous A. D. 1511.
" Courtier, and a favourer of learned men. He always hated
" Cardinal Wolſey, and would never ſtoop to him, eſteeming it
" below the dignity of his See. He was not ſo peeviſhly engaged
" in the learning of the Schools, as others were; but ſet up and
" encouraged a more generous way of knowledge: yet he was a
" ſevere perſecutor of them, whom he thought heretics; and
" inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as will afterwards
" appear, when the impoſtures of the Maid of Kent ſhall be
" related."

" [o] He had all along concurred in the King's proceedings, and
" had promoted them in Convocation: yet, ſix months before
" his death, he made a proteſtation of a ſingular nature at
" Lambeth, and ſo ſecretly, that mention is only made of three
" notaries and four witneſſes preſent. It is to this effect: that
" *what Statutes ſoever had paſſed, or were to paſs, in this preſent*
" *Parliament, to the prejudice of the Pope, or the Apoſtolic See, or*
" *that derogated from, or leſſened the Eccleſiaſtical authority, or the*
" *liberties of his See of Canterbury, he did not conſent to them; but*
" *did diſown and diſſent from them.* — I leave it to the Reader to
" conſider, what conſtruction can be made upon this; whether it
" was, in the decline of his life, put on him by his Confeſſor
" about the time of Lent, as a penance for what he had done;
" or if he muſt be looked on as a deceitful man, that, while he
" ſeemed openly to concur in thoſe things, he proteſted againſt
" them ſecretly, &c."

" [p] Fiſher was a learned and devout man, but much addicted
" to the ſuperſtitions, in which he had been bred up; and that
" led him to great ſeverities againſt all that oppoſed them. He
" had been for many years Confeſſor to the King's grandmother,

[n] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. I. 127.
[o] Burnet III. 80.
[p] Burnet I. 354. See Boiſſard Icon. p. 115. P. Jovius Elog. p. 168.

A. D. 1511. " the Counteſs of Richmond; and it was believed, that he per-
" ſuaded her to thoſe noble deſigns for the advancement of
" learning, of founding two Colleges in Cambridge, St. John's
" and Chriſt's College, and Divinity Profeſſors in both Univer-
" ſities: and, in acknowledgment of this, he was choſen
" Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge. Henry VII gave
" him the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, which he, following the rule
" of the primitive Church, would never change for a better:
" he uſed to ſay, his Church was his wife, and he would never
" part with her becauſe ſhe was poor. He continued in great
" favour with Henry VIII, till the buſineſs of the Divorce was ſet
" on foot; and then he adhered ſo firmly to the Queen's cauſe,
" and the Pope's Supremacy, that he was carried by that head-
" long into great errors.—When he and More were put to death,
" Gardiner, who was never wanting in the moſt ſervile compli-
" ances, wrote a vindication of the King's proceedings. The
" Lord Herbert had it in his hands, and tells that it was written
" in elegant Latin, &c."

[q] Eraſmus ſays, that four learned men, and his intimate friends, had begun to ſtudy Greek, when they were more than forty years old, and had reaped great advantage from it. It ſeems not improbable, that Fiſher might be one of theſe.

[r] He obſerves of Warham, that he was never idle himſelf, and would ſuffer none of his domeſtics and dependents to be uſeleſs and lazy.

In Ep. 131, and in other places, he mentions John Brian amongſt his Cantabrigian friends.

" [s] We have ſome account of Brian from a manuſcript of
" Archbiſhop Teniſon, which ſays, that he was born at London,
" and was of King's College, and that he was one of the moſt
" learned men of his time, eſpecially in the Greek and Latin
" tongues,

[q] Tom. V. c. 78.
[r] Lingua, T. IV. c. 732.
[s] Knight, p. 146.

" tongues, as alſo a public Reader upon Ariſtotle in the Schools; A. D. 1511.
" and tho' he diſobliged many, who affected the old nonſenſical
" diſtinctions and quibbles, yet this made him to be taken notice
" of and beloved by Eraſmus. There is mention made by
" Eraſmus of his writing a hiſtory of France; but it doth not
" appear, that it was ever printed."

A. D. MDXII. Ætat. XLV.

Eraſmus ſent a tranſlation of Lucian *de Aſtrologia* to his friend Joannes Baptiſta, now phyſician to Henry VIII. Ep. 137.

" [t] Eraſmus exhorted the [u] phyſicians of his time to ſtudy
" Greek, as more neceſſary to their profeſſion than to any other.
" He recites the names of the moſt eminent phyſicians in Europe,
" who, ſenſible of the want of that language, learned it in their
" declining years. He mentions none, who had the good fortune
" to learn it when young, but our Linacer and Ruellius. He
" hopes, that all ſtudents in that faculty will labour to attain it;
" and he thinks in a little time no one will be ſo impudent, as to
" profeſs phyſic without it.

" It is to the honour of that faculty, that as the firſt teacher
" of the Greek tongue at Oxford was Linacer, ſo the next of any
" note was Dr. John Clement, another very learned phyſician, to
" whom ſucceeded Mr. Thomas Lupſet."

If Eraſmus had lived in theſe times, he would have found it needleſs to exhort the Gentlemen of that profeſſion to the ſtudy of the learned languages and of polite literature, in which ſo many of them have diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

He hath recommended the ſtudy of phyſic, as of the [x] beſt profeſſion to ſecure a man from poverty. He had ſeveral good friends

[t] Knight, p. 109. [u] Epiſt. 295.

[x] Adverſus inopiam certiſſimum præſidium eſt *Ars medicandi*, quæ longiſſime abeſt a neceſſitate mendicandi. Huic proxima eſt *Juris prudentia*. Plurimos alit et *Grammatica*, ſed alit tantum: quæ complectitur et *Poëticen*, et, ut nunc ſunt tempora, *Rhetoricen*. T. V. c. 661.

Of the *Ars Theologica* he ſaith nothing; and we alſo will ſay nothing.

A. D. 1512. friends amongſt the phyſicians; and they have uſually been ſuch to men of letters.

He ſent a foul copy of a tranſlation of the *Icaromenippus* to Ammonius, begging him to get it tranſcribed [y], which, it ſeems, no one could or would do for him at Cambridge. Ep. 139.

In [z] a letter to the Marquis of Vere *(Principi Veriano)* he tells him, that he was ſick of England, and longed to be in his own country; and begs his favour and aſſiſtance.

The Archbiſhop, having rallied him a little about his lying-in, ſent him thirty angels, and exhorted him to take care of his health. Ep. 134.

He publiſhed his book *De copia verborum*, augmented, and dedicated to Colet, according to his promiſe, whom he highly commends for having founded a ſchool at London, at his own expenſe.

A. D. MDXIII. Ætat. XLVI.

He wrote from London a very elegant letter to the Abbot of St. Bertin, againſt the rage of going to war, which then poſſeſſed the French and the Engliſh. He hath often treated this ſubject, and always with great vivacity, eloquence, and ſtrength of reaſon: as in his Adagies, under the proverb, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*; in his book, intitled *Querela pacis*; and in his *Inſtruction of a Chriſtian Prince*. But his remonſtrances had ſmall effect; and Charles V, to whom the laſt mentioned treatiſe was dedicated, became not a jot the more pacific for it.

Eraſmus

[y] Et hic (O Academiam!) nullus inveniri poteſt, qui ullo pretio vel mediocriter ſcribat.

[z] Quoties pœnituit me, fortunam, quam ante triennium mihi Lovanii offerebas, non amplexum fuiſſe? Sed tum quidem amplæ ſpes me ferocem reddiderant, et aurei Britanniæ montes animo concepti: ſed eam criſtam mihi depreſſit Fortuna: nunc ſi vel mediocris iſtic detur, cupiò eum Ulyſſe patriæ fumum ſubſilientem conſpicere. Ep. 143.

Eraſmus thought it hardly lawful for a Chriſtian to go to war, A. D. 1513.
and in this reſpect was [a] almoſt a Quaker.

He tells Antonius à Bergis, that this war diſtreſſed him in particular, on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and becauſe no good wine was to be had in England. He ſeemed to himſelf as one baniſhed, and impriſoned in an iſland, becauſe at that time they received no letters from beyond ſea. He would gladly have returned to Flanders, if he could have found a ſubſiſtence. Ep. 144.

He was forced to live expenſively, not only becauſe of his bad health, but becauſe he kept an horſe, and probably a ſervant to take care of him. He had the misfortune to loſe his horſe; and he preſented his New Teſtament to Urſewick, in hopes that he would give him an horſe, as he ſays: but Urſewick was not to be met with at that time. Ammonius [b] very generouſly and genteelly made him a preſent of one. Ep. 145, 146.

Urſewick,

[a] Cujus immanitatis conſpectu multi homines minime mali eo venerunt, ut Chriſtiano, cujus diſciplina in hominibus diligendis præcipue conſiſtit, omnia arma interdicerent: ad quos accedere interdum videntur et Joannes Ferus, et Eraſmus noſtras, viri pacis et eccleſiaſticæ et civilis amantiſſimi. *Grotius.* Bayle FERUS, Not. E.

[b] ——ſed quando video te equo egere, albo equo (ſcis quanti hoc olim fuerit) a me donaberis, ex Juverna ultima advecto. Accipe qualemcunque tibi numquam imputandum.

Thus Ammonius: to which Eraſmus replies; Video circumſpectius tecum agendum: adeo captas omnem donandi anſam. Remiſſurus eram munus tuum, etiam Moro diſſuadente, ni veritus fuiſſem, ne ſuſpicareris aut parum mihi placere, aut me Ammonio parum libenter debere, cum nulli debeam libentius, ut nec amo quemquam effuſius. Diſpeream, Ammoni, ni iſtum tuum animum tam excelſum, tamque amice amicum, pluris facio, magiſque amo, quam univerſum ſtrepitum Pontificiæ fortunæ. — Perplacet equus candore inſignis, at magis animi tui candore commendatus. Malueram in alios quoſdam prædonem agere, in Eboracenſem, Coletum, Urſewicum: verum illi ſapiunt; quanquam Urſewicus pollicetur inſignem equum, nec addubito quin ſit præſtiturus, idque ad Calendas, non Græcas, ſed Octobres.

A. D. 1513. Urſewick, who, it ſeems, had promiſed him an horſe, was as good [c] as his word: and Eraſmus beſtows no ſmall praiſes on the beaſt.

Urſewick was his true friend on many occaſions, and Eraſmus had dedicated his tranſlation of Lucian's *Gallus* to him, A. 1503.

" [d] Chriſtopher Urſewick is ſaid by Wood to have been Recorder " of London in part of the reign of Edward IV, in the time of " Richard III, and in part of Henry VII; to which laſt king " being Chaplain, and afterwards Almoner, he was by him " employed in ſeveral embaſſies, eſpecially to Charles VIII, king " of France.

" Mr. Speed hath many particulars concerning him, &c. He " had been ſo faithful and uſeful to Henry VII, that under him " he might have attained the higheſt dignities in the Church, and " the moſt profitable offices in the State: but [e] refuſing the " Biſhoprick

[c] Equi tui genius mihi ſuit magnopere felix, nam bis jam Baſileam uſque vexit ac revexit incolumem, itinere licet periculoſiſſimo, non ſolum longo. Sapit jam non minus quam Homericus Ulyſſes: ſiquidem

— mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes:

tot adiit Univerſitates. Dum Baſileæ meipſum pene laboribus eneco menſibus decem, ille interim otioſus ita pinguit, ut vix ingredi poſſit. Ep. 255. A. 1517.

[d] Knight, p. 75.

[e] ——Titulo res digna ſepulcri!

Here is his Epitaph, and a good one it is, and much to his honour:

Chriſtopherus Urſewicus, Regis Hen. VII. Eleemoſynarius, vir ſua ætate clarus, ad exteros reges undecies pro patria legatus. Dec. Ebor. Archd. Richmond. Decanatum Windeſor. habitos vivens reliquit. Epiſc. Norwicenſem oblatum recuſavit: magnos honores tota vita ſprevit: frugali vita contentus, hic vivere, hic mori maluit. Plenus annis obiit, ab omnibus deſideratus: funeris pompam etiam teſtamento vetuit: hic ſepultus obiit, Anno 1521, die 24 Octobris.

To deſerve a Biſhoprick, and to reject it, is no common thing. But that our Urſewick may not ſtand here alone, we will ſubjoin to him an illuſtrious man of the fifteenth century:

Sixtus the fourth, having a great eſteem for John Weſſel of Groeningen, one of the moſt learned men of the age, ſent for him, and ſaid to him, Son, aſk of us what you will; nothing ſhall be refuſed, that becomes our character to beſtow, and your condition to receive. Moſt holy Father, ſaid he, and my generous Patron, I ſhall not be troubleſome to your Holineſs. You know, that I never

" Biſhoprick of Norwich, after ſo many merits, he choſe for his A. D. 1513.
" reward a retired country life at Hackney, near London, where
" he died, and was buried, A. 1521. He is ſaid to be the
" founder of a ſchool, with an houſe, in the Church-yard in
" Hackney, of which pariſh he was Rector. Some writers have
" made him a Cardinal, confounding him with Chriſtopher
" Bainbridge, Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal of Rome."

[f] The Edition of the New Teſtament, a work of infinite pains, and which helped, as he ſays, to deſtroy his health, and ſpoil his conſtitution, drew upon him the malicious cenſures of ignorant and envious Divines, who, not being capable themſelves of performing ſuch a taſk, were vexed to ſee it undertaken and accompliſhed by another. There [g] was, it ſeems, one College at Cambridge, which would not ſuffer this book to enter within its walls, as he obſerves to his friend Bullock. Eraſmus defends himſelf very well againſt theſe wretches; and, amongſt other things, obſerves, [h] how much the Univerſity of Cambridge was improved in literature.

H He

I never ſought after great things. The only favour I have to beg, is, that you would give me out of your Vatican Library a Greek and an Hebrew Bible. You ſhall have them, ſaid Sixtus: but what a ſimple man are you! Why do you not aſk a Biſhoprick? Weſſel replied, Becauſe I do not want one. *Vit. Profeſſ. Groning.* p. 18. *Spizelius*, Vol. I. p. 824. Bayle WESSELUS.

Becauſe I do not want one. The happier man was he; happier than they, who would give all the Bibles in the Vatican, if they had them to give, for a Biſhoprick.

[f] It was not publiſhed till the year 1516.

Eraſmi Editio Novi Teſtamenti Græce et Latine Frobenii prælo quater ſubjecta eſt, A. 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527. Nec ante annum 1516 unquam Novum Teſtamentum Græce publicatum fuerat, &c. *Maittaire* Ann. Typ. II. 2, &c.

[g] Quanquam narrarunt mihi quidam, πάνυ ἀξιόπιστοι, unum apud vos eſſe collegium θεολογικώτατον, quod meros habet Areopagitas: qui gravi ſenatuſconſulto caverint, ne quis id volumen, equis, aut navibus, aut plauſtris, aut bajulis, intra ejus Collegii pomœria inveheret. Ep. 148.

[h] Ante annos ferme triginta nihil tradebatur in Schola Cantabrigienſi, præter Alexandrum, Parva Logicalia, ut vocant, et

A. D. 1513. He tells Colet, Ep. 149, 150, that he had begun to tranſlate [i] St. Baſil on Iſaiah, (or an author who went under his name) and would ſend a ſpecimen of it to Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to ſubmit it to his judgment, and alſo to try whether that would draw ſome preſent from him: on which he cries out, O beggary! I know, you laugh at me: but I hate myſelf, and am reſolved either to mend my fortunes, and get out of the number of mendicants, or to imitate Diogenes.

Colet had [k] told him, that he would give him a ſmall matter, if he would beg with humility, and aſk without modeſty; had adviſed him to imitate Diogenes; and had hinted to him, that he was too querulous and greedy. It ſeems, they bantered him, becauſe he was frequently importuning his friends. Eraſmus in his anſwer tells him, that, in the opinion of Seneca, favours were dearly purchaſed, which were extorted by begging. [l] Socrates, talking once with ſome friends, ſaid, I would have bought me a coat to-day, if I had had money. They, ſays Seneca, who gave him what he wanted, after he had made this ſpeech, ſhewed their liberality too late. [m] Another ſeeing a friend, who was poor and ſick, and too modeſt to make his wants known, put ſome money under his pillow, whilſt he was aſleep.

When I uſed to read this in the days of my youth, ſays Eraſmus, I was extremely ſtruck with the modeſty of the one, and

et vetera illa Ariſtotelis dictata, Scoticaſque quæſtiones. Progreſſu temporis acceſſerunt bonæ literæ: acceſſit matheſeos cognitio: acceſſit novus, aut certe novatus Ariſtoteles: acceſſit Græcarum literarum peritia: acceſſerunt auctores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur. Quæſo, quid hiſce ex rebus accidit Academiæ veſtræ? Nempe ſic efflоruit, ut cum primis hujus ſeculi ſcholis certare poſſit; et tales habet viros, ad quos veteres illi collati Umbræ Theologorum videantur, non Theologi.

Illud certe præſagio de meis lucubrationibus, qualeſcunque ſunt, candidius judicaturam Poſteritatem: tametſi nec de meo ſeculo queri poſſum.

[i] Knight, p. 124.

[k] Ep. 4. c. 1523.

[l] Seneca De Benef. VII. 24.

[m] Arceſilas. *In* Diog. Laert. IV. 37. Seneca De Benef. II. 1.

and the generoſity of the other. But, ſince you talk of begging without ſhame, who, I beſeech you, can be more ſubmiſſive and more ſhameleſs than myſelf, who live in England upon the foot of a public beggar? I have received ſo much from the Archbiſhop, that it would be ſcandalous to take any more of him, though he were to offer it. I aſked N. with ſufficient effrontery, and he refuſed me with ſtill greater impudence. Even our good friend Linacer thinks me too bold, who knowing my poor ſtate of health, and that I was going from London with hardly ſix angels in my pocket, and that the winter was coming on, yet exhorted me moſt preſſingly to ſpare the Archbiſhop and Lord Montjoy, and adviſed me to retrench, and learn to bear poverty with patience. A moſt friendly counſel! For this reaſon above all, I hate my hard fortune, becauſe ſhe will not ſuffer me to be modeſt. Whilſt I had health and ſtrength, I uſed to diſſemble my poverty: now I cannot, unleſs I would riſque my life. But I am not ſuch a beggar neither, as to aſk all things from all perſons. To ſome I ſay nothing, becauſe I would not be refuſed; and I have no pretence to ſolicit you, who do not ſuperabound in wealth. But, ſince you ſeem to approve of impudence, I will end my letter in the moſt impudent manner I can. I have not aſſurance enough to ask you for any thing; and yet I am not ſo proud, as to reject a preſent, if a friend like you ſhould offer it to one in my circumſtances. Ep. 150. A. D. 1513.

One, who could talk at this rate, muſt have been reduced to hard neceſſity. Unleſs he were a bad manager, it is ſcarcely to be conceived, how a ſingle man, and a learned man, could have found it ſo difficult to maintain himſelf *at that time* in England, partly by his pupils, and partly by the preſents which were made to him. However that be, there ſeems to be ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that Eraſmus underſtood not the important art of paying his court to the Great; and that there was ſomething in his manner, which diſguſted ſome of thoſe to whom he made his

A. D. 1513. applications; ſo that he was more agreeable to them in his writings, than in his perſon: and this might ſpoil his fortunes. Perhaps alſo he talked too freely, as he [a] confeſſes in the character which he hath given of himſelf, in the *Compendium* of his life.

Yet Eraſmus, though open and facetious, was good-tempered; and good temper is a natural politeneſs, which to all reaſonable perſons is more acceptable, than that which is artificial: as, on the contrary, the politeneſs of an ill-natured man is ſhocking, for it is hypocriſy ſuperadded to malignity.

As, by being converſant with antiquity, he knew many things, which others knew not, and was diſpoſed to jeſting, he could hardly refrain from ridiculing, at one time or other, the follies of the age, and of a certain ſet of people. It is well known, that this temper fails not to give offence, eſpecially to thoſe, who expect that their weakneſſes or vices ſhould be ſpared on account of their ſtation and character: elſe the King, the Courtiers, and the Biſhops, who often beſtowed preferments upon Drones, void of all capacity and merit, and ſometimes loaded them with pluralities, might eaſily have given him ſomething in the Church, without cure of ſouls, which would have afforded him leiſure to ſtudy, and means to live. But perhaps he, who hated confinement on any account, did not care to be connected with Monks and Chapters of Canons. As theſe people were exceſſively envious, they would have teized him with their chicaneries upon every occaſion. He had long perceived, and declared to the world, that the religion of theſe Eccleſiaſtics conſiſted entirely in minute obſervances and formal grimaces, with which the wicked can comply, as well as the good. He, on the contrary, made religion to conſiſt in ſuch things, as none, except worthy perſons, ever obſerve; in the exerciſe of thoſe Chriſtian virtues, which are formed in the mind, from a knowledge of our duty, and a perſuaſion of its importance.

A man

[a] Linguæ inter amicos liberioris, ſæpe falſus, non poterat tamen amicis nonnunquam plus quam ſat eſſet; et diffidere.

A man fixed in theſe ſentiments, and alſo continually occupied in learned ſtudies, would have found it very difficult to practiſe the rites and ceremonies, with which religion was overrun and choked up in thoſe days. This neglect in England, as in all other places, was accounted a far more heinous crime than the vileſt immorality and debauchery. The Monks, above all others, were inexorable upon this article, and doubtleſs oppoſed and harraſſed openly and ſecretly all who were not in their way of thinking and acting. So that, to ſet Eraſmus thoroughly at eaſe, Henry VIII ought to have beſtowed an handſome penſion upon him, which would have exempted him from worldly cares and avocations, and furniſhed him with books, and leiſure, and the conveniences of life. But this the King would not do; and if he afterwards invited Eraſmus again to his dominions, it was at a time when that learned man was not able to undertake the journey. A. D. 1513.

It appears from Ep. 151, that he had a Prebend, which he reſigned, reſerving to himſelf a penſion out of it.

[o] Wolſey gave him a [p] Prebend at Tournay; a gift, which, in all probability, would never be worth more than a *Cardinal's Bleſſing*, and which actually was revoked, and came to nothing. He writes this to Ammonius from Baſil. In the year 1524, he tells his friend Botzem, that he had never [q] received any thing from Wolſey, beſides compliments and promiſes.

"Henry VIII, ſays Burnet, loved the purity of the Latin "tongue, which made him be ſo kind to Eraſmus, that was the "great

[o] Burnet Hiſt. of the Ref. I. 8, 11, 19, 21, 80. III. 24, 171. Thuanus I. p. 22. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey. It ſhould have been called, An apology for Wolſey, and a libel on the Reformation.

[p] Eboracenſis donavit me Præbenda Tornacenſi, ſed ἀδώρῳ δώρῳ, ſi quid noventur res. Hujus Commiſſarius, ſchedis publicitus affixis, fuit excommunicatus in Flandria: tanta illic Eboracenſis reverentia!—Accepimus tamen: nihil enim facilius quam amittere. Ep. 3. c. 1523.

[q] Cardinali Eboracenſi, cui dedicavimus libellum Plutarchi, puto me nihil non debere, ob ſingularem favorem, quo me jam olim proſequitur; et tamen hactenus ex illius munificentia non ſum pilo factus ditior. *Catal. Lucubr.*

A. D. 1513. " great reſtorer of it, and to Polydore Virgil; though neither of " theſe made their court dextrouſly to the Cardinal, which did " much intercept the King's favour to them; ſo that the one left " England, and the other was but coarſely uſed in it, who has " ſufficiently revenged himſelf upon the Cardinal's memory."

" [r] I have made [s] Remarks upon the Hiſtory of Cardinal " Wolſey, in which I have expoſed the horrible lies of Sanders. " Burnet is a madman of another kind, of whom the Reader " ſhould be aware. Henry Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, hath " ſhewed much accuracy, and love of truth."

" [t] Maſſey, Dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, my particular " friend, who followed King James, told me, that we were great " fools to give any credit to Sanders, who was a raſkal, and " had robbed the College of Chriſt-Church. Maſſey knew " him well."

The learned Abbé Longuerue, who appears to have been tolerably furniſhed with ſelf-ſufficiency, and much prejudiced againſt Burnet, may perhaps have made, as well as Fiddes, ſome reaſonable remarks in behalf of Wolſey's *political* merits; of whom alſo it muſt be owned, that he was an encourager of learning: but to juſtify the Cardinal in other reſpects, is a weak and vain undertaking, to ſay nothing worſe of it.

Eraſmus, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, ſaid ſome ſevere things of Wolſey at the time of his diſgrace; for which Fiddes chargeth him with malevolence and inconſiſtency. Knight hath given an anſwer to Fiddes, which ſhall be inſerted in the next Volume, and which contains many remarks worthy of notice.

One of the moſt favourable things, that can be alledged for Wolſey, is contained in an article of his impeachment, namely, that he was [u] remiſs in hunting and puniſhing heretics, and rather

[r] Longueruana II. p. 23.

[s] They are in the eighth Tome of the *Mémoires de Literature & d'Hiſtoire.*

[t] Ib. p. 67. See alſo p. 136.

[u] Fiddes *Collect.* p. 235.

rather diſpoſed to ſcreen them, by means of which connivance A. D. 1513.
Lutheraniſm had got ground.

" [x] Wolſey was vain-glorious above all meaſure, as may be " ſeen by Sir T. More's book of *Comfort in tribulation*; where " he meaneth of him, what is ſpoken under the name of a great " Prelate in Germany, who, when he had made an oration " before a great audience, would bluntly aſk them that ſat at " his table with him, how they all liked it; but he, that ſhould " bring forth a mean commendation of it, was ſure to have no " thanks for his labour. And he there telleth further, how a " great ſpiritual man, who ſhould have commended it laſt of all, " was put to ſuch a nonplus, that he had never a word to ſay; " but crying *oh*, and fetching a deep ſigh, he caſt his eyes into " the welkin and wept. On a time the Cardinal had drawn a " draught of certain conditions of peace between England and " France, and he aſked Sir T. More's counſel therein, beſeeching " him earneſtly, that he would tell him, if there were any " thing therein to be miſliked: and he ſpake this ſo heartily, " (ſaith Sir Thomas) that he believed verily that he was willing " to hear his advice indeed. But, when Sir Thomas had dealt " really therein, and ſhewed wherein that draught might have " been amended, he ſuddenly roſe in a rage, and ſaid, By the " Maſs, thou art the verieſt fool of all the Council. At which " Sir Thomas ſmiling, ſaid, God be thanked, that the King our " maſter hath but one fool in all his Council."

This calls to mind the ſtory of *Gil Blas* and the *Archbiſhop*: but, ſeriouſly, it is a diſagreeable thing to be in the condition of *Gil Blas*, and connected with one, who will take it in dudgeon, if you do not ſmoke him with as much incenſe, as would ſatisfy [y] three, or thrice three Goddeſſes.

" [z] Eraſmus

[x] More's Life of Sir T. More, p. 56.

[y] — — — — — ſedeſque reviſit
Læta ſuas, ubi *templum* illi, *centumque* Sabæo
Ture calent aræ, ſertiſque recentibus halant.

A. D. 1513. " [z] Eraſmus being in ſtraits, the Archbiſhop had [a] given him " the Rectory of Aldington in Kent, in the year 1511, &c. At " the requeſt of Eraſmus, he preſented another perſon to it, and " charged the living with a penſion of twenty pounds a year to " be paid to him, to which he added twenty more out of his " own pocket.

" This cuſtom of charging livings with penſions, paid to thoſe " who reſigned them, was become very common; but Warham " ſo

[z] Knight, p. 154.

[a] Annui reditus ſtati ſunt paulo plus quam quadringenti floreni aurei. Atque hic cenſus impar eſt, fateor, ſumptibus, quos exigit hæc ætas ac valetudo, famulorum et ſcribarum neceſſaria ſtudiis meis opera, tum ἱπποδρομία, crebra migratio, atque etiam hic animus, ne quid aliud dicam, abhorrens a ſordibus, nec ferens appellantem creditorem, aut non penſatum officium, aut neglectam amiculi inopiam. *Cat. Lucubr.*

Erat (Waramo) juxta morem horum temporum neceſſum, præter familiam, quam alere cogebatur numeroſiſſimam, aulæ Regiæ, totius Regni negotiis, etiam profanis, dare operam; nec ibi moribus hodie receptum eſt, ut ſummi Præſules concionentur: tamen quod in hoc officii genere diminutum erat, abunde penſabat gemina vigilantia, partim proſpiciens, ne quis inutilis ad Dominici gregis curam adhiberetur, partim multos ſua liberalitate fovens in literarum ſtudiis, quos ſperabat ad bonam frugem evaſuros: in hos erat tam expoſita liberalitas, ut moriens nihil omnino reliquerit præſentis pecuniæ, ſed æris alieni nonnihil, tametſi non deerat unde id diſſolvi poſſet. Hæc nequaquam loquor ad gratiam: amavi vivum, nec minus amo mortuum: quod enim in illo amabam, non periit. Si ſupputem, quicquid ille mihi dare paratus erat, immenſa fuit ejus in me liberalitas; ſi ad calculum vocemus quod accepi, ſane modicum eſt. Unicum modo ſacerdotium in me contulit, imo non dedit, ſed obtruſit conſtanter recuſanti, quod eſſet ejus generis, ut grex paſtorem requireret, quem ego linguæ ignarus præſtare non poteram. Id quum vertiſſet in penſionem, ſentiretque me eam pecuniolam gravatim accipere, quod a populo, cui nihil prodeſſem, colligeretur, ſic me conſolatus eſt vir egregie pius. Quid, inquit, magni faceres, ſi uni agreſti popello prædicares? Nunc libris tuis omnes doces paſtores fructu longe uberiore; et indignum videtur, ſi ad te paulum redeat ſtipis Eccleſiaſticæ? Iſtam ſolicitudinem in me recipiam: providebo ne quid illi deſit Eccleſiæ. Idque fecit: nam ſubmoto cui reſignaram ſacerdotium, is erat illi a Suffragiis, homo variis diſtractus negotiis, alium præfecit juvenem rei Theologicæ peritum, probatis et integris moribus.—

Hoc teſtimonium defuncto Patrono citra adulationis ſuſpicionem præbere licet. *Eccleſiaſt.* T. V. c. 811.

" ſo much diſapproved the practice, that he determined never to A. D. 1513.
" grant the favour to any other beſides Eraſmus, whom he
" excepted for his ſingular merits."

" [b] It may be thought worth obſerving, that Elizabeth Barton,
" otherwiſe called the Holy Maid of Kent, was of the town of
" Aldington, where Eraſmus was Rector, as appears by her
" indictment at her trial; as alſo that Richard Maſter, who was
" ſucceſſor to Eraſmus, and paid him his penſion, was one
" of the managers of this pious fraud; for which he, amongſt
" others, ſuffered death, about a year or two before Eraſmus
" died at Baſil. Perhaps there never was ſo notorious a cheat
" carried on with ſo much art and ſucceſs: for not only the
" Simple, but, as Holinſhed ſays, the Wiſe and the Learned
" were deceived by her; inſomuch that Warham, and Fiſher,
" and More, the greateſt and beſt friends of Eraſmus, gave too
" much credit to it."

This year Eraſmus dedicated to John Young a tranſlation of Plutarch *De tuenda valetudine.*

" [c] Young was Dean of York, and Maſter of the Rolls. He
" had been employed as a public miniſter in ſeveral embaſſies to
" foreign courts with good ſucceſs; though, it ſeems, he was no
" favourite of Cardinal Wolſey, and charged by him with ill
" management in his negotiations with the Court of France, &c.
" This was another of the friends of Eraſmus, who was under
" the frowns of the Cardinal: though he has from others a very
" good character, as an able man, and a very great encourager
" of the Learned; an inſtance of which we have, beſides his
" generoſity to Eraſmus, in the caſe of Grocyn before mentioned.
" He was buried in the Rolls Chapel."

Near his monument was hung up, in a table, a very bad copy of verſes in praiſe of him, which you may ſee in Knight, p. 175.

[b] Knight, p. 159.

[c] Knight, p. 174. Knight's Life of Colet, 216—218.

A. D. 1513. He left legacies to Warham, to Wolſey, to New College at Oxford, to the College at Winchester, and to the town of Rye. See an account of his preferments in Knight's Life of Colet.

Erneſtus, Prince of Saxony, and Archbiſhop of Magdeburg, died this year; a Prelate of an amiable character, and beloved by his ſubjects. In his laſt hours, the Franciſcans viſited him, and generouſly offered him their Meritorious Works, to ſecure his ſalvation: but he choſe to [4] rely upon thoſe of his Redeemer.

A. D. MDXIV. Ætat. XLVII.

In the beginning of this year Eraſmus was in Flanders. He ſpeaks of his paſſage from England, which was favourable: but the ſailors, or cuſtom-houſe officers, the *Maritimi Prædones*, as he calls them, who were to carry his baggage, put it into a wrong ſhip. Amongſt his clothes were all his writings, the work of many years, which he gave up for loſt, and mourns, as a father would weep over his dead children. He inveighs bitterly againſt the Dover ſailors, true harpies, no leſs than thoſe of Calais. But probably he recovered his effects, ſince he ſays nothing more about it afterwards. Ep. 159.

At departing from London, he ſaluted the King and the Biſhop of Lincoln, who made him no preſent; though the Biſhop treated him with magnificent promiſes. The Biſhop of Durham gave him ſix angels, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury the ſame, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter preſented him with a piece of gold, which he calls *regalem*.

His friend Montjoy was then governor of Ham, in Picardy, where he paſſed ſome days, and then went to Germany. Whilſt he was there, he ſeems to have written the Abridgment of his life,

[4] Refert Dreſſerus reſpondiſſe illum; Nolo veſtra merita et opera, quæ nullius ſunt valoris: opera Domini et Salvatoris mei Jeſu Chriſti unice mihi proſunt. *Seckendorf.* L. I. p. 114.

life, and alſo a [e] letter to Father Servatius, which is prefixed to the first Tome of his works, and printed over again Ep. 8. c. 1527. A. D. 1514.

In the Abridgment he ſays, that he would have paſſed the reſt of his days in England, if the promiſes made to him had been performed: but being invited to come to Brabant, to the Court of Charles Archduke of Auſtria, he accepted the offer, and was made Counſellor to that Prince, by the favour of the Chancellor of Burgundy. It appears from other places in his works, that they had annexed to the title of Counſellor, which was only honorary, a ſtipend of two hundred florins, which weighed more than ſix hundred florins at preſent; and as ſilver was then much ſcarcer than now, this ſum would have been conſiderable: ſo that, if he had been punctually paid, he would have been in pretty good circumſtances.

It is not to be wondered, that in his letter to Servatius he refuſed abſolutely to return to Holland, and immure himſelf in the Convent of the Regular Canons of Stein. He had many good reaſons not to yield to ſuch an impertinent requeſt. I ſee not, ſays he, what I could do in Holland. Neither the air nor the diet would agree with me; and I ſhould be a ſhew, for every one to ſtare at. I left the place when I was a youth; I ſhould return an aged and grey-headed valetudinarian. I ſhould expoſe myſelf to the contempt of the moſt Contemptible, I who have been accuſtomed to receive honour from the moſt Eminent. I ſhould be obliged to change my ſtudies into repaſts. You promiſe to ſeek out a place for me, where I may live, and find advantage and profit: but I cannot gueſs what you deſign, unleſs it be to place me in a Nunnery, that I may there be a ſlave to women, I who have refuſed to ſerve Kings and Archbiſhops. Profit is what I value not: I would not be rich: I deſire only what may enable me to preſerve my health, and purſue my ſtudies, without being a burden to any one.

[e] Appendix.

A. D. 1514. This father Servatius was Prior of a Convent of Regular Canons, amongſt whom Eraſmus had formerly been; and he endeavoured to draw Eraſmus again into his Convent, which would have been no ſmall honour to the Order. Probably he pretended to be an affectionate friend to Eraſmus, to gain his friendſhip and his confidence: but it is certain, that this letter, with which he was favoured on this occaſion, being ſhewed to others, brought Eraſmus into trouble, on account of ſeveral expreſſions in it not favourable to the Monks. It will not be amiſs to give ſome account of theſe paſſages, both becauſe they delineate the temper and the particular character of Eraſmus, and his notions of Monkery and of Monaſtic devotions; and becauſe the liberty, with which he gave thoſe men their due, brought upon him the greateſt vexations, which he afterwards experienced.

I have lived, ſays he, amongſt ſober people, and attached to my ſtudies, which have happily preſerved me from many vices. I have converſed with perſons, who had a love and a taſte for true Chriſtianity; and from their converſation I have reaped much benefit. I will not boaſt of my writings, which perhaps you deſpiſe: but many perſons have owned to me, that by reading them they have been made not only more learned, but more virtuous. I never loved money, and never was ſubject to ambitious deſires of glory and reputation. I never was a ſlave to ſenſual pleaſures, though formerly I have been [r] defiled with them: and as to drunkenneſs, I ever abhorred it.

The ingenuity with which Eraſmus, both here and in Ep. 671, confeſſes ſome faults of his youth, which he might have paſſed over in ſilence, would, though we had not other proofs of it, induce us to believe what he urges in his own behalf. But concerning the Monks he thus proceeds: Every time that I have thought of returning to you, I have conſidered, that many of

[r] Bayle was not a man to overlook or ſuppreſs this confeſſion. See ERASME, Not. E. E.

of you would envy me, and all of you would deſpiſe me. I have A. D. 1514.
conſidered the inſipid and frivolous converſations held amongſt you, in which there is nothing that favours of Chriſtianity; your repaſts altogether ſecular, and your whole way of life diſtinguiſhed only by thoſe things, which are commonly called ceremonies. I have conſidered the infirmities of my own body, enfeebled by years, by ſickneſs, and by labours, which are ſuch, that either I could not give you content, or muſt deſtroy myſelf by attempting to do it. For ſome years I have been ſubject to the ſtone and gravel, a troubleſome and a dangerous diſeaſe; and am obliged to drink only wine, and wine of a particular ſort. It is not every diet or climate that ſuits me. This diſorder, which frequently returns, obliges me to live by rule. I know the air of Holland, and your diet, to ſay nothing of your manners. Why ſhould I return, only to die with you? But perhaps you imagine, that it is a ſingular happineſs to die in a fraternity. Alas! you are miſtaken, and almoſt all the world is miſtaken along with you. We make Chriſtianity to conſiſt in dreſs, in eating, and in little obſervances. We look upon a man as loſt, who quits his white garment for a black one, who wears an hat inſtead of an hood, and often changes his habitation. Shall I venture to affirm, that the greateſt miſchief, that hath been done to the Chriſtian religion, ariſes from theſe *Religions*, (or Religious Orders) as they are called, though perhaps a pious zeal firſt introduced them? They have ſince been augmented by ſlow degrees, and multiplied into various kinds. The authority of Popes, too eaſy and indulgent in ſuch things, hath ſupported them. For what is more corrupt and more wicked, than theſe relaxed Religions? Conſider even thoſe which are in the beſt eſteem, and you ſhall find in them nothing that reſembles Chriſtianity, but only I know not what cold and Judaical obſervances. Upon this the Religious Orders value themſelves, and by this they judge and deſpiſe others. Would it not be better, according to the doctrines of our Saviour,

to

A. D. 1514. to look upon Chriſtendom as upon one houſe, one family, one Monaſtery, and all Chriſtians as one brotherhood? Would it not be better to account the ſacrament of baptiſm the moſt ſacred of all vows and engagements, and never trouble ourſelves where we live, ſo we live well?

Theſe were clear Evangelical truths, and facts which all the world ſaw, or might ſee: but, upon this ſyſtem, what would have become of Monkery, of the Mendicant Orders, and of their prayers and maſſes for the living and for the dead? What would have become of men, who had learned no other occupation, and had no other way of getting their bread? It is no wonder, that they were enemies to Eraſmus, waged eternal war with him whilſt he lived, and afterwards tarniſhed his memory as much as they could. Eraſmus, when he ſpake in this manner concerning the Monks, might have eaſily foreſeen and expected all that happened to him from that quarter.

" It is commonly ſuppoſed, that Eraſmus quitted the Monaſtic " ſtate for this reaſon above all, that he could not bear the tyranny " of an ignorant and inſolent Superior; and ſuch were uſually " the Heads of thoſe Houſes. They relate on this occaſion " a trick, which Eraſmus put upon his Superior, and upon a " Monk of the Fraternity, whilſt he was in the Monaſtery of " Tergou. There was, it ſeems, a favourite pear-tree in the " garden, and the Superior reſerved the fruit of it for his own " eating. Eraſmus, who, in this inſtance, had the ſame taſte " with his Maſter, roſe ſome mornings before break of day, to " rob the tree. The Superior, obſerving that the number of his " pears was greatly diminiſhed, reſolved to watch at his chamber- " window, to diſcover the delinquent. There was in the Convent " a lame Monk. One morning then, as the Superior was upon " the watch, he perceived a man in the pear-tree; and as it was " ſtill duſky, he intended to wait, till he could diſcern the robber. " But he made ſome noiſe, which was overheard by Eraſmus,

"who, fearing to be diſcovered, made haſte to get down from A. D. 1514.
"the tree, and returned back, limping all the way. The Supe-
"rior was now ſatisfied that he had found out the thief. So he
"called his Monks together; and, after a diſcourſe upon the
"important duty of Canonical Obedience, he turned to the lame
"Frier, and accuſed him of two heinous crimes, of robbery, and
"of contempt for the commands of his Superior. In vain the
"poor man inſiſted upon his innocence. That only irritated his
"Maſter the more, who impoſed an heavy penance upon him,
"notwithſtanding his proteſtations.

"We need not fear, by relating this pleaſant adventure, to wrong
"the memory of Eraſmus, or to diſturb the repoſe of his aſhes.
"He was of ſo facetious a temper, and ſo fond of a witty ſtory,
"that he loved a good jeſt, though made upon himſelf. *Tantam*
"*vim habet lepos, et jucunditas ſermonis*, ſays he, *ut etiam in nos*
"*apte tortis dicteriis delectemur.*" Bibl. Univ. VII. 139.

Eraſmus, in his *Eccleſiaſtes*, hath repreſented in ſtrong terms the inſolence of theſe petty [s] Monarchs.

Afterwards he went to Baſil, where he carried his New Teſtament, his Epiſtles of St. Jerom with his notes, and ſome other works, to print them in that city. He had applied himſelf to this

[s] Nunc quidam ita prædicant humanam obedientiam, ut ſummam illam, quam omnes Deo debemus, obſcurent. Pontifex toties exigit obedientiam a Principibus; Epiſcopus a Clericis et Preſbyteris ſuis; Abbas a Monachis: additur jusjurandum, ut perjurii crimen objici poſſit, niſi per omnia mos geratur hominis voluntati, ne dicam libidini. Nam interdum fit, ut Præpoſitus aliquis indoctus, ſtultus, fortaſſis nec ſobrius, Monachum per ſanctam obedientiam, quaſi per rem divinam, obteſtetur, ut obtemperet. In quo? Non ut caſte vivat, non ut abſtineat ab ebrietate, non ut fugiat hypocriſim. Sed quid? Ne diſcat Græce, aut ne attingat libros eloquentium, aut aliud his etiam ineptius, quod intelligi malim quam exprimere. Si Monachus Baccho ſervit, ſi ventri indulget, ſi ſcortatur, ſi odio et invidia madet, ſi nihil attigit ſacrarum literarum, nec perjurus eſt, nec inobediens. Si negligit imperata non ſobrii ac ſupercilioſi Præpoſiti, horrendum facinus admiſſum eſt, violata ſancta obedientia, ſcelus carceribus et capite plectendum. T. V. c. 1023.

A. D. 1514. this Father from the beginning of his ſtudies, and had long formed a deſign of publiſhing him. He had made collections for that purpoſe, and peruſed his works with care; ſo that none was ſo proper for the undertaking as himſelf. When he arrived at Baſil, he found this work actually in hand, and ſome of it printed. Joannes [h] Amerbachius, a man of wealth, and [i] Joannes Frobenius, a ſkilful printer, had joined in the project. It is eaſy to imagine, how Eraſmus was delighted to find them ſo diſpoſed, and how pleaſed they were to have the aſſiſtance of ſo able a critic. Amerbachius had three ſons, [k] Bruno, Baſil, and [l] Bonifacius, whom he had educated, as in other literature, ſo in the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue, without a knowledge of which there was no poſſibility of doing juſtice to Jerom, and in which Eraſmus was not verſed.

About this time then Eraſmus contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the Amerbachii, and with Froben, and ever afterwards teſtified the utmoſt eſteem for them.

He paſſed ſome months at Baſil, mightily pleaſed with this part of Germany, and with the behaviour of the Biſhop of the city, who, though accounted a frugal man, offered him money, and forced him to accept of an horſe, whom he could have ſold inſtantly for fifty franks, that is, more than an hundred and fifty franks of our preſent money. Ep. 153, 364.

Here he received a moſt obliging letter from [m] Ulricus Zaſius, Profeſſor of Law at Friburg, who proved afterwards one of his beſt,

[h] Baillet Jug. des Sc. I. 380. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 140. Index Epiſt. Eraſm.

[i] Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 221. *Ultima centuriæ* decimæ quartæ *decade ineunte, laudem meruit Frobenius*, &c.

He ſhould have ſaid *decimæ quintæ*.

Ann. Typ. I. 257. II. 2, &c. 10, &c. &c.

Concerning Froben's family, ſee alſo *Ann. Typ.* II. 347, &c.

[k] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 124.

[l] Boiſſard Icon. 169.

[m] Boiſſard Icon. p. 217. Pope Blount, p. 419.

Zaſius Profeſſor primarius Juriſprudentiæ in Academia Friburgenſi fuit, vir celeberrimus,

beſt friends. Zaſius was advanced in years, when he began his friendſhip with Eraſmus, and complains of the infirmities of age. Ep. 25. c. 1540. A. D. 1514.

At this time Eraſmus contracted alſo an acquaintance with [a] Beatus Rhenanus, Nicolas Gerbelius, and [o] Joannes Oecolampadius, learned and ingenious [p] men.

He returned to the Low Countries; and being at Bruſſels in the autumn, the Chancellor Salvagius ſaid, in the preſence of many of the Counſellors of Charles of Auſtria, (afterwards Charles V) that this [q] Prince had nominated Eraſmus to a vacant Biſhoprick in Sicily, thinking it a part of his own patronage;

celeberrimus, quem Eraſmus Germanorum doctiſſimum, ſanctiſſimum, candidiſſimum vocat, et vix ullum alium majoribus proſequitur laudibus. Favebat is Luthero, ut ex epiſtola inter Schwebelianas edita conſtat, in qua Lutherum Theologorum Phœnicem vocat, et ſcripta quædam ejus, maxime Commentarium in Epiſt. ad Galatas, mire commendat, licet de poteſtate Pontificia nimis ab eo attenuata aliquantum queratur. Ea vero æquanimitate commeruit, ut omnes ejus libri, doctiſſimi licet et excellentiſſimi, Romæ in Indicem librorum prohibitorum relati fuerint, *donec corrigantur*. Seckendorf. L. I. p. 88.

[a] Boiſſard Icon. p. 249. Beza Icon. Baillet II. 290. Du Pin B. E. XIV. 176. Gallæi Imagines. Maittaire Ann. Typ. I. 291. II. 12.

A. 1547, Beatus Rhenanus Seleſtadienſis, annum agens 62, Argentinæ, cum e balneis rediret, moritur; vir in humanioribus literis, antiquitate, et pia doctrina exercitatiſſimus, ingenio miti, ut qui in cogitatione de conſtituenda ex omnium conſenſu in religione concordia conſenuerit, ſummus Deſ. Eraſmi obſervator, qui eandem viam in his turbis inſtitit. *Thuanus* L. III. p. 99.

[o] Verheiden Theol. Effig. p. 56. Beza Icon. Pope Blount, p. 383. Du Pin B. E. XIII. 102. Melch. Adam. Vit. Oecol. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 3. Bayle OECOLAMPADE. It is a meagre Article.

[p] P. Jovius, in his *Elogia*, hath made mention, with much reſpect, of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bilibaldus, Copus, Beatus Rhenanus, Camerarius, Zaſius, and Goclenius, p. 221.

Rhenanus, Camerarius, Melanchthon, doctiſſimi Germanorum, tunc temporis, hodie pauciſſimi. *Scaligeran.* p. 337.

[q] Rex Catholicus me propemodum Epiſcopum fecerat. Ubi, inquies? Non apud extremos Indos—verum apud Siculos, Græculos olim, et nunc quoque dicaces et feſtivos. Sed feliciter erratum eſt, ut ex animi mei ſententia. Ep. 219.

A. D. 1514. and then finding that the Pope had the right of nomination, had desired him to confer it upon Erasmus. But this recommendation had no effect, and the Prince thought no more about giving him another Bishoprick. Erasmus laughed, when he heard of this preferment: and certainly a man of his temper was very unfit for such a station; though the Sicilians, who, as he says, were merry fellows, might have liked such a Bishop.

[r] Reuchlin, or Capnio, as he was called, gave [s] Erasmus an account, how he was persecuted by the Divines and Monks of Cologn. His Latin style is none of the best; and Du Pin sets it much too high, when he says, that he spake Latin with a purity and an eloquence almost inimitable. Henr. Majus hath written his life, of which there is a good abridgment in the *Bibliotheque Universelle*. Erasmus gives him a great character, and complains in strong terms to Cardinal Grimani of the cruel usage, which Reuchlin had experienced in his old age, for the most frivolous causes. Ep. 167.

This excellent man was one of the restorers of letters in Germany; well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; honoured by all the learned and illustrious persons of his time both in Church and State, hated and persecuted by Monks and Inquisitors, by the *Minorum Gentium Sacrificuli*; yet singularly fortunate in not being overpowered by such formidable enemies, and dying at last in peace, without being hanged or burned. [t] Erasmus had the courage to write his [u] Apotheosis, and to make him *Saint Reuchlin*. He was born 1450, and died 1522. [x] Bullinger was one

[r] Baillet Jug. des Sçav. Vol. I. p. 258. Huetius de Interpr. p. 225. Bibl. Univ. VIII. 485. Du Pin B. E. Tom. XIV. p. 1, &c. Beza Icon. Sleidan L. II and III. Seckendorf. L. I. p. 103, &c. Perizonius, p. 97. P. Jovius Elog. p. 217. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 149. Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 200.

[s] Ep. 5. c. 1524.

[t] Ejus ἀποθέωσιν Erasmus postea, magnopere propterea Sophistis invisus, elegantissime descripsit. *Beza.*

[u] Appendix.

[x] Bayle BULLINGER, Not. A.

one of thoſe, who ſignalized themſelves in the defence of Reuchlin: and indeed all writers of any reputation, who have taken occaſion to mention him, have done juſtice to his ſingular merits. A. D. 1514.

Eraſmus undeſignedly obtained a preſent from Caraffa, a Biſhop, and the Pope's Nuncio in England, and [y] apologizes for it in a letter to that Prelate.

He would not ſettle at Louvain, for many reaſons, and particularly becauſe of the wretched Divines, *Pſeudotheologi*, with whom that place was infeſted. He adds, [z] The Lord mend them, for they ſtand greatly in need of it, &c.

From Epiſt. 165 and 306, it appears, that he had not learned to ſpeak Engliſh, and did not underſtand it.

He complains of his poverty to Wentford, who, though not rich, had offered him the free uſe of his purſe; but Eraſmus would not accept of it. He ſpeaks alſo of the generoſity of his friend Grocyn, who, whilſt he was with him, never would take any thing for his board.

He often declares, that he could not endure the [a] fatigue of reviſing, poliſhing, and correcting his own works; eſpecially, ſince for all his pains he had no proſpect of obtaining any thing beſides ſcholars wages, weak eyes, ill health, ſhort commons, and a little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction.

[b] He had ſome hand in an edition of Seneca the Tragedian.

[y] Reverende Pater, ſenſi, ſenſi, ſed ſero ſenſi errorem meum de munere tuo. Admonueram ut non ſolum faveres, ſed etiam adjuvares. At quod ego de literis ac doctrina ſentiebam, tu de pecunia putabas dictum. Dici non poteſt, quoties me poſtea puduerit facti. Ep. 16. c. 1534.

[z] Utinam magnus ille Jupiter univerſum hoc hominum genus recudat ac refingat, qui cum nihil adferant, quo vel meliores reddamur, vel eruditiores, tamen omnibus faceſſunt negotium. Ep. 160.

[a] —— maxime, cum videam hinc nihil recipi fructus, præter lippitudinem, ſenium præmaturum, eſuritiones, ac paulum modo gloriæ cum plurima invidia coniunctum.

[b] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 260.

A. D. MDXV. Ætat. XLVIII.

A. D. 1515. Ep. 167 is a long and a very polite one to Cardinal Grimani, of whom we have ſpoken before. Eraſmus tells the Cardinal, that he had been drawn over to England by moſt magnificent promiſes, but in ſome meaſure diſappointed. He adds a fine character of his patron Warham. In all this he may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak with much ſincerity: but aſſuredly he complimented the Cardinal, when he ſaid, that he regretted Rome, and had twice deſigned to return thither, becauſe ſo many of the Cardinals honoured him with their friendſhip, and becauſe Rome itſelf had ſo many things to attract a man of letters; as the ſplendor of ſo illuſtrious a city, the *ſweet liberty* which was to be enjoyed there, the number of good libraries, the converſation of the Learned, and the noble collection of ancient monuments.

He might indeed have found at Rome great aſſiſtance for the ſtudy of letters ſacred and profane; but upon condition that he ſhould exactly obſerve all the ceremonies of religion, and ſpeak of them with profound reſpect, never preſume to cenſure the morals or the ſentiments of the Eccleſiaſtics, and hold no opinion, which the Pope did not approve; that is to ſay, upon condition that he ſhould ceaſe to be Eraſmus, and bury in eternal ſilence the very beſt things, that he ſaid and publiſhed. At Rome he muſt have followed moſt of the directions, which he gave, in banter, to his friend Ammonius, where he inſtructs him how to make his fortune in England. Firſt of all, ſays he, be impudent: thruſt yourſelf into all affairs; elbow thoſe who ſtand in your way; love and hate no one in good earneſt, but conſult your own advantage; give nothing without a proſpect of getting by it; be of the opinion of every one with whom you have to do.

Eraſmus was too ſincere, too frank, and too honeſt to take up ſuch a behaviour; and yet without it there was no poſſibility for

 him

him to make his fortune at Rome: and afterwards, when Adrian VI, and Clemens VII, invited him thither, a fit of the gravel came upon him opportunely enough, and furniſhed him with a civil excuſe. A. D. 1515.

He ſpeaks afterwards of his edition of Jerom, which he had a mind to dedicate to Leo X, but which he dedicated to a better man, to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He mentions alſo his Adages, which he reprinted with conſiderable additions; his New Teſtament, which was to come out the year following; and his Inſtruction of a Chriſtian Prince, in favour of Charles Archduke of Burgundy. He ſays, that, after theſe works were finiſhed, he would write upon St. Paul's Epiſtles, and that nothing ſhould take him off from that work.

He ſent at the ſame time a letter to the Cardinal of St. George, containing nearly the ſame things.

He addreſſed a very handſome epiſtle to Leo, and full of compliments. He ſets him far above his predeceſſor of quarrelſome [c] memory, Julius II, whoſe warlike diſpoſition had done great miſchief to Italy; and he exhorts Leo rather to wage war with the vices of the Chriſtian world, and with the Turk, if he thought proper. He alſo ſpeaks of his Jerom, and of the pains which he had beſtowed upon this learned Father, and offers to dedicate the edition to him, and ſhews how proper it was to prefix his name to the work. Leo returned him a very obliging anſwer, and ſeems not to refuſe the offer of Eraſmus, which yet did not take effect. Not contented with this civility to Eraſmus, he

[c] Julius II, ſacrorum nundinatione, et nefandis moribus infamis, bella ex bellis ſerebat. *Perizonius*, p. 40. See Bayle JULES II.

Eraſmus commends Julius, but it is ironically:

Ut alium Pontificem deceat, Julium tamen non decet: ſi is ſit Julius, cujus mite ingenium, et ſingularis vitæ ſanctimonia, a bello videatur abhorrere. *De Rerum Cop.* T. I. c. 86.

A. D. 1515. he alſo wrote to Henry VIII, and recommended Eraſmus to his favour. Ep. 178, 179.

The Cardinal of St. George alſo anſwered him, preſſing him much to come to Rome, and approving his deſign of dedicating St. Jerom to the Pope. Ep. 180.

" [d] And yet, after all, Eraſmus hath [e] declared, that he purpoſely " abſtained from going to Rome, or even to the Imperial Court, " for fear the Pope or the Emperor ſhould command him to " write againſt Luther, and what they called the New Hereſies. " And therefore, when the Pope's Nuncio to the Engliſh Court " had inſtructions to perſuade Eraſmus to throw himſelf at the " Pope's feet, he was more cautious than to truſt him, having " reaſon to fear, that the court of Rome would never forgive " him the freedoms that he had already taken; and indeed he " might probably have been ſerved, as M. A. de Dominis, Arch- " biſhop of Spalato, long ſince his time, was."

Eraſmus had made an haſty voyage from England to Baſil, and thence to the Low Countries. But there are ſo many falſe dates as to years, months, and days, and ſo many errors as to places, in his Epiſtles, that it creates no ſmall difficulty. It is to be ſuppoſed, that Eraſmus himſelf, publiſhing his letters very confuſedly, ὕστερον πρότερον, was ſometimes deceived by his memory, and dated them wrong.

Le Clerc and Dr. Knight complain of this; and the latter was diſcouraged on this account from drawing up the life of Eraſmus in the way of Annals. Le Clerc hath attempted it, and I have followed him, and can only ſay, that our method in the main is tolerably [f] exact, *errors excepted*; which however are of ſmall moment.

I never

[d] Knight, p. 183.

[e] That is to ſay, after the year 1519.

[f] Moſt of the Elogies of great men are full of anachroniſms; to avoid which, their lives ſhould always be drawn up in the form of Annals. Bayle CAUSSIN, Not. G. p. 822.

I never could admire that quality in Bayle, which Le Clerc calls, well enough, *un exactitude etonnante ſur des choſes de neant.* Such laborious accuracy ſhould be beſtowed upon diſquiſitions which better deſerve it. A. D. 1515.

Eraſmus returned thanks to Leo, and dedicated his New Teſtament to him. Ep. 181.

Charles, who had ſucceeded his grandfather Ferdinand, had made Eraſmus his Counſellor, and had aſſigned him an annual penſion, and alſo a benefice, a Canonry of Courtray, which he reſigned to another, reſerving to himſelf a penſion out of it. Ep. 191.

He acquaints Leo with this, and begs ſome favour of him, what it was we are not told, which, as he ſays, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Rome, would explain to him. He obtained it, as it appears afterwards. Probably, as he wanted to be ſcreened from the ſlanders and the perſecutions of the Monks, he had deſired the Pope to grant him a diſpenſation in form, from the vow which he had made in his youth amongſt the Regular Canons.

Eraſmus wrote a long letter upon this ſubject to Lambertus Grunnius, the Apoſtolical Secretary, in which he is ſuppoſed to repreſent his own caſe under the name of Florentius, and to beg the above-mentioned favour of the Pope. Ep. 442. c. 1822.

He there deſcribes, with copiouſneſs and vehemence, the artifices which the Monks employed to inveigle young perſons, who were of a promiſing genius. Theſe men ſaid, that you muſt follow Jeſus Chriſt, though you were to trample upon the bodies of your father and mother, and that the authority of earthly parents was not to be oppoſed to that of the holy Spirit; as if the Devil, ſays Eraſmus, never took up his dwelling amongſt the Monks, and as if every one, who put on their doublet, was divinely inſpired.

A. D. 1515. inſpired. On the contrary, moſt of them have had no other call than ſtupidity, ignorance, deſpair, lazineſs, and the hope of being fed.

Then he repreſents at large the baſe tricks, which had been uſed, to overreach young Florentius, to draw him into a Convent, and to make him enter himſelf into the Order. Long he refuſed, but at laſt was vanquiſhed by the importunate ſollicitations of the Monks. Yet he went from them, to live with the Archbiſhop of Cambray, with the conſent of the Biſhop to whoſe juriſdiction the Convent belonged, of the Prior, and of the General of the Order. However, he wore the habit as long as he could; but was obliged to quit it in Italy, becauſe it reſembled the dreſs of thoſe, who attended perſons infected with the plague, and from whom every one fled. He was twice in great danger of being killed at Bologna, on this account; and he obtained leave from Julius II to wear it or not, as it ſhould be convenient, as he ſays in his letter to Servatius; on condition, he adds in the letter to Grunnius, that he ſhould carry about him ſome mark of his Order. In France he wore it, after the manner of the country; and in England he quitted it, as unfaſhionable. Yet, upon his return to the Low Countries, they began to quarrel with him on account of his vows and his habit. Therefore he aſked Leo to be diſengaged *in foro humano*; for in conſcience he accounted himſelf quite free. As to the Monks, he treats them very roughly and without reſerve; and if they railed at him, it muſt be owned, that in this letter he hath not ſpared them. Grunnius read it all to the Pope, and to ſeveral Cardinals. The Pontiff expreſſed great indignation againſt ſuch *Plagiaries*, or men-ſtealers, (a title which thoſe Monks honeſtly deſerved) and ordered, that the diſpenſation ſhould be expedited for Florentius, or Eraſmus, without any expenſe. But Grunnius gave three ducats, that the thing might be done without delay.

This

This year Eraſmus was at Baſil; and this year [g] Martin Dorpius, A. D. 1515.
a Divine of Louvain, inſtigated by the enemies of Eraſmus, wrote againſt his *Praiſe of Folly*. He was the firſt adverſary of Eraſmus, at leaſt he was the firſt who wrote againſt him, whilſt others contented themſelves with reviling him over their cups, or in private. Dorpius condemned the *Moriæ Encomium*, as a ſatirical work, in which the author ridiculed all orders and profeſſions, not excepting even the Eccleſiaſtics, who have commonly pretended, that their Function ſhould ſerve them for a paſſport, and ſecure them from having their behaviour inſpected and examined. He endeavoured to diſſuade Eraſmus from undertaking the New Teſtament, but graciouſly gave him leave to publiſh St. Jerom. Eraſmus replied with a good deal of mildneſs, knowing, as he ſays to Botzem, that Dorpius, who was young and ductile, had been inveigled by others to write againſt him; and ſo they continued friends, after Eraſmus had cleared up ſome points to him, as you may ſee in the beginning of his Apologies, Tom. IX.

Dorpius wrote a letter upon this occaſion to Eraſmus, which is not in the Leyden Edition. We ſhall inſert it in the Appendix.

More alſo replied to Dorpius, in a long and laboured Epiſtle, in which he proves the neceſſity of ſtudying the Greek language, of which Dorpius had ſpoken with contempt, and expoſes (but with civil language) his ignorance, his impertinence, and his malevolence. Ep. 513. c. 1892. If Eraſmus had not been good-tempered, and, as he ſays of himſelf,

Iraſci facilis, tamen ut placabilis eſſet,

he would not have taken Dorpius into his favour again [h]; but he lived with him upon good terms, and outlived him, and greatly lamented his death.

L Whatſoever

[g] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 592. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 25.

[h] *Eraſmus ſays of him, in the year* 1517, Dorpius (nobis) ex animo favet, ſed

A. D. 1515. Whatſoever motive Dorpius might have had for his undertaking, he certainly deſerved to be blamed for having treated of ſubjects which he underſtood not; and for having been the firſt to attack a perſon, to whom the world had the higheſt obligations. It ſhews a malignity of mind, and a meanneſs of ſpirit in a man, to decry works which he is not able to imitate, and to make thoſe perſons odious, who are employed in giving inſtruction to the public on important matters, of which he knows nothing.

This year the plague was at London. Ep. 171, 172.

Eraſmus [i] complains of the lazineſs of the Engliſh, who would not tranſcribe his writings for any price.

In a journey on horſeback, he got a violent ſprain in his back, which afflicted him for a long time, and of which he gives a doleful account. Ep. 182.

His learned friend Watſon ſent him a letter from Cambridge. Watſon writes Latin well, and Eraſmus calls him *Inſignem Theologum.* Ep. 183.

" [k] Watſon was fellow of Peter-houſe College, and afterwards " Rector of Elſeworth in the Dioceſe of Ely. He invited " Eraſmus to his parſonage-houſe; and it is probable, that " Eraſmus complied with the invitation, on account of the great " intimacy between them. He ſeems to have made a tour into " foreign parts, and to have been at Venice. He probably was " neglected by the Great, and roſe no higher in the Church.

" Eraſmus

ſed ſuæ gloriæ perparcus eſt, ne dicam famelicus; quo minus poteſt in amicum transfundere. Ep. 182. c. 1631.

More continued to deſpiſe him, and ſays to Eraſmus, Gaudeo Dorpium reſipuiſſe, videlicet delinitum conviciis, quem blanditiæ reddiderant ferociorem. Profecto ſic eſt quorundam hominum ingenium, ut ſi paululum obſequaris, inſoleſcant; contemtius habiti, frangantur, et fiant abjectiſſimi. Ep. 221. c. 1649.

[i] Tanta eſt apud Britannos laboris fuga, tantus amor otii, ut ne tum quidem excitentur, quum ſpes doloſi affulſerit nummi. Ep. 172.

[k] Knight, p. 145.

"Eraſmus had a moſt favourable opinion of his judgment and learning." A. D. 1513.

Wolſey, who had given Eraſmus the [l] above-mentioned Prebend, thought proper, like a true courtier, to revoke his promiſe, and to confer it upon another. [m] Joannes de Molendino, one of the Canons of Tournay, informs Eraſmus of this, in a very civil and friendly letter to him. However, it appears from a letter of More to Eraſmus, that this was a preferment which would not have ſuited him, and that the Cardinal did him no ill office in taking it back again. Ep. 227.

The 186th is a pretty letter from Ammonius, together with a preſent of Greek wine.

The next is a ſhort letter of mere formality and compliment from Eraſmus to Wolſey.

In Biſhop Fiſher's letters to Eraſmus there appears a good temper, and a paſſionate love of learning. He wanted to be better ſkilled in Greek, and [n] wiſhed that he had been a diſciple to Eraſmus, or to Rodolphus Agricola. He promiſes to [o] aſſiſt Eraſmus with money, to the utmoſt of his power.

Eraſmus, in a letter to Franciſcus, Wolſey's phyſician, gives him a melancholy account of his bad ſtate of health, and of his

 ſufferings

[l] P. 53.

[m] Dominus Eboracenſis, id quod eſt Curialibus perquam peculiare, palinodiam cecinit: Canonicatum enim, tibi jampridem donatum, alteri contulit, filio chirurgi regii, ſed quem non puto ſine litigio futurum, ſi res innovari contingat. Pollicitus eſt tamen ipſe Eboracenſis tibi hic alium Canonicatum, aut in Anglia quippiam majus donaturum, quod mihi coram expoſuit Montjoius, tametſi ejuſmodi pollicitationibus *dives quilibet eſſe poteſt*. Non poteſt dici quam mihi, aliiſque compluribus etiam Canonicis gratum fuiſſet, ſi te huc tandem poſt varios et improbos labores Bona Dea retuliſſet; ſed non vidi juſtum derelictum. Ep. 37. c. 1545.

[n] Utinam aliquot menſes licuiſſet habuiſſe te præceptorem. Ep. 428. c. 1812.

Utinam juvenis præceptorem illum (Agricolam) fuiſſem nactus. Mallem id profecto, neque ſane mentior, quam Archiepiſcopatum aliquem. Ep. 429. c. 1813.

[o] Ep. 430. c. 1813.

A. D. 1515. ſufferings by the ſtone in the kidneys. He tells him, amongſt other things, that it had been his cuſtom for twenty years to read and write [p] ſtanding or leaning, and to ſit very little, except at meals, or when he ſometimes took a ſmall nap after dinner. But theſe precautions did not ſecure him from the many diſtempers of which he complains. Ep. 431. c. 1813.

[q] Another letter of his to the ſame friend is very ſingular. [r] Eraſmus there aſcribes the plague, from which England was hardly ever free, and the ſweating ſickneſs, partly to the incommodious form and bad expoſition of the houſes, to the filthineſs of the ſtreets, and to the ſluttiſhneſs within doors. The floors, ſays he, are commonly of clay, ſtrewed with ruſhes, under which lies unmoleſted an ancient collection of beer, greaſe, fragments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is naſty, &c.

England is happily altered for the better in theſe reſpects from its condition in the days of Eraſmus; to which change, I preſume, it may in a great meaſure be imputed, that we have been free for ſo many years from the plague. But much is ſtill wanting to make London more airy, clean, and healthful; eſpecially with relation to the Priſons.

In a letter to Gonellus, Eraſmus talks of leaving England. Ep. 172.

" [s] Gonel, who was of Cambridge, was domeſtic tutor to " Sir T. More's children, recommended probably by Eraſmus, " and then by More to Cardinal Wolſey. He was made Rector " of Conynton in Cambridgeſhire; and had no other preferment, " ſeeming by this to have been another of the friends of Eraſmus, " who was not in the good graces of the Cardinal."

Ammonius

[p] Gruter did the ſame. Bayle GRUTERUS, Not. I.

[q] Ep. 432. c. 1815.

[r] Appendix.

[s] Knight, p. 177.

Ammonius mentions one [t] Petrus Carmilianus, who was a maker of Latin verſes. Both Ammonius and Eraſmus ſpeak of him with the utmoſt contempt. Ep. 186. A. D. 1515.

This year Eraſmus received a very civil [u] letter from [x] Zuinglius, who is generally allowed to have been a man of learning, and of good abilities.

[y] Nicolaus Gerbelius wrote a letter to Eraſmus, adviſing how he ſhould print his New Teſtament. Ep. 31. c. 1542.

[z] Eraſmus publiſhed an Edition of Seneca the Philoſopher.

A. D. MDXVI. Ætat. XLIX.

Eraſmus ſoon returned to the Low Countries, whence he wrote to his friends. He received there a Brief from Leo X, granting him his requeſt. The [a] Biſhop of Wincheſter alſo informed him of this favour. Neither Eraſmus, nor they who write to him, have ſpoken clearly about it. Ep. 191, 193, 194.

[b] Gulielmus Budæus, and Gulielmus Copus phyſician to Francis I, wrote to Eraſmus to inform him, in the name of Gulielmus Parvus, (Petit) the King's Confeſſor, that his Majeſty was

[t] Bayle CARMILIANUS.

[u] Ep. 22. c. 1538.

[x] Verheiden Præſtant. Theolog. Effigies, &c. p. 51. Beza Icon. Du Pin B. E. T. XIII. 55. Seckendorf L. III. p. 17. Thuanus L. I. p. 28. Pope Blount, p. 394. Simon Hiſt. Crit. Bibl. Univerſ. XXIII. 491.

[y] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 3.

[z] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 265.

[a] Silveſter Giglis, an Italian, who then reſided at Rome, as Embaſſador from Henry VIII. Knight, p. 228.

[b] Boiſſard Icon. p. 131. Beza Icon. Pope Blount, p. 399. Bayle BUDÉ. Regius Vit. Budæi. Memoires pour la vie de Budé, *in the* Hiſtoire de l'Acad. Roy. des Inſcr. &c. T. III. p. 528—544. Sleidan L. XIII. p. 342. P. Jovius Elog. p. 179. Remarques ſur Bayle, *in the* Relat. Gotting. V. III. Faſc. I. p. 99. Sammarthanus Elog. L. I. p. 3. Ed. Par. 1633. Baillet II. 282, 607. III. 42. VI. 205. Joach. Paſtorius. Palæſtr. Nobilium, p. 312, publiſhed by Crenius. Crenius, *de Philolog. Literaria*, hath collected ſome teſtimonies of learned men, of Jovius, Vives, Eraſmus, Beza, Laur. Humfredus, Victorius, and Barthius, in favour of Budæus, and hath prefixed them to a Treatiſe of Budæus, *De ſtudio inſtituendo*.

A. D. 1516. was deſirous of inviting learned men to France, that Petit had named Eraſmus, that the King had approved of it, and had ordered Budæus to invite him, and to promiſe him a Benefice of a thouſand [c] livres. Budæus told Eraſmus, that the *Williams* were ſingular friends both to him and to learning; and this gave Eraſmus an occaſion to make a long liſt of the *Williams*, who were his patrons and favourers, not forgetting *William Warham*. Budæus gives great commendations to Eraſmus, and adviſes him to accept of the King's offer. Ep. 197, 198.

Eraſmus returned a polite and a laboured anſwer to Budæus, in which he commends his great abilities, and prefers him to all the Learned of Italy. It is a reply to ſome letter of Budæus, which we have not. Budæus having ſaid in it, that the Eccleſiaſtical character laid Eraſmus under ſome reſtraint, and obliged him to be more circumſpect than a layman, like Budæus; Eraſmus replies, amongſt other things, that, concerning liberty of ſpeaking, tho' he had never ſaid any thing ſeditious or immoral, yet he had ſometimes ſpoken too boldly, which had done him no ſmall miſchief. They, who had been his worſt perſecutors, were certain *Profeſſors of nonſenſe*, (he calls them Ματαιόλογοι, alluding to Θεόλογοι) with whom he hoped that Budæus would never be plagued; for, ſays he, they are worſe animals than any that either land or water produces.

Budæus, it ſeems, had blamed Eraſmus for mixing too many proverbs in his writings, and for having expatiated too much upon them in his large book of Adages. But Eraſmus replied, that thoſe were his riches, and that it had coſt him no ſmall labour to collect them. He might, in his turn, have blamed Budæus for mixing too much [d] Greek with his Latin, to ſhew his ſkill in

[c] They call them *Francicos* and *Florenos*.

[d] *Eraſmus hath blamed this affectation:* Cæterum, quum nihil huc invitat, velut ex inſtituto ſermonem ſemi-Latinum et ſemi-Græcum texere, fortaſſis in adoleſcentibus ſemet ad utriuſque linguæ facultatem exercentibus veniam mereatur:

in that language. The letters of theſe two great men, though full of [e] compliments and civilities, are alſo full of little bickerings and conteſts, which ſhew, that their friendſhip was not entirely free from ſome ſmall degree of jealouſy and envy, eſpecially on the ſide of Budæus, who yet in other reſpects was an [f] excellent perſon. Ep. 200. A. D. 1516.

He had made an offer to Eraſmus of ſome remarks on the New Teſtament; and Eraſmus declined to accept that favour, as fearing to be accuſed of making uſe of other mens labours. But in this he judged amiſs; and had done better, if he had taken and mixed them amongſt his own, ſigning them with his friend's name, or had printed them ſeparately, and at the end. Then we ſhould have had them, but now they are loſt. Eraſmus however acknowledges, that he had been aſſiſted by ſome learned friend in paſſages where ſome Hebrew words are mentioned and explained; but he ſays, that he had done this as ſeldom as he poſſibly could.

He

mereatur: in viris, mea ſententia, parum decora fuerit hæc oſtentatio, &c. *De Cop. Verb.* c. 12.

Andreas Eudæmon Joannes cenſured Iſ. Caſaubon for the ſame ſort of pedantry. *Grenius* De Singul. Scriptor. p. 74.

[e] Budæus commends the ſtyle of Eraſmus, ſaying, — *iſta ſtyli puritate et ingenii amœnitate omnium punctа emeruiſti.* Ep. 220.

[f] — Vir ad ſeculi ſui gloriam natus, laudibus literariis abundans, magnaque cum propter ſingularem rerum omnium ſcientiam hominum admiratione affectus, tum ob id potiſſimum, quod Græcas literas ſua ætate intermortuas exſuſcitarit: at cum pari felicitate Latinas arripuiſſet, ſi quando Græca Latine expoſuit, quid in utriſque poſſet voluit oſtendere, et res illuſtrare ſplendore verborum; cumque diſerti interpretis quæreret laudem, evaſit paraphraſtes. *Huetius* De Clar. Interpr. p. 209.

Defuit quidem tanto viro perſpicuus ille venuſtioris eloquentiæ nitor, quem recentiores, uni Ciceroni addicti, majore ſtudio et religione coluerunt. — Certe voluntatem illi, non facultatem defuiſſe, argumento eſſe poteſt penitiſſima illa totius Latinitatis cognitio, &c. — Neque defuerunt ex Italia Germaniaque plures æmuli, qui pulcherrimam illam operam [De Aſſe] ſibi falſo vendicarent: admovente calumniæ faces Eraſmo, qui cum occulte Budæo principem in literis locum invideret, hominis exiſtimationem, quam non audebat aperte invadere, cuniculis oppugnare non deſinebat. *Sammarthanus.*

This Frenchman ſhews himſelf ſo partial upon all occaſions, that his teſtimony againſt Eraſmus is of ſmall weight.

A.D. 1516 He ſpeaks with much affection of Gulielmus Copus, and alſo of Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis, (Jacques Le Fevre D' Etaples) with whom afterwards he had a ſmall conteſt, which did not continue long.

" [z] Budæus in his writings ſeemed to be no friend to the " Reformers. It is ſaid of him, that he would not have his " picture [h] drawn; and it gave occaſion to theſe verſes:

" *Nec voluit vivus fingi pingive Budæus,*
" *Nec vatum moriens quæſiit elogia:*
" *Hunc, qui tanta ſuæ mentis monumenta reliquit,*
" *Externa puduit vivere velle manu.*

" Budæus [i] ſometimes criticiſed Eraſmus, without naming " him; and never would mention him in any of his works; " which was very perverſe and croſs, when Eraſmus had humbly " begged it of him as a favour.

" It may be ſaid juſtly enough of this great man, that he " made himſelf more feared than loved in the Republic of letters."

" The [k] celebrated Budæus was made *Maſter of the Requeſts* in " the laſt century, becauſe he underſtood Greek: and, in our " age, to underſtand Greek is the ſure way to get [l] nothing."

Baillet

[z] Bayle.

[h] I have obſerved, that the prints, which we have of Budæus, do not reſemble one another.

[i] Id parum amicæ voluntatis argumentum crediderunt, quod a Budæo in tot numero libris mentio nuſquam facta ſit Eraſmi, quamquam ut fieret multis precibus ab Eraſmo ambiretur. Præterea putant id quoque ad iſta quæ dixi accedere, quod Budæus diſſimulanter Eraſmum in ſuis libris nonnunquam perſtringere videtur, velut in Commentariis, quando ridet illos, qui de ſingulorum ingenio et eloquentia ſententiam ferre audent, qui Laurentio inferiores, præſcribunt loquendi formulas, qui leviora quædam ſcripta in vulgus edunt, quæ nec ſolem nec ætatem ferant. *Regius.*

[k] Menagian. II. 343. See alſo *Anti-Baillet* II. 49.

[l] Ἀληθὲς εἰς πενίην ἐστὶν ἑτοιμοτάτη.

Yet I could name ſome Friends, who, though ſkilful in the Greek tongue, have not found their learning an impediment

to

Baillet hath given a large and accurate account of Budæus, A. D. 1516.
of his erudition, ſtyle, and works.

In an Epiſtle to Budæus, Eraſmus pays him the compliment of ſetting him even above [a] Hermolaus Barbarus and [o] Angelus Politianus, whom he accounted the two greateſt [p] Geniuſes of Italy.

to their promotion, and cannot be numbered with thoſe, of whom Menage ſpeaks ſo diſconſolately.

[a] Bayle BARBARUS. Baillet II. 243. III. 30. P. Jovius Elog. p. 69. Pope Blount, p. 343. Opera Pauli Leopardi, Hermolai Barbari, Philippi Beroaldi, Eraſmi, Rhenani, Turnebi, optima. *Scaligeran.* p. 289.

[o] Anti-Baillet I. 52. Amœnitates Literariæ Tom. I. p. 52. Colomeſius Opuſc. c. XXXI. p. 304. Baillet II. 243. III. 31. VI. 49. Clauſius Vit. Politiani. Act. Erudit. XLVII. 42. Bayle POLITIEN. P. Jovius Elog. p. 73. Pope Blount, p. 357. Huetiana, p. 18. Aldus Manutius ap. Maittaire I. 249.

[p] Hermolaus Barbarus, Politianus, Picus Mirandula, Leonicenus, Gaza, lumina et flores Italiæ fuerunt. *Scaligeran.* p. 190.

Inter eos omnes, qui bonas literas ſuſcitarunt in Italia, invideo tantum tribus his: Theodoro Gazæ, magno certe viro et docto — Angelo Politiano, excellenti poetæ, ut in omnibus aliis præterquam in Epiſtolis, quarum ſtylum imitari nolim nimis elatum et oratorium, ſed potius Cæſaris, Caſſii, Planci, Bruti, et aliorum apud Ciceronem, &c. Tertius eſt Picus Mirandulanus. Ibid. p. 242.

Politien s'eſt ſervi d'un Auſone que Petrarque avoit eſcrit. Ib. p. 319.

Politien. Pluſculæ obſervationes. Negat ſibi fuiſſe copiam vitæ Politiani a Menckenio ſcriptæ, in qua ſperaret ſe inventurum apologiam viri de crimine atheiſmi. Non fallitur. Verſatur enim in eo crimine depellendo a p. 429—448. *Remarques ſur Bayle*, in the *Relat. Gotting.* Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 120.

Politianus homo, non unus e multis, ſed cum paucis potius comparandus; in omni pene facultate, quæ virum eruditum deceat, ſuæ princeps ætatis, in ſcribendo vero potiſſimum. Nam quæ vel oratione vorſa ludere, vel prorſa commentari libuit, præclaris diſtincta ſunt notis felicis et elegantis ingenii, quod non ad alieni ſtyli exemplum ſerviliter compoſitum, ſed velut jugum imitationis indignans, ſuo ſibi ductu et auſpicio velificatur. Hinc adeo in interpretationibus, cum auctore ſuo non certat modo, ſed eum ſæpe etiam ſuperat; ut Eraſmus ipſe, ejuſmodi lucubrationum egregius ſpectator, ſummum eum artificem dicere non dubitarit. Id genus multorum movit approbationem; at non proinde meam; nec, ut ſpero, item veſtram: morigeram enim et ad imitandum accommodam orationem, non circumfluentem et altius exaggeratam; interpretem, non oratorem poſtulamus. Multa ad hæc viro magno humanitus excidiſſe ſi dixero, id ſocer meus (*H. Stephanus, nam Caſau-*

A.D. 1516. Italy. Eraſmus was a warm admirer of Politian, hath often [q] extolled him, and, I dare ſay, in his heart thought him a much finer writer, and a more ingenious man, than Budæus. Eraſmus, as Menage tells us, uſed to ſay, when he ſpake of Politian, *Mallem eſſe* Politianus *quam* Angelus. Ep. 200.

In another Epiſtle to Budæus, he gives [r] a great character of Rodolphus [s] Agricola, whom he hath often [t] commended.

Stephanus

bonus loquitur) ſuis in Herodiani interpretationem animadverſionibus comprobabit. Quid quod ab Angeli æmulis jactari ſolitum fuiſſe narrabat Pontifex Leo, cpus hoc eſſe Gregorii Tiphernatis, atque id ex inæquali et vario orationis contextu deprehendi. *Huetius* De Clar. Interpr. 219.

" The Duke of Montauſier highly " eſteemed the Epiſtles of Politian. He " always had copies of them by him, " which he uſed to give to his learned " acquaintances. —

" Few authors, in the later ages, " have been more cenſured than Politian. " Joannes Coraſius, *in Miſcellaneorum* " *Libris*, treats him with the utmoſt " contempt. The two Scaligers and " Melanchthon have entirely decried " him. The laſt-mentioned perſon, " and, after him, Vives and Du Pleſſis " Mornay, reproach him for having " fooliſhly boaſted, that he had never " read the Scriptures but once, and that " he accounted this once to be ſo much " time thrown away. But this is a " calumny contrary to the expreſs teſti- " mony of Politian in one of his letters, " *Seſe quadrageſimali tempore publice po-* " *pulo ſacras Literas enarraſſe.*" Vigneul Marville, Vol. II. p. 182.

The Scaligers and Melanchthon had too much ſenſe and learning, to doubt of Politian's abilities. If they decried him, it muſt have been for other reaſons.

[q] Cujus viri ingenio ita ſum delectatus, ut nullius æque. Ep. 11. c. 1531.

[r] ——quem virum, ſi fatorum invidia ſupereſſe voluiſſet, haberet Germania quem Italis opponeret, qualem nunc habet Gallia Budæum, ſed unum. Ep. 221.

[s] Baillet II. 226. Bayle AGRICOLA. P. Jovius Elog. p. 61. Scaligeran. p. 11, 15. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 704. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 108. Relat. Gottingenſ. Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 82. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 230. Pope Blount, p. 337. Eraſmus T. V. c. 920, 921.

[t] Rodolphus Agricola, unicum Germaniæ noſtræ lumen et ornamentum, annum egreſſus quadrageſimum, Hebræas litéras diſcere nec erubuit, vir in re literaria tantus, nec deſperavit homo natu tam grandis; nam Græcas adoleſcens imbiberat. Ipſe jam quinquageſimum tertium ingreſſus annum, ad Hebraicas literas olim utcumque deguſtatas, cum licet, recurro. *Rat. Veræ Theol.* T. V. c. 79.

Stephanus Poncherius (Etienne de Ponchery) Biſhop of Paris, A. D. 1516.
Embaſſador of Francis I at Bruſſels, propoſed to Eraſmus the offers which the King had made him. Eraſmus excuſed himſelf; alledging, that the Catholic King detained him in the Low Countries, having made him his Counſellor, and given him a Prebend, though as yet he had ſeen none of the revenues which had been promiſed.

Eraſmus was much in the right to refuſe a ſettlement in France; where the envy of ſome men of letters, and the malice of the Monks and Sorboniſts, would have made him very miſerable.

[u] The New Teſtament, [x] Greek and Latin, with his notes, was publiſhed at Baſil, and ſoon ſpread itſelf far and wide; and he received the congratulations of his friends, and, amongſt others, of Franciſcus Deloinus, (Deloin) and of Nicolas [y] Beraldus, (Berauld) who wrote to him from Paris. Ep. 201, &c.

Eraſmus returned anſwers to them, and to Budæus and Copus; and ſays, that he could accept of nothing in France, till he had conſulted the Chancellor of Burgundy. He alſo ſent a letter of compliments and thanks to Francis I. Ep. 202, &c. 204.

There was at that time a learned man, Wolfgangus Fabricius [z] Capito, Preacher to the Biſhop of Baſil. Eraſmus, in a letter to him, declares his hopes, that, peace being re-eſtabliſhed in the world by the means of Leo X, Francis I, and Charles V, learning would flouriſh in Europe. If he was miſtaken in the firſt part of his prediction, he was not in the ſecond; for, notwithſtanding the wars which enſued, letters gained ground in all places. After having derided the ignorance of thoſe Divines, who oppoſed the progreſs of literature, and who had only the loweſt

[u] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 276, 311, 327.

[x] —Cum Novum Teſtamentum, in in quod (Eraſmi) deſudat labor, nunquam hactenus, quod ſciam, Græce chalcographorum * typis excuſum ſit. *More* Ep. ad Dorp.

[y] Bayle BERAULD.

[z] Beza Icon. Seckendorf. Supplem. XVI. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 15.

A. D. 1516. of the rabble on their ſide, he extols Capito for his abilities, his knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and his unblameable behaviour, and exhorts him to labour ſtrenuouſly in the cauſe of the reviving Arts and Sciences. Capito having afterwards embraced the Reformation, of which he ſowed the firſt ſeeds at Baſil, and of which he was one of the chief ſupporters at Stratſburg, Eraſmus changed his manner of ſpeaking, rather forced, as we may ſuppoſe, by the circumſtances in which he found himſelf, than induced by fickleneſs and levity.

The * works of St. Jerom made their appearance in April, ſince the dedication to Warham bears date the firſt of that month: it is alſo dated from Baſil, though Eraſmus was at that time in the Low Countries. It ſeems to have been the faſhion in thoſe times to ſubſcribe Dedications from the place where the Book was printed, and not from that where the Author reſided.

This addreſs to Warham is not in the uſual form of dedications, ſtuffed only with compliments: many things are contained in it of great utility. He complains moſt juſtly of the little care, which paſt ages had beſtowed, in preſerving the works of the ancient Chriſtians. After which he ſays, I deſpiſe not the ſimple and well-meaning piety of the Vulgar, but I am really ſurpriſed at the perverſe judgment of the Multitude. We kiſs the old ſhoes and dirty handkerchiefs of the Saints, and we neglect their books, which are the more holy and valuable reliques. We lock up their ſhirts and clothes in cabinets adorned with jewels; but as to their writings, on which they ſpent ſo much pains, and which are ſtill extant for our benefit, we abandon them to mouldineſs and vermin.

It is not difficult, ſays he, to diſcover the cauſes of this conduct. As ſoon as the manners of Princes degenerated into brutiſh tyranny, and the Biſhops were intent upon acquiring profane dominion and

* The works of Jerom were publiſhed by Eraſmus, and printed in ſix volumes, at Baſil, from A. 1516 to A. 1526; afterwards at Baſil, A. 1553; and then by the Epiſcopii, A. 1565.

and wealth, inſtead of teaching the people their duty, the whole Paſtoral care fell to the ſhare of thoſe, who are called *Friers*, or *Brethren*, and *Religious men*; as if brotherly love, and Chriſtian charity, and true religion belonged only to them! Then polite literature began to be neglected, the knowledge of the Greek tongue was much deſpiſed, the knowledge of Hebrew ſtill more. The ſtudy of eloquence was thrown aſide: the Latin tongue by a new acceſſion of barbariſms was ſo corrupted, that it could hardly be called a language. Hiſtory and Antiquities were diſregarded: learning conſiſted in certain ſophiſtical quibbles and ſubtilties, and all ſcience was to be fetched from the Collectors of *Sums*, that is, of Common-places of Philoſophy and Divinity. Theſe compilers were always dogmatical and impudent in proportion to their ignorance: they were glad to have ancient authors diſregarded, or, which is very probable, they gave an helping hand to deſtroy thoſe books, which if they had ever read, it was to no purpoſe, becauſe they were not capable of underſtanding them. A. D. 1516.

After this he ſpeaks of the eſteem due to the works of St. Jerom; and here he deals in [b] exaggerations, and plays the part of a panegyriſt. He mentions alſo the great labour which it had coſt him to put his Author into good condition: yet his principal labour, as to the firſt edition, was the reviſing and explaining the Epiſtles of Jerom, to which he prefixed his Life. In a ſecond edition, he reviſed the whole; and again prepared a third, which did not appear till a conſiderable time after his death, and in the year 1553. The dedication to Warham, and the life of Jerom, are not inſerted in the Edition of the works of Eraſmus.

[c] Germanus Brixius, a wealthy and a learned Frenchman, wrote a polite letter to Eraſmus, telling him how much Steph. Poncherius

[b] See Le Clerc's *Quæſtiones Hieronymianæ*.

[c] Brixius tranſlated ſome treatiſes of Chryſoſtom; and Eraſmus commends both him and his tranſlation, T. VIII. c. 3.

A. D. 1516. Poncherius eſteemed him, as alſo Budæus, and other learned m[illegible] not forgetting himſelf. He preſſes him to come and ſettle [illegible] France. But Eraſmus, having a fixed penſion from his [illegible] Prince, was not diſpoſed to quit certainties for diſtant hopes [illegible] fair promiſes. If [d] Francis wanted to make Eraſmus his own, he ſhould have begun by directly giving him what he promiſed, namely, a Benefice of a thouſand livres; which was ſet forth to Eraſmus as no ſmall favour, whilſt Eccleſiaſtical Preferments of ten times that value were beſtowed, not unfrequently, upon fawning Courtiers, or young Rakes of quality, to enable them to live in ignorance, lazineſs, pride, and luxury. Yet [e] it ought to be acknowledged of Francis, that he deſerved to be called the Friend, the Patron, and the Father of Learned men, and the Protector and Rewarder of Arts and Sciences; titles more glorious, and leſs common, than thoſe of King or Emperor. Ep. 212.

Eraſmus

[d] Rex Galliæ toties ad honeſtiſſimas conditiones invitat, literis etiam propria manu deſcriptis; id quod negant eum ter a corona ſuſcepta feciſſe.

[e] Franciſci regis interitus valde incommode accidit viris literatis atque ſtudioſis: nam artes omnes liberales nemo vehementius amavit, aut liberalius eſt proſecutus. Multa jam conſuetudine variam ſibi cognitionem comparaverat; nam prandens atque cœnans fere loquebatur de literis, et avidiſſime quidem, uſus ad eam rem per multos annos Jacobo Colino, homine docto, et in lingua populari mirabiliter facundo. Poſt hunc ſubiit Petrus Caſtellanus. Ab iis, quicquid eſt in poetarum, hiſtoricorum, coſmographorum libris hauſerat: quicquid de plantis, herbis, animalibus, metallis, gemmis prodiderunt Ariſtoteles, Theophraſtus, Plinius, et id genus alii, multo, ſicut dictum eſt, uſu, et quotidiana recitatione, cognitum habebat et exploratum: de mathematicis etiam et rebus divinis frequens erat collocutio. Circumſiſtebant menſam omnis ordinis viri magnifici: [illegible] & quoniam de variis argumentis inſerebatur ſermo, vix erat, ut non ex iis aliqui ſemper in medium aliquid adducerent: et id quidem unicuique licebat, qui modo eſſet paulo notior. Exemplum etiam illud ſtudiumque Regis multos, ut cum laude coram eo differere poſſent, ad majorem diligentiam exacuit. In ſua lingua ſemper habitus eſt imprimis eloquens atque gravis. Per Italiam atque Græciam habebat, qui veterum auctorum ſcripta conquirerent atque deſcriberent: et bibliothecam inſtituit ampliſſimam, quæ libros aliquot inſignes poſtea dedit, cujus erat cuſtos Caſtellanus. *Sleidan.* L. XIX. 529.

Veritas

Eraſmus received from England a bill for ſixty angels. A. D. 1516.

Budæus wrote him a long epiſtle, mixed with a conſiderable quantity of Claſſical Greek, according to cuſtom; and Eraſmus replied. They cenſured each other, though civilly and gently, about their ſtyle, and manner of compoſition. That of Eraſmus is more ſimple, the thoughts natural, and the turn eaſy and lively. That of Budæus is more learned and elaborate, and alſo more ſtiff, and cloudy, and embarraſſed. Budæus is often ſo obſcure in his epiſtles, that it is difficult to go along with him, and underſtand him. Ep. 220, 221.

Ludovicus Canoſſa, (Canoſſe) Biſhop of Bayeux, invited Eraſmus to live with him, promiſing, till he could provide better for him, to allow him two hundred ducats a year, and board for himſelf, for his ſervant, and for two horſes: a genteel offer, and to have been accepted by any learned man depreſſed with poverty. But Eraſmus would never have parted with his dear independency for any ſtipend, having at that time a ſufficient income. Ep. 224.

Eraſmus

Veritas quoque non patitur, ut reticeam egregiam voluntatem atque operam inferioribus temporibus in hac re poſitam a Franciſco primo, Gallorum rege, qui ut erat omnibus in rebus magno animo ac vere regio præditus, procliviſque in humanum genus juvandum, rectaque ſtudia ſumma ope augenda, curavit, ut quicquid antiquorum ingenii monimentorum reſtaret in afflicta Græcia, ad ſe mitteretur: cui beneficio magno addidit alterum, et ipſum valde utile ad hanc ipſam honeſtam artem ornandam: ſtuduit enim, magnis præmiis propoſitis, ut lepidæ admodum formæ literarum et Græcarum et Latinarum fingerentur: in quo etiam felix fuit: ita enim pulchræ atque politæ fabricatæ fuere, ut non videantur ab humano ingenio venuſtiores et exquiſitiores ullo pacto conformari poſſe; librique ipſis excuſi, non invitent tantum, ſed etiam aliquo modo rapiant ad ſe legendos. *Victorius.* Bayle FRANÇOIS I. Not. C. C. *See alſo* Thuanus L. III. p. 85. A. 1547.

Franciſcus I, Rex Galliarum, literarum ac literatorum amans, ut ferme literas fovent, qui digna literis gerunt, Lutetiæ inſtauraturus Academiam, magnis illuc præmiis advocaverat ex Italia Germaniaque præcellenti doctrina viros. Commodum id Luthero viſum, miſſique propterea ex aſſeclis Bucerus, aliique nonnulli audacioris ingenii, qui, per occaſionem differendi in eo ſapientium cœtu, novi Evangelii periculum facerent. Nec defuere, qui novitate caperentur. *Strada*, Bell. Belg. *See* Crenius De Philol. Literar. p. 14.

A. D. 1516. Eraſmus hath given [f] a lively and pretty account to Brixius of his firſt interview with Canoſſa. Ep. 1239.

It was again propoſed to make him a Canon of Tournay; but difficulties aroſe, and the thing was dropped. Ep. 227.

Erneſtus, Duke of Bavaria, intending to improve his Academy at Ingoldſtad, ordered Urbanus Regius, the Profeſſor, to try if he could entice Eraſmus thither. In the mean time the Divines of Louvain, (the head-quarters of Bigotry both then and ſince) well knowing that Eraſmus was no admirer of their Scholaſtic Theology and Monkiſh notions, began to ſtir againſt him. By the aid of his friends he pacified them a little, and went to ſpend ſome time at Louvain, to ſee if he could gain their good will. Ep. 225, 231.

More ſent Eraſmus twenty pounds from Warham, and ſays of Colet, between jeſt and earneſt, [g] that he was ſo fond of diſputation, as even to oppoſe the advice, which in his heart he was inclined to follow.

Bovillus (Bullock) wrote to his friend Eraſmus from Cambridge [h], and complained that learning had [i] few patrons and encouragers amongſt the Great. He had not been well, and theſe melancholy reflections had increaſed his malady.

" [k] Bullock

[f] Appendix.

[g] Coletus jam Græcatur ſtrenue, uſus in ea re precaria opera Clementis mei: credo fore ut pergat et pervadat naviter, maxime ſi tu ab Lovanio uſque ſtimules: quamquam fortaſſe ſatius erit eum impetui ſuo permittere. Solet, ut ſcis, diſputandi gratia repugnare ſuadentibus, etiamſi id ſuadeant, in quod ille ſua ſponte maxime propendeat. Ep. 52. c. 1553.

[h] Auxit nonnihil vim morbi — ſingularis quædam ingratitudo, quæ tam maligne doctorum hominum meritis reſpondet, maxime tuis. Utinam major rerum opulentia his contingeret, qui et ea ſcirent et vellent uti! Nunc vero quibus adeſt facultas, ſi non deeſſet voluntas, ſunt adeo egregie tenaces, ut celerius ab * adamante ferrum quam ab his nummulum caſurum expectaveris, niſi quis ſtrenue et impudenter mendicet, vel ſit Gnathone adulantior, &c. Ep. 61. c. 1557.

* *What Bullock ſays of the* adamas, *he took from Pliny*, L. xxxvii. c. 4. p. 773.

[i] Damnoſa quid non imminuit dies?
Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitioſiorem.

" [k] Bullock was Fellow of Queen's College, and afterwards A. D. 1516.
" Vice-chancellor in 1524-5. He was thought a perſon of great
" abilities, and was ſingled out upon many occaſions for public
" ſervice: particularly, when Cardinal Wolſey, in his zeal againſt
" Luther, ſent ſome of the moſt able Divines to London, in order
" to confront his opinions, and confute his books, we find Dr.
" Bullock named for one, the others being Umphrey, Watſon,
" and Ridley: they were allowed out of the Univerſity Cheſt
" 53 *s.* 4 *d.* each. The Cardinal had ſo good an opinion of him,
" that he made him his Chaplain, though we do not find that he
" raiſed him to any high dignity. We are ſure, that the Oration,
" that he ſpoke to Cardinal Wolſey in his praiſe, deſerved more
" at his hands. It is lately printed in the Cardinal's Life; and,
" as it diſcovers the ſtyle and ſpirit of the man, the reader may
" judge, how well he deſerved the favour and friendſhip of Eraſ-
" mus for his ingenuity; though grains of allowance are to be
" made for his enlarging upon the praiſes of the Cardinal.

" From the Proctor's book we find alſo, that he, in conjunction
" with Walden, read a mathematical lecture in the Univerſity,
" and had a ſalary for it, in the year 1513; and the year before
" we find that he had the ſame ſum, namely, four pounds, paid
" him for the ſame lecture probably. He was one of the twelve
" Preachers ſent out by the Univerſity in the year 1515; and
" in the year 1524 he is ſaid to have had a premium for
" writing the Pope's letters, i. e. letters, I ſuppoſe, to the Pope.
" What became of this learned man afterwards, I know not."

More ſays merrily to Eraſmus, I do not like my office of an Embaſſador; it doth not ſuit a married man thus to leave his family: it is much fitter for you Eccleſiaſtics [l], who have no wives and children at home, or who find them whereſoever you go.

[k] Knight, p. 142.

[l] —— qui primum uxores ac liberos aut domi non habetis, aut ubique reperitis, &c. Ep. 227.

A. D. 1516. Eraſmus obſerves, that literature began to make a great and an happy progreſs. [m] But, ſays he, I fear two things; I fear that the ſtudy of Hebrew will promote Judaiſm, and that the ſtudy of Philology will revive Paganiſm. He ſeems to have had the Italian Virtuoſos and the Ciceronians in view, many of whom wrote in the ſtyle and manner of Pagans. We muſt except Sadolet, who writes with as much piety as purity. Eraſmus ſpeaks again to the ſame purpoſe in his Adages, c. 389.

In the ſame letter he ſays, that he was entered into his [n] fifty-firſt year.

This year [o] Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus ſaught the acquaintance of Eraſmus, who returned him a polite and reſpectful anſwer. Pirckheimerus was Counſellor to the Emperor, and Senator of Nuremberg, a very learned and worthy man. Ep. 48. c. 1551.

Eraſmus ſays, that, having laid out all his money in clothes for the winter, he was obliged to ſell his horſes, leſt they ſhould eat him up. Ep. 81. c. 1571.

[p] More informs Eraſmus, that the [q] *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum* met with a general approbation, even from the Blockheads who were

[m] —— Unus adeo ſcrupulus habet animum meum, ne ſub obtentu priſcæ literaturæ renaſcentis caput erigere conetur Paganiſmus; ut ſunt et inter Chriſtianos, qui titulo pene duntaxat Chriſtum agnoſcunt, cæterum intus Gentilitatem ſpirant: aut ne, renaſcentibus Hebræorum literis, Judaiſmus meditetur per occaſionem reviviſcere; qua peſte nihil adverſius nihilque infenſius inveniri poteſt doctrinæ Chriſti. — Nuper exierunt in vulgus aliquot libelli merum Judaiſmum reſipientes. Ep. 207.

[n] Non ſum equidem admodum vitæ avidus, ſive quod animo meo jam propemodum vixi ſatis, videlicet annum ingreſſus primum et quinquageſimum —

See *Bayle* ERASME, Not. A.

[o] Baillet III. 38. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutteni, p. 145, 189. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 225.

[p] Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum operæ pretium eſt videre quantopere placeant omnibus, et doctis joco, et indoctis ſerio, qui, dum ridemus, putant rideri ſtylum tantum, quem illi non defendunt, ſed gravitate ſententiarum dicunt compenſatum, et latere ſub rudi vagina pulcherrimum gladium. Utinam fuiſſet inditus libello alius titulus! Profecto intra centum annos homines ſtudio ſtupidi non ſenſiſſent naſum, quamquam rhinocerotico longiorem. Ep. 87. c. 1574.

[q] They were condemned to the flames by the order of Pope Leo:

Obſcurorum

were derided in them, and who had not the ſenſe to feel it. A. D. 1516.
Eraſmus hath made the ſame [r] obſervation. This book was fathered upon Reuchlin, Eraſmus, and others; but it was [s] probably the work of Hutten, in part at leaſt. One [t] Pepericornus, or Pfeffercorn, a pretended proſelyte from Judaiſm, and (which is often the caſe) a real knave, wrote againſt it, and complained that it was deſigned to ſpread ſome hereſy; though what hereſy he could not tell. Ep. 91. c. 1577.

[u] Eraſmus allows it to be a witty performance, but condemns it, and along with it all anonymous and defamatory libels, the

 exploits

Obſcurorum Virorum Epiſtolæ, ad exagitandam Monachorum ſtribliginem concinnatæ, Leonis X decreto, quod magno auri pondere ab ipſo Colonienſes Theologiſtæ impetraverunt, Vulcano olim ſacratæ fuerunt. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. IX. p. 660.

[r] Ubi primum exiſſent *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum*, miro Monachorum applauſu exceptæ ſunt apud Britannos a Franciſcanis ac Dominicanis, qui ſibi perſuadebant, eas in Reuchlini contumeliam, et Monachorum favorem, ſerio proditas: quumque quidam egregie doctus, ſed naſutiſſimus, fingeret ſe nonnihil offendi ſtylo, conſolati ſunt hominem. Ne ſpectaris, inquiunt, o bone, orationis cutem, ſed ſententiarum vim. Nec hodie deprehendiſſent, ni quidam, addita epiſtola, lectorem admonuiſſet rem non eſſe feriam. Poſt in Brabantia, Prior quidam Dominic[illegible]us, et Magiſter noſter, volens innoteſcere Patribus, coëmit acervum eorum libellorum, ut dono mitteret Ordinis Proceribus, nihil dubitans quin in Ordinis honorem fuiſſent ſcriptæ. Quis fungus poſſit eſſe ſtupidior? Ep. 979.

[s] See Bayle HOCHSTRAT, and Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 165, &c.

[t] Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 175.

[u] Magnopere mihi diſplicebant Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum: jam tum ab initio delectare potuiſſet facetia, niſi nimium offendiſſet exemplum. Mihi placent luſus, ſed citra cujuſquam contumeliam. Sed moleſtius fuit, quod in poſteriore editione mei quoque nominis mentionem admiſcuerint; quaſi parum fuiſſet ineptire, niſi nos quoque vocaſſent in invidiam, et magnam partem fructus tot ſtudiorum laboribus expetiti corrupiſſent. Ne id quidem ſatis viſum, en alter libellus priori adſimilis, in quibus crebra mentio fit eorum, quibus ſcio luſus hujuſmodi nequaquam probari. Quam male conſulunt iſti, non ſolum in ſeipſos, verum etiam in omnes, quibus bonæ literæ charæ ſunt! Jam illud eſt omnium moleſtiſſimum mihi, ſi modo

verum

A. D. 1516. exploits of Gentlemen, whoſe delicacy and modeſty will not permit them to ſet their names to their works; works, which, like a candle's end burning in the ſocket, ſoon ceaſe both to blaze and to ſtink.

In his [x] *Spongia* he ſays, that it was compoſed by three perſons, whom he names not.

He ſeems to have ſpoken the more warmly upon this ludicrous occaſion, becauſe he was unjuſtly ſuſpected of being the author of ſome [y] libels, which appeared at that time; and therefore

verum eſt, quod mihi iſtinc reverſus famulus meus Jacobus narravit, apud complures haberi Coloniæ libellum neſcio quem, in Julium Pontificem, quomodo mortuus excluſus ſit cœlo per Petrum. Audieram jampridem hujuſmodi fabulam actam in Gallia, ubi talium nugarum immodica licentia ſemper fuit. Eam, opinor, aliquis in Latinum ſermonem tranſtulit. Demiror quid iſtis in mentem veniat, cum ſic otium et operam perdunt. Cæterum admiror eſſe qui ſuſpicentur tam inſignem ineptiam a me profectam, opinor ob id, quod fermo fortaſſe ſit paulo Latinior. Luſi quidem in *Moria*, ſed incruente: nullius famam nominatim perſtrinxi; in mores hominum luſimus, non in famam hominum. Ep. 160. c. 1622.

Scit tota ſodalitas Baſilienſis mihi ſemper diſplicuiſſe Epiſtolas, quas inſcripſerunt *Obſcurorum Virorum*, non quod abhorream a feſtivis jocis, ſed quod non placeat exemplum lædendi famam alienam: quod ea res cuivis ſit in promptu, &c. Non probo, neque quiſquam vir vere pius probat, iſtas tam virulentas infectationes, quæ a ſpiritu mundi, non Chriſti, proficiſcuntur. Ep. 168. c. 1626.

Peſſime conſuluit rebus humanis, qui titulum indidit *Obſcurorum Virorum*: quod ni titulus prodidiſſet luſum, et hodie paſſim legerentur illæ Epiſtolæ, tanquam in gratiam Prædicatorum ſcriptæ. Adeſt hic Lovanii Magiſter noſter, pridem Prior apud Bruxellas, qui viginti libellos coëmerat, gratificaturus amicis, paulo antequam Bulla ea prodiret, quæ effulminat eum libellum. Primum optabam non editum eum libellum; verum ubi fuerat editus, optabam alium titulum. Sunt illi quidem digni majoribus convitiis, ſed exemplum eſt odioſius, et quod in furto moleſtiſſimum eſſe conſuevit, ſuſpicio incerto auctore per omnes vagatur, ut cuique ſua conjectura, aut ſuus ſuggerit affectus: neque enim deerant, qui me crederent earum Epiſtolarum auctorem, cum mihi nec nomina forent nota, nec imitabilis phraſis. Ep. 277, c. 1678.

[x] T. X. c. 1640.

[y] *Jules* II. Memoratur *Dialogus viri cujuſdam eruditiſſimi feſtivus—quo Julius — cœli fores*, &c. et cum is etiam in Tomis

fore he declares, that he never wrote any [z] books, to which he did not put his name. But, after all, theſe *Epiſtles of the Obſcure* may be conſidered as a piece of harmleſs mirth, levelled againſt men, who were not only egregious boobies, but, which was infinitely worſe, ſhameleſs calumniators and blood-thirſty perſecutors. A. D. 1516.

"[a] Simler, in the life of Bullinger, ſays, that when Eraſmus "read theſe Epiſtles, which were lent him by a friend, he fell "into ſuch a fit of laughing, that an abſceſs in his face burſt, "which elſe ſhould have been laid open by order of his phy- "ſician. This ought to be reckoned for one of the benefits "produced by reading."

[b] Ortuinus Gratius, who had been taught by Hegius, the School-maſter of Eraſmus, at Daventer, publiſhed a *Faſciculus*, in which were collected ſome *Epiſtolæ Clarorum Virorum*. He alſo wrote againſt Reuchlin: for which he is laſhed in the *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum*. He replied, in a book called *Lamentationes Obſcurorum Virorum*: but it was to no purpoſe; the laugh went againſt him. Gratius died in 1542, as a man; for, as an Author, he was dead long before.

[c] Luther wrote a letter this year to Spalatinus, in which he ſhews himſelf a zealous Auguſtinian and Anti-pelagian in the points of original ſin, grace, juſtification by faith, and not by moral

Tomis Paſquillorum habeatur, de raritate ac pretio libri diſputatur. [Bibliotheca noſtra habet exempla duo libri, quem Phœnicem putabat Dan. Heinſius, et centum aureis redemetat.] *Remarques ſur Bayle*, in the *Relat. Gotting.* Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 113.

Notwithſtanding theſe proteſtations of Eraſmus, ſome have perſevered in aſcribing this *Dialogue* to him; and Baluzius, in his copy of this book, inſerted a preface of his own hand-writing, in which he affirms, that Eraſmus is the real author. See N° 2656 of the *Bibliotheca Baluziana*. Bayle JULES II. Not. N. and T. IV. p. 3108. *Rem. Crit.* The ſolemn aſſeverations of Eraſmus ought to outweigh the conjectures of Baluzius.

[z] Nullum adhuc opus conſcripſi, neque conſcripturus ſum, cui non præfigam nomen meum. Ep. 317.

[a] Bayle ERASME, Not. Z.

[b] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 638.

[c] Seckendorf L. I. p. 22.

A. D. 1516. moral works, &c. He blames Eraſmus for leaning too much the other way, and for thinking too meanly of Auguſtin. As much as Eraſmus prefers Jerom to Auguſtin, ſays he, ſo much do I prefer Auguſtin to Jerom. His taſte, in this point, was extremely bad.

Eraſmus ſpeaks with great eſteem of his friend [d] Paulus Æmilius, and of his Hiſtory of France. Ep. 203.

[e] Alardus wrote to Eraſmus, and tranſlated a little Greek poem of Eraſmus to the Virgin Mary into Latin verſes. Ep. 66. c. 1560.

[f] The tranſlation of ſome pieces of Plutarch was publiſhed by Froben, and other ſmaller treatiſes of Eraſmus.

[g] This year alſo were printed, at Louvain, Epiſtles of Eraſmus and his correſpondents, and his tranſlation of Gaza's Greek Grammar.

A. D. MDXVII. Ætat. L.

This year [h] Warham wrote a polite letter to Eraſmus, and thanked him in the moſt obliging manner for having conferred immortality

[d] Bayle EMILE.

[e] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 127. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 109.

[f] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 284, 292.

[g] Ib. p. 291, 294, 307, 318.

[h] Quum non illaudati nominis æternitatem per te ſim conſecutus, qua multi præclari Reges et Imperatores carent, et a memoria hominum penitus exciderunt, niſi quod tantum vix nominum eorum catalogus, et id jejune quidem fiat, non video, quod ſatis ſit in hac mortali vita, quod pro immortalitate reddam. Cogito enim quanta mihi tribueris ubique, vel præſens per colloquia, vel abſens per literas, aut communiter per volumina: quæ quidem ſunt majora, quam ſuſtinere valeam. Judicabis ergo Cantuarienſem ingratiſſimum, niſi tui ſit habiturus rationem fideliſſimam et conſtantiſſimam, licet meritis inæqualem et inferiorem. Quod autem ſexaginta nobiles non ſunt hactenus ad te per commutationem perlati, menſarius in culpa eſt, &c. Editionem tuam in Novum Teſtamentum aliquot fratribus meis Epiſcopis et Theologiæ Doctoribus communicavi, qui maxime operæ pretium in ea re te feciſſe u[illegible] profitentur; quorum judicio adhærens, et omnia ſumma judicans, quæ

immortality upon him. The Monks had a very different [i] opinion from Warham, about the labours which Eraſmus beſtowed upon Jerom. A. D. 1517.

The Biſhop of Liege, to whom Eraſmus had ſent his Expoſition of the firſt Pſalm, printed in 1515, invited him to his palace. Eraſmus excuſed himſelf on account of the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and his infirmities, and his many occupations. Ep. 233.

Eraſmus warmly recommended to the Biſhop of Paris his friend Henricus Glareanus of Switzerland (on whom he beſtows many praiſes) to teach the *Belles Lettres* in France, which office Eraſmus himſelf deſired to decline. His recommendation was not ineffectual. He [k] cloſes his letter very prettily.

He received a letter from Oecolampadius full of friendſhip and reſpect. This learned man, who was of Franconia, and whom Eraſmus had ſeen at Baſil, informs him of his own occupations at

quæ a tuo divino ingenio multiplicique doctrina proficiſcuntur, eam omnibus laudibus effero, perinde ut Hieronymianam provinciam, quam in eo es, ut propediem abſolvas: per quæ opera famæ immortalitatem inter homines, inter ſuperos divinam remunerationem, et a me quicquid commode et convenienter præſtare potero, conſequeris. Hieronymi volumina nunquam ſatis laudata a præſentium latore accepi: pro quibus, et pro Novo Teſtamento, quod etiam abs te accepi, gratiam habeo immortalem: hoc eſt, pro ſudoribus, quos in hi[illegible]peribus exantlaſti. Poſtremo rogo, uti cures has meas literas ad Reverendum et optimum fratrem, Epiſcopum Baſileenſem, perferri, et te valedine eo diligentius liberare ſtudeas, ut quamprimum te videamus. Ep. 261, & 65. c. 1559.

[i] Non ita pridem in Bibliotheca publica Ulmenſi vidi editionem Hieronymi Frobenianam, ita male a Monachis habitam, ut haud exigua pars annotationum Eraſmi a crudelibus eorum manibus expuncta et prorſus obliterata ſit. *Amœnit. Literariæ*, T. II. p. 432.

[k] Sed heus tu, vacuis epiſtolis non eſt arceſſendus (Glareanus:) viaticum addatur oportet, velut arrhabo reliqui promiſſi. Vide quam familiariter tecum agam; ceu tuæ Celſitudinis oblitus. Sed ita me tua corrupit humanitas, quæ hanc docuit impudentiam: quam aut totam ignoſcas oportet, aut bonam certe partem tibi ipſi imputes. Ep. 235.

A. D. 1517. at this time, for he was collating the Vulgate with the Hebrew, and of his connections with Melanchthon.

About this time [l] Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis, whom Eraſmus had always accounted one of his friends, wrote againſt him; and, in a ſecond edition of his Commentaries upon the Epiſtles of St. Paul, attacked him very roughly for his interpretation of a paſſage in the eighth Pſalm, cited in *Hebr.* xi. 7, and treated him as a corruptor of the Scriptures, &c.

Eraſmus [m] wrote an anſwer in a mild manner, and alſo ſent him a letter, exhorting him to ſpeak for the future with more candor and moderation, and to declare himſelf, publicly at leaſt, a friend to Eraſmus, leſt the Monks, their common enemies, ſhould rejoice and triumph to ſee them at variance. See Ep. 239, 271, which are written in a friendly and a Chriſtian manner.

Faber, though a learned man, was not equal to Eraſmus, or a match for him in diſputation. If he did not comply at that time with this humble and reaſonable requeſt of Eraſmus, he however did not reply to his book, and ſo the controverſy was dropped on both ſides.

The reply, which Eraſmus made to Faber, took him up only fourteen days in writing and printing, as he tells Budæus; twelve days, as he informs another friend, Ep. 240. c. 1657. It was favourably received by the learned world, and particularly applauded by the German, Italian, and Engliſh ſcholars, who rejoiced to ſee Eraſmus demoliſh a Frenchman. Ep. 307.

The moſt commendable and edifying part of this affair was, that Faber afterwards repented of having attacked Eraſmus, and that Eraſmus was very ſorry for having anſwered him; and they continued

[l] Verheiden Præſt. Theol. Effig. p. 104. Beza Icon. Colomeſius *Melange Curieux*, p. 810, 4to Ed. Menagiana, T. III. p. 272. Du Pin B. E. XIII. 174. XIV. 157. P. Jovius Elog. p. 203. Bibl. Univ. XVI. 66. Sammarthanus Elog. L. I. p. 1. Thuanus L. VI. p. 175. Bayle FEVRE, and T. IV. p. 3102. *Rem. Crit.* Pope Blount, p. 367.

[m] Tom. IX. c. 17.

continued to ſpeak of each other with great reſpect and eſteem: A. D. 1517.
for which reaſon we will alſo diſmiſs the diſpute; only obſerving, that it would be happy, if wrangling Geniuſes would copy from theſe examples, and conſider a little, how all men of ſenſe and manners applaud ſuch moderation, and how they abhor and deſpiſe thoſe, who having begun to quarrel, perhaps, upon mere baubles, never end their conteſts and animoſities, till Death comes and puts them to ſilence. Ep. 293, 436.

[n] Faber, though he lived in communion with the Church of Rome, was ever ſuſpected of Proteſtantiſm, and aſſuredly was very little of a Papiſt.

"[o] Faber was expelled from the Faculty of Theology at Paris. "He printed a Pſalter of five verſions, accompanied with notes "of ſmall merit. He had ſhaken off the prejudices of his Fra- "ternity, who idolized the Vulgate, becauſe they underſtood "nothing elſe."

[n] *Le Fevre.* Pluſcula hic nova. Probatur multis argumentis, illum nunquam fuiſſe Doctorem Sorbonicum, ſ. Doctorem Theologiæ Facultatis Pariſienſis: multo minus gradu illo dejectum. Multa de diſputatione de tribus Magdalenis. Monet inter alia Jolius, A. 1702 et 1703, non fuiſſe permiſſum ſtatuere in Sorbona, *Tres Magdalenas, tres unctrices Domini*, &c. Multum operæ collocatur in evertenda narratione Tho. Huberti de morte Fabri, in cujus limine deteſtatus eſſe, præſente Regina Navarræ, dicitur diſſimulationem, qua in communione Eccleſiæ Romanæ manſerit, cujus deferendæ auctor ipſe fuiſſet pluribus, martyrii coronam ea de cauſa adeptis. Omnes partes illius narrationis (etiam quod Fabrum certe ario majorem facit) convellere ſtudet Auctor. [Qui habent ſchedas B. Beyſchlagii, qui de Fabro Stapulenſi accuratos commentarios promiſerat, ſi edere illas, aut uti adeo illis volent, recte illas cum hoc capite Jolii conferent.] *Remarques ſur Bayle*, in the *Relat. Gotting.* Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 104.

Primam editionem Novi Teſtamenti Gallici, interprete Jacobo Fabro Stapulenſi, quæ Pariſiis anno 1523, in 8vo, lucem adſpexit, rariſſimam vocat Longius: nempe ejus uſus publica authoritate fuit prohibitus. Quod fatum etiam ſubierunt aliæ illius editiones, A. 1524, 1529, &c. curatæ. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. II. p. 360.

[o] Longueruana I. 145.

A. D. 1517. " [p] It is ſaid of Faber by a writer of good credit, that he had " been a great traveller in queſt of knowledge, and had ſeen not " only Europe, but alſo Aſia, and a part of Afric."

Faber had a diſciple, Joannes Aventinus, a learned man, who was accuſed of hereſy by the Jeſuits. Fromondus [q] compares Aventinus to Eraſmus for free thinking and free ſpeaking.

[r] Edward Lee began about this time to attack Eraſmus, and to ſtir up the Divines againſt him; in which attempt the Dominicans were no leſs buſy. He not only treated Eraſmus as one of little erudition and no judgment, but as an heretic and an enemy to the Church; and did all that lay in his power to run him down and ruin him. Eraſmus in return hath often ſaid of him, [s] that the earth never produced an animal more vain, more arrogant, more ſcurrilous, more ignorant, more fooliſh, and more malicious, than he. Yet this man advanced himſelf at Court, and became an Archbiſhop. He muſt have had ſome dexterity, ſays Le Clerc, unleſs his elevation was owing to the caprice of the King, or of Dame Fortune, who loves to [t] divert herſelf, and play her gambols, (if we may ſpeak in a Pagan ſtyle) at the expenſe of poor mortals.

Lee was of a reputable family, was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, afterwards Chaplain and Almoner to Henry VIII, then employed by the King on ſeveral embaſſies, then made Archbiſhop of York A. 1531, and died 1544.

He was, as Antony Wood and ſome others have ſaid, not only profoundly learned, and an incomparable Divine, but a pious Chriſtian, an able and aſſiduous preacher, extremely charitable to

[p] Menagiana III. 274.

[q] Liberrimæ enim linguæ (hæreticæ dicere non auſim, neque puto) et plane Eraſmicæ, in Monachorum et Eccleſiaſticorum vitia fuit Aventinus. *Bayle* AVENTIN, Not. H.

[r] Knight, p. 286, &c. Du Pin B. E. T. XIV. 75. Burnet I. 214. III. 99, 106.

[s] Quo uno nihil unquam adhuc terra produxit, nec arrogantius, nec virulentius, nec ſtultius. Ep. 248.

[t] ——quoties voluit Fortuna jocari.

to the poor, and univerſally lamented, when he departed this life. A. D. 1517.
It is very well: but whence came our *Antiquaries* to know all this? Why, even from his *Epitaph.* As if Stones could not exaggerate! Thus much is certain, that he was always an enemy to the Reformation.

" [u] Amongſt the Biſhops, all were not equally honeſt nor " zealous. Lee and Gardiner were thoſe, in whom the old leaven " had the deepeſt root. So the King, being informed that Lee, " though he had given in his profeſſion, ſubſcribed and ſealed by " him, yet did not his duty in his Dioceſe and Province, neither " in teaching himſelf, nor cauſing others to teach the people, " conform to what was ſettled both in Convocation and Par- " liament, ſent him orders both to preach theſe things, and to " order all other Eccleſiaſtical perſons in his Province to do the " ſame. Upon this he wrote a long vindication of himſelf in " June 1535, &c."

" [x] The Archbiſhop of York was much ſuſpected; and if many " apologies look like intimations of guilt, he had a great deal; " for he took many occaſions to juſtify himſelf, &c."

[y] More (great grandſon of Sir T. More) and Stapleton have extolled Lee, as an excellent man: but the queſtion is, whether they were excellent judges. Their uncharitable zeal is indeed unqueſtionable.

Sir T. More was a conſtant friend to Lee, and yet much diſpleaſed at his quarrelling with Eraſmus. He wrote three letters to Lee on that occaſion; which inform us, that he would have diſſuaded Lee from printing his cenſures upon Eraſmus; that he was very ſorry, when they were publiſhed; that he thought Lee to be no match for Eraſmus, but far inferior to him both in knowledge and abilities, and in credit and intereſt with the learned world; and judged that this exploit would draw infamy and

[u] Burnet III. 99.
[x] Burnet III. 108.
[y] More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 69.

A. D. 1517. contempt upon the writer, and even an odium upon the Engliſh nation.

Thus our Lee, who, if he had kept the Fool within doors, might have paſſed off for a tolerable Divine, choſe rather to purchaſe renown, ſuch as it was, by heading the clamorous, unlearned, or half-learned cenſurers of Eraſmus, and of all reformations. Amongſt theſe indeed he might hope to make a figure, though not amongſt more eminent perſons; and it is no wonder, that an ambitious man ſhould chuſe rather to be the leader of a paltry ſect, than loſt amongſt ſcholars of the ſecond or third claſs. In the opinion of Dr. [z] Knight, Lee acted alſo with a view to preferment, and thought it a probable way of riſing in the Church at that time.

Eraſmus [a] tells Botzem, that Pace had ſucceeded Colet in the Deanery of St. Paul's: but this happened in the year 1519; which ſhews, as my friend Dr. Birch obſerved, that the letter to Botzem could not have been written, as it is dated, 16 Maii, A. 1517.

Eraſmus in the firſt edition of his New Teſtament had ſpoken with reſpect of Budæus, on *Luk.* i. 3. though he had blamed his interpretation of a Greek word. Budæus on this occaſion, though he was a better Grecian than Eraſmus, took it like a man of honour. He owned his miſtake, thanked Eraſmus for ſetting him right, and even furniſhed him with Greek citations againſt himſelf. Eraſmus made uſe of thoſe paſſages in the ſubſequent editions, but ſtruck out what he had blamed in Budæus. He alſo profited from another remark of Budæus on the ſame verſe, who had ſhewed Eraſmus, that he alſo was miſtaken upon another word. But Budæus added an advice to Eraſmus, which did not pleaſe him ſo well, and exhorted him not to deal ſo much with trifles, (λεπιδολογήματα) which he compoſed, by way of amuſement and recreation, in the midſt of more conſiderable occupations.

Eraſmus

[z] P. 289. [a] Ep. 240.

Eraſmus in his anſwer returns him thanks; but frankly declares, A. D. 1517.
that he knew not what theſe *bagatelles* were, and gives a liſt of his works, which, as he thought, did not deſerve that appellation. He ſays, for example, that in his *Enchiridion* he had been bold to maintain ſentiments oppoſite to thoſe which at that time were moſt prevalent, without fear of the unreaſonable perſons whom he might offend. He means popular and Monkiſh devotions, the uſeleſſneſs of which he had ſhewed. Ep. 151, 260.

He ſent to Henry VIII a ſecond edition of a tranſlation of Plutarch, *Concerning the method of diſtinguiſhing a flatterer from a friend.* He had dedicated the firſt edition to this Prince; and he added to it ſome other pieces, as the *Panegyric of Philip* the father of Charles V, and *the Inſtruction of a Chriſtian Prince.* He deſired Cardinal Wolſey, Henry's favourite, to preſent this Volume to him; and he dedicated to Wolſey another Treatiſe of Plutarch, *Concerning the uſefulneſs which may be reaped from enemies.* It ſhould ſeem from a letter of Eraſmus to Botzem, that neither the King nor the Cardinal made him any preſent on this occaſion. Eraſmus however wrote a letter of thanks to the King for all his favours. Ep. 267, 268.

The firſt edition of his New Teſtament had ſo quick a ſale, that in the autumn this year he was buſy in reviſing it, and preparing a ſecond, as he ſays in a letter to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, who was, and continued to be, one of his ſincereſt friends. Pirckheimerus was alſo a firm friend to Reuchlin, and courageouſly undertook his defence againſt his malicious enemies, the Monks. Eraſmus here deſcribes the Jew Pfeffercorn, who was come over to Chriſtianity, and was the ring-leader of Reuchlin's enemies, and ſays of him, that he deſerved much better to be hanged than to be confuted. He alſo commends the Treatiſe of Pirckheimerus. Ep. 274. Ep. 201. c. 1639. Ep. 202. c. 1640. Ep. 203. c. 1642.

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He

A. D. 1517. He dedicated to Erneſtus, Duke of Bavaria, an edition of Quintus Curtius, and the 276th Epiſtle contains the Dedication. In it he derides the romantic genius of the Greek Hiſtorians, and cenſures the deteſtable ambition of Alexander, much in the ſame manner as Seneca hath done.

To Philip of Burgundy, Archbiſhop of Utrecht, he dedicated his book called *The Complaint of Peace.* The Prelate not only thanked him, but would have given him a Benefice; which being refuſed by Eraſmus, he preſented to him a ring with a ſapphire ſtone, which his own brother, David, Archbiſhop of Utrecht, had worn. Ep. 281, 282.

Hieronymus Buſlidius, (Buſleiden) an Eccleſiaſtic of the Low Countries, died this year, and gave his effects to the Academy of Louvain, to erect a College, where Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew ſhould be taught. Eraſmus greatly commends this act of charity and liberality, which muſt have been very advantageous to that Univerſity, if able men were choſen for Profeſſors of thoſe languages.

But this noble inſtitution gave much diſguſt to the illiterate Divines, who harboured there. They are [b] vexed, ſays Eraſmus, that three tongues ſhould be in requeſt, and they had rather be, what they are, *double-tongued:* and indeed there is no teaching a new language to ſuch old parrots.

The quarrel, which had unfortunately broken out between Faber and Eraſmus, had well-nigh produced one between Eraſmus and Budæus, who was a friend to Faber, and who, ſeeing him ſo diſcomfited by Eraſmus, was quite vexed at it, and could not forbear from complaining and expoſtulating. Eraſmus anſwered him; but the letters relating to this ſubject are not all ranged in proper order for want of dates. That which begins, *Budæus, hactenus*

[b] Inſtituitur hic Collegium Trilingue, ex legato Buſlidii. Sed obſtrepunt nonnulli, qui, quod ſunt, bilingues eſſe malunt; jam vetuli pſittaci, quibus mutandæ linguæ ſpes non ſit. Ep. 358. See alſo Ep. 387 to Budæus.

hactenus Eraſmi amicus, ultimam ſalutem dicit Eraſmo, and which is the 343d, ſhould be placed before the 285th, in which Eraſmus anſwers, *Eraſmus Budæi perpetuus, velit, nolit, amicus, non ultimam ſed jugem ac perennem illi ſalutem dicit.* Yet this laſt-mentioned letter is not an anſwer to the other, but to the 310th, which ſhould alſo have been placed before the 285th. A. D. 1517.

Theſe letters of altercation between the two great men, altho' they be ingenious and learned, are not entertaining. They are full of chicaneries about trifles, eſpecially thoſe of Budæus, who ſeems to have been of a litigating humour.

Budæus is [c] thought by ſome to have been inclined at laſt to the ſentiments of the Reformed; and their conjecture is partly founded on this, which is no bad reaſon, that, immediately after his death, his wife and children went over to that Religion, and ſettled at Geneva.

Budæus loved the Monks and the illiterate Eccleſiaſtics as little as Faber or Eraſmus did, and probably was as little beloved by them. In one of his letters he ſhews a ſupreme contempt of the [d] Sorbonne, and

[c] Bayle BUDÉ, Not. O.

[d] Celebris ille Gregorius Tifernas quos non ſuſtinuit inſultus, antequam ab Academia Pariſienſi, ut Græca ſibi legere permitteretur, impetraret? Cum enim, Decreto Concilii Viennenſis ſubnixus, circa A. 1470, Academiæ illius Rectori indicaſſet, ſibi conſtitutum eſſe literas Græcas profiteri, poſtulato etiam ſtipendio, demirabantur omnes hominis peregrini, nec ab Academia arceſſiti, audaciam. Illo autem Decretum, quod Scholæ etiam Pariſienſis mentionem faciebat, urgente, Rector ad Senatum rem detulit, atque ſic introducta in Scholam illam fuit ea Profeſſio, quæ tot ſeculis jacuerat. Maluerunt quippe Sorbonici iſti Doctores Melchioris Cani elogio ſuperbire, quod *annis trecentis integris linguæ Græcæ et Hebraicæ nullam habuerint peritiam.* — Hinc tragœdia illa doctiſſimi Capnionis cum Monachis Colonienſibus, Pariſienſibus, et aliis, quæ et ingenioſis *Obſcurorum Virorum Epiſtolis* decantata, et a Sleidano prolixius deſcripta. Hinc et Eraſmus omnis maledicentiæ incus eſſe debuit. Nihil tam acerbum, tam inhumanum, aut a pietate tam alienum nihil, quod in Eraſmum ejuſque ſtudia, ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης, Monachalis, ut vocabant, ſimplicitatis hyperaſpiſtæ non conjecerint. *Moria* præſertim ſua, qua ſtudia et mores Theologorum ſui ſeculi falſe perſtrinxit, crabrones ſic irritavit,

A. D. 1517. and calls the members of it prating Sophiſts, and [e] Divines of the *Sorbonian Lake*.

The 253d letter is from our [f] Tonſtall to Budæus, written with elegance, and full of learning and good ſenſe.

" [g] Eraſmus highly valued Cuthbert Tonſtall, Biſhop of Dur-
" ham, and received many great favours from him. He was
" acquainted with this Biſhop abroad, and whilſt he was in
" the Low Countries, where at Bruſſels he lived in the ſame
" houſe with him. I find other writers join with Dr. Fiddes in
" the ſame elogy of him, that, while there, he was very ſedu-
" lous in his charge, as well as very capable of executing it;
" that nothing, wherein his Majeſty was concerned, eſcaped
" him. He perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Imperial
" Court, penetrated into all the deſigns of it, and failed not, as
" occaſion offered, to impart his advice accordingly to the King.
" He is ſaid alſo to have been of a very mild and gentle diſpo-
" ſition; ſo that, in the cruel reign of Queen Mary, his Dioceſe
" eſcaped the perſecutions: though, as to himſelf, he continued
" rigid in his principles, and conſcientiouſly choſe rather to be
" deprived of his rich Biſhoprick, than act againſt his judgment.
" He was confined during his life in the palace at Lambeth,
" but met with great civilities from Archbiſhop Parker. He
" lies buried in the Chancel of the Pariſh-Church of Lambeth.

" He

irritavit, ut omni fere apud mitratos gratia exciderit. *Crenius* de Philolog. Literar. p. 16.

Eraſmus ſpeaks of this Decree:

Exſtat pervetuſtum Pontificii Senatus decretum, de conſtituendis Doctoribus, qui linguas aliquot publice traderent. — Cur, quod Pontificum auctoritas juſſit, negligimus? *Apol. ad Dorp.* T. IX. c. 13.

[e] —— nunc agentem *Sorbonæ*, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Σορβωνίδι λίμνῃ διατρίβοντα.

This lake is called *Serbonis* or *Sirbonis*; but it ſuited Budæus better to call it *Sorbonis*, for the ſake of the jeſt.

[f] Burnet Hiſt. of the Ref. I. 32, 159. II. 195, 387, 396. III. 53, 107, 126, 129, 133. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 130.

[g] Knight, 190.

" He was of Cambridge, and a Benefactor to the Public Library, A. D. 1517.
" &c. Though he was ſo inflexible in the latter part of his life,
" and ſo ſtiff in his Popiſh principles; yet, in the reign of Henry
" VIII, he had been a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the King's Supremacy,
" and wrote a very ſevere letter to Cardinal Pole, then abroad,
" upon this head, and bid fair, as it was then thought, to be a
" zealous Proteſtant; but ſtopped ſhort."

" [h] Tonſtall being a man both of good learning and an unble-
" miſhed life, theſe virtues produced one of their ordinary effects
" in him, great moderation, that was ſo eminent in him, that at
" no time did he dip his hands in blood."

" [i] The Biſhops made great complaints of Tindal's tranſlation
" of the [k] New Teſtament. But Tonſtall, then Biſhop of London,
" being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt;
" yet endeavoured, as he could, to get the books of Tindal and
" other Reformers into his hands. So being at Antwerp, in the
" year 1529, as he returned from his embaſſy, he ſent for one
" Packington, an Engliſh merchant there, and deſired him to
" ſee how many New Teſtaments of Tindal's tranſlation he might
" have for money. Packington, who was a ſecret favourer of
" Tindal, told him what the Biſhop propoſed. Tindal was very
" glad of it; for, being convinced of ſome faults in his works,
" he was deſigning a new and more correct edition: but he was
" poor, and the former impreſſion not being ſold off, he could

[h] Burnet.

[i] Burnet.

[k] Dixit nobis (A. 1526) Buſchius, Wormatiæ ſex mille exemplaria Novi Teſtamenti Anglice excuſa. Id operis verſum eſſe ab Anglo, illic cum duobus Britannis divertente, ita ſeptem linguarum perito, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, Italicæ, Hiſpanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ, ut, quamcunque loquatur, in ea natum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctante et invito Rege, tamen ſic ſuſpirare ad Evangelium, ut affirment ſeſe emturos Novum Teſtamentum, etiamſi centenis millibus æris ſit redimendum. Adhæc Wormatiæ etiam Novum Teſtamentum Gallice excuſum eſſe. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amœn. Literar.* T. IV. p. 431.

A. D. 1517. " not go about it: ſo he gave Packington all the copies that lay " in his hands; for which the Biſhop payed the price, and " brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapſide. — " Next year, when the ſecond edition was finiſhed, many more " were brought over; and one Conſtantine being taken in Eng- " land, the Lord Chancellor, in a private examination, promiſed " him, that no hurt ſhould be done him, if he would reveal " who encouraged and ſupported them at Antwerp; which he " accepted of, and told them, that the greateſt encouragement " they had was from the Biſhop of London, who had bought " up half the impreſſion. This made all that heard of it " laugh heartily, though more judicious perſons diſcerned the " great temper of that learned Biſhop in it."

" [l] In the reign of Edward VI, Tonſtall was put into the " Tower. The Commons refuſed to attaint him. He had in " all points given obedience to every law, and to all the in- " junctions that had been made; but had always in Parliament " proteſted againſt the changes in religion; which he thought " he might in good conſcience ſubmit to and obey, though he " could not conſent to them. Only in the matter of the Cor- " poral Preſence he was ſtill of the old perſuaſion, and wrote " about it. But the Latin ſtyle of his book is much better than " the divinity and reaſonings in it.—There was a conſtant good " correſpondence between Cranmer and him, though in many " things they differed in opinion. — So, when the Bill for attaint- " ing him paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, Cranmer ſpake freely " againſt it."

" [m] When the Bill for Queen Elizabeth's Supremacy was paſſed, " Tonſtall came not to Parliament. There were ſome hopes " of gaining him to concur in the Reformation: for, in the " Warrant the Queen afterwards gave to ſome for Conſecrating " the new Biſhops, he is firſt named; and I have ſeen a letter " of

[l] Burnet. [m] Burnet.

" of Secretary Cecil's to Parker, that gives him ſome hope that A. D. 1517.
" Tonſtall would join them. He had been offended with the
" cruelties of the late reign: and though the reſentments he had
" of his ill uſage in the end of King Edward's time, had made
" him at firſt concur more heartily to the reſtoring of Popery,
" yet he ſoon fell off, and declared his diſlike of thoſe violent
" courſes; and neither did he, nor Biſhop Heath, bring any in
" trouble within their Dioceſes upon the account of religion."

" [n] Heath was a man of a generous temper, and ſo was well
" uſed by Queen Elizabeth; for, as he was ſuffered to live
" ſecurely at his own houſe in Surrey, ſo ſhe went thither ſome-
" times to viſit him. Tonſtall and Thirleby lived in Lambeth
" with Parker, with great freedom and eaſe."

" [o] Tonſtall, being a man of great probity, could not at firſt
" approve of (a Bill in which the King's Supremacy was inſerted)
" in which he ſaw a fraudulent management, and an ill deſign:
" ſo he proteſted againſt it. He acknowledged the King's head-
" ſhip in temporal matters, but did not allow it in ſpirituals.
" But Henry VIII, who had a particular friendſhip for him,
" wrote him a letter;—which, it ſeems, ſo far ſatisfied him, that
" he took the oath afterwards, without any limitation."

" [p] Tonſtall declared himſelf againſt the Divorce.—How he
" came to change, and to take the oath, is that of which I can
" give no account.—But he was afterwards in all things very
" compliant, even to the end of King Edward's reign."

" [q] Tonſtall, being provoked by Pole, and commanded by the
" King, wrote a full and ſolid anſwer to his book;—which I
" have abſtracted the more fully, for the honour of his memory,
" who was a generous and good-natured as well as a very learned
" man. Pole, who was then a Cardinal, wrote no anſwer to
" this, that I could find, &c."

" [r] Upon

[n] Burnet. [o] Burnet. [p] Burnet. [q] Burnet.

A. D. 1517. "[x] Upon the death of Queen Jane, Tonſtall wrote a conſolatory "letter to the King.—It runs upon the common topics of "affliction, with many good applications of Scripture, and ſeems "chiefly meant to calm and cheat up the King's ſpirit. But the "truth is, King Henry had ſo many groſs faults about him, that "it had been more for Tonſtall's honour, and better ſuited his "character, if he had given hints to awaken the King's con-"ſcience, and to call upon him to examine his ways, whilſt he "had that load upon his mind. Either Tonſtall did not think "him ſo faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty him-"ſelf, in being ſo wanting to his duty, upon ſo great an "occaſion."

"[y] In the reign of Edward, Tonſtall was accuſed of con-"ſenting to a conſpiracy in the North, and lay in the Tower, "till Queen Mary ſet him at liberty. There, in the ſeventy-"ſeventh year of his age, he wrote a book, aſſerting the corporal "preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. He was deprived of "his Biſhoprick."

"[z] Though, during the reign of King Henry, Tonſtall went "with the ſway of the times, to the great grief of Sir T. More; "yet living to the time of Queen Elizabeth, (whoſe god-father "he was, when ſhe bewrayed the font) in his old age ſeeing her "take ſtrange courſes againſt the Church, he came from Durham, "and ſtoutly admoniſhed her not to change religion; which "if ſhe preſumed to do, he threatened her to loſe God's bleſſing "and his. She, nothing pleaſed with his threats, made him be "caſt into *priſon*, as moſt of the Biſhops were, where he made "a glorious end of a Confeſſor, and ſatisfied for his former "crime of ſchiſm."

A *priſon*, ſaith this zealot. Lambeth Palace, and the Archbiſhop's Table, was a dreadful dungeon, to be ſure; and as bad as

[x] Burnet.

[y] Burnet.

[z] Thus Stapleton, and More in the Life of Sir T. More, p. 66.

as thoſe, into which the righteous Bonner, and other ſaints of the ſame claſs, uſed to thruſt the poor heretics! Will men never be aſhamed of theſe godly tricks and diſingenuous prevarications? A. D. 1517.

Henry VIII ſent Eraſmus ſixty angels, and offered him a living of an hundred marks, if he would come to him, and take it. Ep. 127. c. 1600.

In Ep. 263, dated Aug. 24, 1517, he ſays, that he was turned of fifty: *annum exceſſi quinquageſimum.*

Tonſtall, in a letter to Eraſmus, treats Jacobus Faber with great contempt. Ep. 272.

Eraſmus was in England this year in the ſpring, was [u] courteouſly received by the King and the Cardinal, and had very handſome offers made to him, if he would ſettle in England.

In an epiſtle to his friend Gerardus Noviomagus, who was afterwards his foe, he acquaints him, that he had been [x] ſurpriſed with a meſſage relating to ſome new preferment beſtowed upon him, as he fancied; but he found out at laſt, that it was ſent to a name-ſake of his, one Eraſmus, a Doctor of Law.

Eraſmus received a courteous [y] letter from [z] Spalatinus, Secretary to Frederic of Saxony, and correſponded with him afterwards. This worthy man was a conſtant friend to Luther, and one of the

[u] Rex ultro me mira complexus eſt humanitate, atque item Cardinalis, Rex alter, ut ita loquar. Obtulerunt, præter ædes magnificas, ſexcentos florenos in ſingulos annos. Sic egi gratias, ut nec acciperem conditionem oblatam, nec rejicerem. Ep. 274.

[x] Audi rem ridiculam. Nuper quidam expeditus accurrit, annuncians, ſacerdotium meum, quod haberem Trajecti, æſtimatum quatuor Philippeis, ſi vellem numerare. Primum gaudebam, ſomnians novum aliquod collatum; deinde mirabar quid rei eſſet; poſtremo ſenſi nomen commune fuiſſe cauſam erroris. Eſt enim hic alter Eraſmus, Juris Doctor, ad quem ſcriptas literas inſciens nuper legi, putans ad me ſcriptas. —— Ep. 279.

[y] Ep. 278.

[z] See more concerning Spalatinus in Seckendorf, L. I. p. 22, *et paſſim.* In the *Amœnitates Literariæ* there is a large extract from a manuſcript Diary of Spalatinus, which contains many curious and remarkable things relating to thoſe times. Tom. IV. p. 389.

A. D. 1517. the Reformers. He tranſlated into German the Treatiſe of Eraſmus, *De Inſtitutione Principis Chriſtiani*. He died in the year 1545, aged 63.

The 282d Epiſtle is from Bombaſius, who was Secretary to a Cardinal. [a] Bombaſius was a man of learning and of wit, who writes extremely well, and who always continued his friendſhip with Eraſmus. He was killed at the ſacking of Rome, A. 1527; and Pierius hath recorded him amongſt the *Infelices Literati* [b].

This year Eraſmus loſt his beloved friend Ammonius, who was taken off in a few hours by [c] the ſweating ſickneſs in England, and whoſe death he frequently and paſſionately laments. Hence it appears, that this diſtemper did not ſpare foreigners, as ſome, I think, have imagined.

He tells a friend, that his [d] chief ſupport was from his Engliſh revenues, which alone kept him from ſtarving.

Warham ſent him a [e] letter, and a preſent of twenty angels: and, from a letter of Eraſmus to Marcus Laurinus, it appears, that he had [f] received a gift from ſome other friend.

He [g] commends the Univerſity of Cambridge, as having thrown off ſcholaſtic nonſenſe.

He

[a] In Ep. 594, he calls Bombaſius *patronorum fideliſſimum, et amicorum integerrimum.*

[b] Bayle BOMBASIUS. Eraſmus Ciceronian. Adag. c. 220. I. Index Epiſt. Eraſm. BOMBASIUS.

[c] Eraſmus, in a Dedication to Schydlovietz, ſays, *Sudorem letiferum ante annos triginta non novit Anglia, nec ea lues fere tranſilit ejus inſulæ fines.* Tom. IV. This was written in 1525.

[d] Extrema ancora eſt Britannia, quæ niſi me ſublevaſſet, adhuc mendicaret Eraſmus. Ep. 185. c. 1632.

[e] Ep. 205. c. 1632.

[f] Accepi una cum literis nobilem Flandricum, ducatum Hiſpanicum duplicem, et Michaelem Anglicum, munus cum per ſe magnum, tum ipſo auctore multo gratiſſimum. Ep. 208. c. 1643.

[g] Videmus eas ineptias magna ex parte explodi. Cantabrigia mutata: hæc Schola deteſtatur frigidas illas argutias quæ magis ad rixam faciunt, quam ad pietatem. Ep. 214. c. 1645.

He [h] began to be quite ſick of a thankleſs and quarrelſome world; and reſolved, after the publication of his New Teſtament, to quit his ſtudies, or at leaſt to appear no more as an author. But (happily for the public) he was too active, and too fond of literature, to keep ſuch raſh reſolutions. A. D. 1517.

He [i] throws out ſome ſuſpicions concerning Pace; but they ſeem to have continued good friends afterwards, notwithſtanding this coldneſs.

Henricus Affinius Lyrenſis, a Doctor of phyſic [k], made him a valuable preſent of plate. Eraſmus returns him thanks; and in the ſame letter makes mention of [l] Theodoricus, a printer.

In a letter to More, Eraſmus makes [m] grateful mention of Tonſtall's generoſity; and declares himſelf uncertain where he ſhould ſettle [n], and not at all diſpoſed for England. He judged rightly: Henry and Wolſey were not proper maſters for him to live under.

Amongſt his Epiſtles, there is [o] one, without date, to an anonymous friend, of the ludicrous kind, concerning the art of thriving

[h] Novum Teſtamentum bona ex parte abſolvi: eo edito dormiam, aut mihi canam et Muſis, ſi hic eſt fructus gratus tanto ſtudio juvantium rem literariam. Ep. 215. c. 1646.

[i] Subolet mihi et Pacæi mutatum ingenium, licet ſimulet priſtinam amicitiam. Ep. 216. c. 1647.

[k] Quod cyathos argenteos tanti pretii paraſti, non poſſum non exoſculari animum tam benignum: verum ipſe mecum varie afficior, dum nunc pudet tantum recipere munus ab homine, de quo magis voluerim bene mereri quam ſim promeritus, nunc pudet recuſare ſponte oblatum, ne vel parum bene videar ſentire de animo tuo, vel nolle tibi [illegible]ere devinctus eſſe; ſiquidem a[illegible]nimi ſignum eſt, et libenter debere, &c. Ep. 227. c. 1652.

[l] Inter typographos, qui Eraſmi temporibus celebres, eique amicitiæ propioris neceſſitudine conjuncti fuerunt, memorantur Theodoricus Martinus, Matthias Schurerius, Rutgerus Reſcius, et eorum nemine inferior, Jodocus Badius, &c. *Maittaire* Ann. Typ. II. 54.

[m] — Cum apud me ſolicitus eſſem, quibus verbis illi gratias agerem, ille ultro quinquaginta ſcutatos Gallicos addidit, nec ulla ratione licuit excuſare. Diſpeream, ſi quid habet hæc ætas cum eo viro conferendum. Ep. 241. c. 1658.

[n] — et Angliæ motus timeo, et ſervitutem horreo.

[o] Ep. 510. c. 1887.

A. D. 1517. thriving at court, and of obtaining the favour of the Great. By ſome expreſſions in it, it appears to have been written after he was fifty years old.

He informs Tonſtall, that Aſulanus was publiſhing the [p] Greek Bible.

A. D. MDXVIII. Ætat. LI.

We come now to turbulent and tempeſtuous times; to violent ſtruggles between the Reformed and the Romaniſts; to conteſts, not for things of ſmall importance, but for nothing leſs than power and dominion on the one ſide, life and liberty on the other. Religious diſputes opened the ſcene, and produced religious wars and cruel perſecutions:

— — — *bella, horrida bella,*
Et Tibrim multo ſpumantem ſanguine cerno.

Eraſmus, who of all things abhorred and dreaded diſſentions and tumults, was much alarmed and afflicted at this ſtate of affairs; and often complained afterwards, that his endeavours to pacify and reconcile the two oppoſite parties only drew upon him the reſentment and indignation of both.

Whilſt he was occupied in reviſing and augmenting his New Teſtament, Leo X was no leſs buſy in publiſhing every where his [q] Indulgences, to raiſe money, under the pretence of making war upon the Turks, ſay ſome; of building St. Peter's Church, ſay others [r]: and the Dominicans being employed by him in Germany in this dirty work, the Auguſtinians were irritated, who pretended that the office of retailing Indulgences belonged to them. On this

[p] Ep. 172. c. 1627. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 133.

[q] Seckendorf L. I. p. 11, &c. Perizonius, p. 93, &c. Lettres ſur les Jubiles, et les Indulgences, par C. Chais. Relat. Gotting. Vol. I. Faſc. I. p. 88. Thuani Hiſt. L. I. p. 13. Eraſmus, T. V. c. 167, 942, who ſpeaks ſlightingly of Indulgences. Fiddes, in the Life of Wolſey, p. 132, &c. who treats them [illegible]derly.

[r] [illegible]B. E. T. XIII. p. 30.

this occaſion, [s] Luther, who was of the [t] order laſt-mentioned, A. D. 1518.
and Profeſſor of Divinity at Wittenberg, began to examine the doctrine of Indulgences, which the Dominicans ſold in the moſt open and the moſt infamous manner; and having, as he thought, found it to be full of errors, he refuted it publicly, in the year 1517. [u] We will not enter into a detail of this hiſtory: we have only marked the date of its commencement, becauſe from this time Eraſmus began to be moſt maliciouſly perſecuted by the Eccleſiaſtics, who loudly complained, that his bold and free cenſures of the Monks, and of their pious grimaces and ſuperſtitious devotions, had opened the way for Luther. *Eraſmus*, as they uſed to ſay, *laid the egg, and Luther batched it.* And indeed on this point they judged not amiſs, nor with their accuſtomed *ſiniſterity*, if we may be permitted to uſe that word.

The ridiculous Maimbourg tells us, that the Catholic Church enjoyed a ſweet peace in the ſixteenth century, and held the Popes in profound veneration, till the heretical Luther raiſed commotions: a ſtory which was fit to be told only to boys and girls at Paris. It is hard to name two perſons, who were more generally and more deſervedly abhorred, than Alexander VI and Julius II: and as to Leo X, all the world knew, that he ſat very looſe to religion and to morality.

[s] Bembus, in his Hiſtory of Venice, ſpeaking of the ſubſidy, which Pope Alexander VI granted to the Venetians, to enable them

[s] Verheiden Theol. Effig. p. 23. Pope Blount, p. 380. Beza Icon. Bibl. Univ. XXII. p. 1. XXIV. p. 163. Huber Hiſt. Civ. Burnet III. p. 112. Du Pin B. E. XIII. 30. Perizonius. Bayle LUTHER. Sleidan L. XVII. 451. Seckendorf Hiſt. Luth. from whoſe book a good hiſtory of Luther and Lutheraniſm might be collected. Thuanus L. II. p. 47, who ſpeaks of Luther with great decency and moderation. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 146, &c. Luther's Colloquia Menſalia, tranſlated into Engliſh by Bell, and printed A. 1652. But ſuch ſort of Collections are uſually of dubious authority, as Bayle hath juſtly obſerved.

[t] It ſeems not to have been any ſpleen againſt the Dominicans, that ſet Luther to work, but a diſlike of ſuch practices.

[u] Le Clerc Bibl. Choiſ. I. p. 336.

A. D. 1518. them to make war with the Turks, and which aroſe from the ſale of Indulgences, ſays, that his Holineſs had commanded by a Brief, that they ſhould have all the [x] ſacred money, which the ſubjects of that Republic, who had been guilty of criminal actions, expended, to obtain an exemption from the pains of Hell.

He adds, that, to ſhew the devotion of thoſe times, he will mention the ſum, which was thus collected in the Republic. It amounted to ſeven hundred and ninety pounds of gold. If by a pound he means twelve ounces, of what weight ſoever, it was worth thirteen or fourteen times as much ſilver. A vaſt ſum indeed! if it be conſidered, that money was ſcarce in thoſe days; that theſe pious Chriſtians emptied their purſes to purchaſe pardons, for the validity of which they had no kind of ſecurity, except Alexander's bond; and that, after their departure hence, they could not inform their poſterity, whether the Pope had [y] gulled them or no.

" [z] Luther's breach was occaſioned by the ſcandalous ſale of " pardons and indulgences, which all the writers of the Popiſh " ſide give up, and acknowledge that it was a great abuſe; ſo in " the countries where the Reformation has got an entrance, or " in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of: and " it has been taken for granted, that ſuch an infamous traffick " was now no more practiſed. But of late, that we have had " armies in Spain and Portugal, we are well aſſured, that it is ſtill " carried on there in the moſt barefaced manner poſſible. It is " true, the proclaiming a ſale is forbidden by a Bull: but there " is a Commiſſary in every place, who manages the ſale with the " moſt

[x] Cum ei pecuniam ſacram, quam homines in imperio Veneto, ut criminibus et maleficiis obnoxii, ob commiſſa, poſt mortem apud Inferos pœna liberarentur, ex Alexandri literis perſolverent.

[y] Indulgences have been granted, ſays Eraſmus, ſo largely, that poor Purgatory is in no ſmall danger of being ſtripped of all its inhabitants. Tom. V. c. 359.

[z] Burnet III. Introd. p. xx.

" moſt infamous circumſtances imaginable. In Spain, by an A. D. 1518.
" agreement with the Pope, the King has the profits of this Bull;
" and it is no ſmall branch of his revenue. In Portugal, the
" King and the Pope go ſhares. Dr. Colbatch has given a very
" particular account of the managing the Bull there: for, as
" there is nothing ſo impudent, that thoſe men are aſhamed to
" venture on; ſo they may ſafely do what they pleaſe, where
" the terror of the Inquiſition is ſo ſevere a reſtraint, that men
" dare not whiſper againſt any thing that is under that protection.
" A notable inſtance of this hath appeared lately, when, in
" the year 1709, the Privateers of Briſtol took the Galleon, in
" which they found five hundred bales of theſe Bulls, and ſixteen
" reams were in a bale. So that they reckoned the whole came
" to 3,840,000. Theſe Bulls are impoſed on the people, and
" ſold, the loweſt at three ryals, a little more than 20 *d.* but to
" ſome at fifty pieces of Eight, about 11 *l.* of our money; and
" this to be valued, according to the ability of the purchaſer,
" once in two years. All are obliged to buy them againſt Lent.
" Beſides the account given of this in the Cruiſing Voyage, I
" have a particular atteſtation of it by Captain Dampier.—He
" was not concerned in caſting up the number of them; but
" he ſays, that there was ſuch a vaſt quantity of them, that they
" careened their ſhip with them."

John Giglis, or Des Lis, *De Liliis*, an Italian, who was made Biſhop of Worceſter by the Pope's authority in 1497, received at the ſame time from him a right to pardon all crimes whatſoever, and to permit men to retain other people's property, by what method ſoever they had ſeized it, provided they gave a certain portion of it to the Pope's Commiſſaries or Subſtitutes.[a]

Seckendorf, in his Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, hath confuted the falſhoods and calumnies of Varillas, Maimbourg, Palavicini, Boſſuet, and others of the ſame ſtamp. He is willing to ſuppoſe, that

[a] Wharton *Anglia Sacra*. Bibl. Univ. XXII. 90.

A. D. 1518. that Boſſuet did not always read the books that he cited, but truſted to extracts given him by others. This was a very polite and courteous behaviour towards a Prelate, who underſtood the craft and myſtery, the tricks and fineſſes of Theological controverſy, better than honeſt Seckendorf.

We will now ſelect a few things, from various authors, which characterize Luther.

Luther was rough in controverſy, or rather ſcurrilous. His reply to Henry VIII was [b] diſreſpectful. His own friends blamed him for it; and he condeſcended to write the King an humble letter, and to beg his pardon. But he had a very unfavourable opinion of ſovereign Princes, and ſaid, that they were little better than [c] thieves and highwaymen, and that The greater Prince, the greater robber.

He made a ſmart remark on the behaviour of Charles V, whom yet he hath commonly treated very courteouſly: "[d] I have ſeen, "ſaid he, a pretty dog at Lintz in Auſtria, that was taught to "go with a hand-baſket to the Butcher's ſhambles for meat. "Now, when other dogs came about him, and would take the "meat out of the baſket, he ſet it down, bit, and fought luſtily: "but when he ſaw they would be too ſtrong for him, he him-"ſelf would ſnatch out a piece of meat, leſt he ſhould loſe all. "Even ſo doth our Emperor Charles; who, after he hath a long "time defended the Spiritual Livings, and ſeeth that every Prince "taketh and raketh the Monaſteries unto themſelves, doth now "take poſſeſſion of ſome Biſhopricks, that he may get alſo "*partem de tunica Chriſti.*"

It is to be ſuppoſed, that, in Luther's opinion, a man concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs, who did not take due

[b] Scilicet illis etiamdum temporibus nequaquam tantum diſcriminis inter principes et privatos fieri vulgo ſolebat, quantum nunc ex moribus Gallicis, per ſpeciem humanitatis in omnem revera ſervitutem formatis, ſtatuitur. *Perizonius*, p. 107.

[c] Seckendorf L. I. p. 178.

[d] Luther's Colloq. Menſal. p. 88.

due care of *one*, and help himſelf out of the *Baſket*, was a *black* A. D. 1518.
ſwan, or a *white crow*, or a *Patriot* fetched from More's *Utopia*.

He uſed alſo to ſay, that the Pope and his partizans were ſuch incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the ſevereſt manner, and that Eraſmus ſpoiled all by ſhewing them too much courteſy and reſpect.

As he thus laſhed the Papiſts, ſo he did not greatly ſpare his own brethren of the Reformation, if they departed from any of his ſentiments. He called Zuinglius an aſs; and when Zuinglius and Oecolampadius died, he ſaid hard things of them.

He aſcribed to the Devil an amazing power and activity, and imputed to him the wickedneſs that was in the world, and the reſiſtance that was made to the Reformation. He tells many ſtrange ſtories of apparitions and of Diabolical operations.

He accounted matrimony to be not only lawful, but a duty incumbent upon all who were capable of entering into that ſtate.

His warmth againſt Indulgences was very pardonable, conſidering that they were one of the moſt ſhocking inſults upon common ſenſe and Chriſtianity, that ever appeared in the world.

* One Tetzel, a Dominican, and a retailer of Indulgences, had picked up a vaſt ſum at Leipſic. A gentleman of that city, who had no veneration for ſuch ſuperſtitions, went to Tetzel, and aſked him, if he could ſell him an Indulgence before-hand for a certain crime, which he would not ſpecify, and which he intended to commit. Tetzel ſaid, Yes; provided they could agree upon the price. The bargain was ſtruck, the money paid, and the abſolution delivered in due form. Soon after this, the Gentleman, knowing that Tetzel was going from Leipſic well loaded with caſh, way-layed him, robbed him, and cudgelled him; and told him at parting, that this was the crime, for which he had purchaſed an abſolution. George, Duke of Saxony, a zealous friend to the Court of Rome, hearing of this robbery, at firſt was very angry;

* Seckendorf I. 26.

A. D. 1518. angry; but, being informed of the whole ſtory, he laughed heartily, and forgave the criminal.

[f] The Emperor Maximilian, being at Inſpruck, was ſo offended at the wickedneſs and impudence of this Tetzel, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him ſeized upon, and put in a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the ſolicitations of Frederic Elector of Saxony, who happened to be there, very opportunely for Tetzel.

[g] When Luther had publiſhed his *Theſes* againſt Indulgences, Tetzel, a Dominican, was the firſt who wrote againſt him, and oppoſed him with other *Theſes*. Both of them had learning, and abilities, and impetuoſity, ſays Du Pin; and ſo Tetzel publicly burned the *Theſes* of Luther at Frankfort, and Luther burned thoſe of Tetzel at Wittenberg. This is not altogether right; for, firſt, Tetzel was a perſon too mean and worthleſs, to be compared on any account with Luther; and, ſecondly, Luther had no hand in burning the contemptible works of Tetzel, but ſome of Luther's friends did it without his leave. See more concerning Tetzel in [h] Seckendorf.

In the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, there is a Latin letter of Tetzel to ſome perſon, who had ſpoken ſlightingly of him. It is in a ſtyle not much better than that of the *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum*. Tom. III. p. 241.

Bellarmin, and the Abbé Richard, have accuſed Luther of [i] Arianiſm. Their accuſation hath no better foundation than this, that Luther [k] declared his diſlike of the word *Conſubſtantial*, and

[f] Luther. Matheſius. Seckendorf I. 16, 25. Huber Hiſt. Civ. Sleidan L. XIII. p. 347.

[g] Du Pin.

[h] L. I. p. 25, 62—64, 91.

[i] Eraſmus alſo was frequently charged with Arianiſm; but it appears from his writings, that he was no more an Arian or Unitarian, than any of his accuſers.

[k] Nec eſt quod mihi *Homouſion* illud objectes adverſus Arianos receptum. Non fuit receptum a multis, iiſque præclariſſimis,

and ſaid, that the Arians, though otherwiſe in the wrong, were A. D. 1518.
in the right to reject unſcriptural terms, introduced by men, who thought that they could ſpeak better upon the ſubject, than the Spirit of God. It appears from Luther's works, that he was not at all in the ſentiments of the [l] Arians, and that he alſo approved at other times even of the word ὁμοούσιος.

He was an enemy to the allegorical and myſtical way of expounding the Scriptures, as being precarious, dangerous, tending to fanaticiſm, and expoſing religion to the ſcoffs of Infidels. He alſo blames thoſe, who pretended to interpret the Apocalypſe to the people; and ſays, that if a Divine ſhould preach upon it for twelve months together, neither the Paſtor nor the Flock would at the year's end be edified by it, either in faith or manners.

Being conſulted concerning the divorce of Henry VIII, he [m] diſapproved it.

[n] When he was informed that they had burned ſome of his books at Rome, he ordered a fire to be made in the middle of Wittenberg, and there, by way of repriſals, he publicly burned the Pope's Bull, and the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

In like manner, [o] Rantzaw, Biſhop of Lubec, having embraced Lutheraniſm, ordered all the bells of the city to be rung, and in the preſence of the people buried the book of *Decretals*.

Luther's

mis, quod et Hieronymus optavit aboleri; adeoque non effugerunt periculum, hoc invento vocabulo, ut Hieronymus queratur, neſcire quid veneni lateat in ſyllabis et literis; adeo ut illud Ariani magis quam Scripturas etiam exagitabant. — Quod ſi odit anima mea vocem *Homouſion*, et nolim ea uti, non ero hæreticus. Quis enim me cogat uti, modo rem teneam, quæ in Concilio per Scripturas definita eſt? Etſi Ariani male ſenſerunt de fide, hoc tamen optime, ſive bono, ſive malo animo, exegerunt, ne vocem profanam in rebus fidei ſtatui liceret. Scripturæ enim ſinceritas cuſtodienda eſt, nec præſumat homo ſuo ore eloqui aut clarius aut ſincerius, quam Deus elocutus eſt ore ſuo.

[l] Seckendorf L. I. 165, 166. L. III. 246.

[m] Seckendorf Lib. III. 112. Colloq. Menſal. p. 447.

[n] Du Pin XIII. 61. Huber. Sleidan. L. II.

[o] Longueruana II. 145.

A. D. 1518. Luther's Commentary on the Epiſtle to the Galatians was his favourite work: he uſed to call this Epiſtle [p] *his wife*, his *Catharine Bore*; and probably Catharine could bear ſo harmleſs a rival without any jealouſy.

Luther lived upon very good terms with his Catharine, and had a great eſteem for her; though perhaps he thought her rather too talkative.

" [q] A certain learned Engliſhman, at Wittenberg, was much " converſant with Luther at his table; but he had not his Dutch " language well: therefore Luther ſaid unto him, I will give you " my wife for a ſchool-miſtreſs; ſhe ſhall teach you finely and " readily to ſpeak Dutch, for ſhe is very eloquent, and ſo perfect " therein, that ſhe far ſurpaſſeth me. However, when Women " are ready in ſpeaking, it is not to be commended: it becomes " them much better, when they keep ſilence and ſpeak little."

[r] His favourite doctrine was Juſtification by faith alone, and not by works, Moral, Legal, or Evangelical: but we muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that he perpetually inculcated the abſolute neceſſity of good works. According to him, a man is juſtified only by faith; but he cannot be juſtified without works; and where thoſe works are not to be found, there is aſſuredly no true faith. Others are of opinion, that the faith which juſtifies or ſaves, is to be taken more largely for the whole duty of a Chriſtian, that is, for a belief in Chriſt, a reliance on his promiſes, and a ſincere though imperfect obedience. In favour of this, they may ſay, amongſt other things, that good works muſt enter into the definition of Chriſtian faith, becauſe *Faith itſelf is a good work.* They, who deny that faith is a good work, muſt adopt a ſyſtem of

[p] Sæpe enim Epiſtolam ad Galatas meditandam et explicandam poſt hoc tempus, et cum jam in matrimonio dulciſſimo cum uxore ſua viveret, reſumens, dixiſſe aliquando fertur; Epiſtola ad Galatas eſt mea Epiſtola cui me deſpondi; eſt mea Catharina de Bora. *Seckendorf* I. 139.

[q] Luther's Colloquia Menſalia, p. 72.

[r] Seckendorf I. 134, &c. III. 120.

of abſolute neceſſity, and ſay, that in the receiving and entertaining of faith a Chriſtian is altogether paſſive. Thence it follows, I think, that a Chriſtian cannot even conſent to receive and keep this divine gift, becauſe conſent is an action or operation of the mind: and this brings us to a ſtate of fatality, of quietiſm, and of ſelf-annihilation. A. D. 1518.

He [s] abhorred the School-men, and called them Sophiſtical Locuſts, Caterpillars, Frogs, and Lice.

"[t] Jerom (ſaid he) ſhould not be numbered among the teachers "of the Church, for he was an heretic; yet nevertheleſs I believe "that he is ſaved through the faith in Chriſt. — I know none "among the teachers, whom I hate like him; for he writeth "only of Faſting, of Victuals, of Virginity, &c. he teacheth "nothing of faith, nor of hope, nor of love, nor of the works "of faith. Truly, I would not have willingly entertained him "for my Chaplain."

[u] He was violently prejudiced againſt Eraſmus, after their controverſy about free-will, and repreſented him to his friends as a profane ſcoffer, an Arian, an Epicurean, and an enemy to all religion. In this we may ſafely credit the *Colloquia Menſalia*.

He [x] declared himſelf againſt perſecution, compulſion, and violence, in matters of religion.

He [y] accounted madmen and ideots to be poſſeſſed by evil ſpirits, and phyſicians to be miſtaken in aſcribing thoſe diſorders to natural cauſes.

He [z] had no favourable opinion of aſtrology, and blamed Melanchthon for regarding it too much.

He [a] hated Ariſtotle, but highly eſteemed Cicero, as a wiſe and good man. "I hope, ſaid he, that God will be merciful to "him, and to ſuch as he was: howſoever, it is not our duty to

[s] Seckendorf L. I. 165.
[t] Luther's Colloq. Menſal. p. 355.
[u] Ibid. p. 431, 432.
[x] Seckendorf L. II. 25, &c. 124. L. III. 80.
[y] Id. L. II. 125.
[z] Colloq. Menſal. p. 503.
[a] Ibid. p. 509.

A. D. 1518. "ſpeak certainly touching that point, but to remain by the Word "revealed unto us; namely, *whoſo believeth, and is baptized, the "ſame ſhall be ſaved.* Yet nevertheleſs God is able to diſpenſe "and to hold a difference among the nations and Heathen, but "our duty is not to know nor to ſearch after time and meaſure. "For there will be a new Heaven and a new Earth, much larger "and more broad than now they be. God can give to every "one according to his pleaſure."

He gives his countrymen a good character for ſimplicity of manners: "The [b] high Germans are ſimple, and do more affect "the truth, than the French, Italians, Spaniards, Engliſh, &c. "which their languages do alſo ſhew.—The French write other-"wiſe than they ſpeak, and ſpeak otherwiſe than they mean. But "the high German tongue is the moſt complete, &c." In another place he owns, that his countrymen loved drinking too much, and were poſſeſſed with a thirſty Devil, whoſe name was *Quaff*.

[c] He was contented with little, and had a great contempt for money. John of Saxony having made him a preſent of a coat, he was uneaſy at it, and intreated the Elector not to ſend him any more gifts, ſince he was not in neceſſity and diſtreſs.

He [d] was ſomewhat inclined, once at leaſt, to the opinion, that ſouls after death ſleep till the reſurrection. John, the Elector of Saxony, died of an apoplexy, as ſoon as he returned from hunting: "Our *good Prince*, ſaid Luther, *expired like an infant, "without trouble or fear; and when he awakes at the laſt day, he will "imagine that he is juſt come home from the foreſt.*" [e] In another place he obſerves, that nothing is clearly revealed concerning the intermediate ſtate of the righteous, and that it becomes us not to decide about it. Yet he hath ſaid ſometimes, that the ſouls of the good are in a ſtate of felicity; and this ſeems to have been his laſt and his ſettled opinion. See Bayle LUTHER, Not. D. D. who

[b] Colloq. Menſal. p. 523.
[c] Seckendorf L. II. p. 137.
[d] Id. L. III. p. 30.
[e] Id. L. III. p. 190.

who juſtifies him, on this article, againſt the calumnies of that prating Thraſo, Cardinal Perron. A. D. 1518.

He [f] was of opinion, that the Jewiſh nation would never be converted, and that St. Paul's expreſſions concerning this ſubject were miſunderſtood. [g] Erasmus was of a contrary ſentiment.

"[h] When Luther began to preach, the Inquiſition, which had "ceaſed its purſuits in many places, probably for a ſcarcity and "want of heretics, began to rage with much violence. Many "were afterwards condemned to the flames in Germany; and "in France the Chancellor Du Prat, Primate of the kingdom, "made a decree to confirm all the Canons of the Council of "Lateran againſt heretics: and upon this occaſion the Inquiſition "was eſtabliſhed in France; and we know not preciſely when it "was expelled thence."

"[i] We are obliged to Luther for having put us under a "neceſſity of ſtudying religion. They only ſtudied the Pagans; "and religion was turned to ridicule, as in the Tales of Boccace, "Dante, &c. At Padua, as Ludovicus Vives obſerves, there was "a Profeſſorſhip founded to teach Averroes, and none to teach "the holy Scriptures: and the Univerſity of [k] *Turinge* was "divided into Realiſts and Nominaliſts, who not only diſputed, "but came to blows."

"[l] Luther in tranſlating the Bible was aſſiſted by the diſciples "of Reuchlin, and hath hit off many places very [m] happily.

"There

[f] Seckendorf L. III. p. 426. *But Thurmius ſays*, Meditatur converſionem Judæorum Ezardus, cujus ſpem ex multis Scripturæ locis concepit, oſtenditque hac de re locum egregium in Poſtilla Lutheri ad Evangelium die S. Stephani A. 1543 impreſſa, quem plane in alium ſenſum detortum eſſe ocularitur demonſtravit, in Editione Wittebergenſi 1598, poſt Lutheri mortem excuſa.—*Amœnit. Literar.* T. XI. p. 281.

[g] Eccleſiaſt. T. V. c. 1049.

[h] Limborch Hiſt. Inq. Sleid. L. XIV. p. 378.

[i] Longueruana I. 76.

[k] *Tubingen*, I ſuppoſe.

[l] Longueruana II. 78.

[m] St. Aldegonde finds great fault with Luther's Bible. Bayle DRUSIUS, Not. G.

A. D. 1518. " There is much to be learned from his work. He was a " maſter of the German language. By his vehemence and his " invectives he drew many after him. It is true, that the minds " of men were already diſpoſed that way. The Court of Rome " was held in execration, and the Eccleſiaſtics in contempt. " Notwithſtanding all this, if they would have granted the " [n] Cup to the Laity, and Marriage to the Clergy, Lutheraniſm " would have come to nothing."

" [o] Luther was ſo violent, that, writing to a pious and worthy " Proteſtant Divine, who was not in his ſentiments about the " Lord's Supper, he applied to him and to his party, by an in- " decent parody, the firſt verſe of the firſt Pſalm, [p] *Bleſſed is the* " *man, who hath not walked in the counſel of the Zuinglians, &c.*"

" [q] Iſaac Voſſius having told me, that he remembered to have " ſeen in the Tragic Hiſtories of Bandel an elogy given to " Luther by Leo X, I conſulted that writer, and found it there: " Nel principio, &c. [r]

" Theſe words Sleidan would certainly have prefixed to his " hiſtory, if he had known of them."

The

[n] In the *Amœnit. Literar.* there is a letter of Pius IV to the Archbiſhop and Elector of Mentz, permitting him to grant the Cup to the Laity, but under conditions, with which no Proteſtant could have complied, and which were contrived on purpoſe to exclude Proteſtants. It is written A. 1564. T. IV. p. 501.

[o] G. J. Voſſii Epiſt. p. 48.

[p] Beatus vir, qui non abiit in conſilio Sacramentariorum, et in via Zuinglianorum non ſtetit, et in cathedra Tugurinorum non ſedit.

[q] Colomeſius, *Recueil*, &c. p. 321.

[r] Nel principio che la Setta Luterana comincio a germogliare, eſſendo di brigata molti Gentilhuomini, ne l'hora del meriggio, in caſa del noſtro virtuoſo Signor L. Scipione Attellano, e di varie coſe raggionandoſi, fuerono alcuini che non pauco biaſimarono Leone X Pontefice, che ne i principii non ci metteſſe remedio, a l'hora che Frate Silveſtro Prierio, Maeſtro del Sacro Palazzo, gli moſtro alcuni puncti d' hereſia che Fra Martino Lutero haveva ſparſo per l' opera, la quale de le Indulgentie haveva intitolata; percioche imprudentemente riſpoſe, che Fra Martino haveva un belliſſimo ingegno, e che coteſte erano invidie Frateſche.

The ſenſe of the paſſage is, that, at the beginning of the Lutheran troubles, certain Italians meeting together at a friend's houſe, ſome of them cenſured Leo for having neglected to put a timely ſtop to the evil, though Silveſter Prieras had ſhewed him heretical articles contained in Luther's Remarks on Indulgences. The Pope replied, moſt imprudently, Brother Martin is a fine genius, and his enemies are little envious Monks. A. D. 1518.

" [s] When my firſt poſitions concerning Indulgences were " brought before the Pope, he ſaid, A drunken German wrote " them; when he hath ſlept out his ſleep, and is ſober again, " he will be of another mind. In ſuch ſort he contemneth " every man."

Luther often apologizes for his bluntneſs and roughneſs. [t] I am accuſed, ſays he, of rudeneſs and immodeſty, particularly by adverſaries, who have not a grain of candor and good manners. If, as they ſay, I am ſaucy and impudent, I am however ſimple, and open, and ſincere, and have none of their guile, diſſimulation, and treachery.

[u] Seckendorf hath fully diſcuſſed the [x] bigamy of the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the ſhare which Luther was ſuppoſed to have in permitting it.

[y] One of Luther's good friends and diſciples was George, Prince of Anhalt, who embraced the Proteſtant religion, and preached it himſelf, and may be ranked amongſt the moſt conſiderable Reformers.

[z] Luther left a widow, and three ſons, and two daughters; and his family was not [a] extinct, when Seckendorf publiſhed his Hiſtory, towards the latter end of the laſt century.

Whilſt

[s] Luther's Colloq. Mens. p. 309.

[t] Seckendorf L. I. 121. II. 87.

[u] L. III. 277, &c.

[x] See in Bayle the ſtory of GLEICHEN.

[y] Seckendorf. L. III. 498, &c.

[z] Seckendorf L. III. 651.

[a] Ex tertio filio, Paulo Luthero, ſupereſſe etiamdum illius progenies fertur. *Perizonius*, p. 338.

Perizonius wrote this A. 1709.

A. D. 1518. Whilſt [b] the troops of Charles V were at Wittenberg, in the year 1547, the Spaniards ſolicited the Emperor to pull down Luther's monument, and wanted to dig up his bones: but the Emperor had more generoſity and prudence, than to conſent to a procedure ſo baſe and infamous.

[c] After the Lutheran controverſy had been long carried on, many of the Monks in Scotland were ſo learned, that they charged Luther with being the author of a wicked book, called *The New Teſtament*.

[d] Luther had an uncommon genius, a lively imagination, a good ſhare of learning, a pious and devout diſpoſition, a tincture of melancholy and of enthuſiaſm, and a great warmth and impetuoſity, which impelled him, in his controverſial works, to inſult and ridicule his adverſaries. He was fond of Muſic, and both a compoſer and a performer, which was very good for his mind and body. It expelled melancholy, as he ſaid, and put the Devil to flight, who mortally hated Muſic. He entertained a mean opinion of the capacity and diſpoſition of thoſe, who had no taſte for this excellent art. He alſo [e] ſacrificed to the Graces, and compoſed ſome poems, both Latin and German.

We will conclude his character with theſe verſes, which belong to him much better than to Pollux, Hercules, Auguſtus, and others, to whom Horace applied them:

Juſtum

[b] Violari autem ſepulcrum vetuit Carolus, Wittebergam armis miniſque ingreſſus, contra quam urgebant Hiſpani omnes, eo uſque infenſi Luthero, ut et oſſibus ejus inviderent quietem, eaque perinde, ut Huſſo factum fuerat vivo, mallent cremari; quos laudatiſſimus tamen Imperator graviſſimo ſermone caſtigavit, quando dixit: Nihil mihi ultra cum Luthero; alium ille judicem jam habet, cujus juriſdictionem invadere noſtrum non eſt; neque mihi cum mortuis bellum eſſe ſciatis, ſed cum ſuperſtitibus in nos armatis. Cumque animadvertiſſet Hiſpanos Duci Albano et Epiſcopo Atrebatenſi, ſuadentibus ejus indignitatem ſcti, conſentire, ſevere tandem atque etiam vitæ capitiſque periculo ſanxit, inviolatum Lutheri ſepulcrum ut eſſet. *Junkerus.*

[c] See Bayle LUTHER, Not. H. H.

[d] Perizonius, p. 233.

[e] Seckendorf L. I. 17, &c.

[e] Seckendorf L. III. 165.

A. D. 1518.

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
Mente quatit ſolida, neque Auſter
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus;
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

[r] Joannes Eckius, a Divine of Ingoldſtad, who ſignalized himſelf againſt Luther, wrote a letter to Eraſmus, in which, after paying him great compliments, he cenſured him;

1. For having ſaid on *Matt.* ii, that poſſibly the Evangeliſts, in citing paſſages from the Old Teſtament, had not conſulted thoſe Books, but had truſted to their memories, which had ſometimes deceived them, as it happens in ſuch caſes:

2. For having obſerved on *Acts* x, that the Apoſtles in ſpeaking and writing Greek had mixed ſome idioms of their own tongue; and had learned Greek, not from the works of Demoſthenes and other good writers, but from common converſation:

3. For having ſo far preferred St. Jerom to St. Auguſtin, as to affirm, that it was mere impudence to compare the latter to the former. Hereupon Eckius ſays, that even the diſciples of Eraſmus, the *Eraſmici*, as he calls them, complained that their Maſter had never read St. Auguſtin.

Eraſmus replied, in a long letter, of which ſome notice ſhall be taken, as we proceed. Ep. 303.

Nicolas Beraldus, on the contrary, wrote to Eraſmus from Paris, exhorting him to proceed as he had begun, and ſending him

[r] Du Pin XIV. 164. Luther gives a very vile character upon him. See an account of his death, and beſtows Seckendorf. L. III. p. 468.

A. D. 1518. him compliments and thanks from the Learned at Paris, and, amongſt others, from Louis de Berquin, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

By theſe and other letters it appears, that his Paraphraſes of St. Paul, which he had begun to publiſh, were generally eſteemed. The Eccleſiaſtics then only attacked his New Teſtament, and ſome other of his Treatiſes.

" [g] For the underſtanding the New Teſtament, Eraſmus's " Paraphraſe, which was tranſlated into Engliſh, was thought " the moſt profitable and eaſieſt book. Therefore it was re- " ſolved, that, together with the Bible, there ſhould be one of " theſe in every Pariſh-Church over England." This was in the year 1547.

In the year 1546, the [h] Fathers at the Council of Trent declared the Latin Vulgate to be *Authentic*, for a very good reaſon; becauſe, if it were neceſſary to have recourſe to the Originals, the [i] *Grammarians* and *Critics* would have been more important perſons than theſe Eccleſiaſtics.

Queen

[g] Burnet II. 27.

[h] —— ne ſcilicet, ſi ad Græcam aut Hebraicam recurrendum ſubinde eſſet ſcripturam, Grammatici ejus exponendæ, et ita ipſius religionis Chriſtianæ, arbitrium ſupra Theologos, quorum pauciſſimi eas intelligebant linguas, ſibi vindicarent. *Perizonius*, p. 337.

[i] The *Grammarians* ought certainly to give place to thoſe, who, without any aſſiſtance from their art and their rules, can perform wonders in literature. This is no ordinary atchievement; and it ſeems to be the characteriſtic mark, which diſcriminates the *Genius* (as he is called) from the *Scholar*. The Author of the *Perſian Letters*, obſerving that ſome perſons gained a comfortable maintenance by teaching what they did not underſtand, adds; *Il me ſemble qu'il faut avoir beaucoup d'eſprit pour faire cela.* Every Smatterer in your trade (ſays the *Steward* in Moliere to the *Cook*) can ſend up a good dinner, if he is furniſhed with materials; but the true ſpirit and beauty of cookery conſiſts in doing it without them.

Eraſmus was often called a *Grammarian* by his facetious adverſaries: and, if I remember right, he replies ſomewhere to one of them; If you want to ſtrike out *(Grammaticen) Grammar* from the *Liberal Arts*, you ſhall have my conſent; provided you will ſubſtitute *(Sycophanticen) Calumny*, that we may ſtill have the number *ſeven*.

Queen [k] Mary put out a proclamation againſt importing, printing, reading, ſelling, or keeping heretical books: and it is obſervable, that the works of Eraſmus are reckoned amongſt thoſe peſtilent books. A. D. 1518.

They, who were readers and admirers of the works of Eraſmus, were not the more inclined to befriend the Monks; and [l] Herman, Count of New Eagle, *(Comes a Nova Aquila)* whoſe lands lay ſome miles from Cologn, and who was a warm friend of Eraſmus, had a violent quarrel with the Dominicans of that city. [m] James Hochſtrat, their Prior, who had made himſelf known by perſecuting Reuchlin, publicly calumniated this nobleman, who could find no way to ſtop his mouth, till he had recourſe to the following expedient: He forbad his vaſſals and tenants to give any thing to the Dominicans, when they came a begging; and he perſuaded his relations, whoſe eſtates were in the neighbourhood, to do the ſame, and to let Hochſtrat know it. The Dominicans at firſt thought that it was only threatened in jeſt; but when they found that their brethren were roughly repulſed from every door, and could not get their uſual collections of eggs, cheeſe, &c. they compelled their Prior to make a public recantation; and this honeſt man took an oath, that he had always entertained the ſincereſt reſpect and eſteem for the Count, though he had uſed to revile him in the moſt

S ſcurrilous

[k] Collier Eccl. Hiſt.

[l] *Nuenarius* plerumque, item *Neætius*, *Novæ Aquilæ* ſ. in *Newenar Comes* appellatur. Canonicus primum, deinde Præpoſitus ſummi Colonienſis templi. Mauricius Comes de Spiegelberg ſumma cura in optimis literis inſtituendum ipſum a puero curaverat, in Italiam eo nomine illum ablegans: quas in omni vita ſua diligenter coluit. Is ipſe eſt, qui *Eginhartum* primus edidit, de *Origine Francorum* docte ipſe commentatus.

De reliquis excellentiſſimi hujus ingenii monimentis conferatur Geſneri Bibliotheca, p. m. 285. Quantum vindicatæ a barbarie literæ Nuenario Comiti debeant, et ego ſummatim expoſui in meis de *Latinæ Linguæ in Germania Fatis*, Comment. p. 331. *Burckhard* Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 148.

[m] Bayle HOCHSTRAT.

A. D. 1518. ſcurrilous manner. Eraſmus tells the ſtory Ep. 1031, and alludes to it Ep. 311.

Latimer, in an Epiſtle to Eraſmus, calls [n] Chalcondyles *ſummum doctorem*; and Eraſmus, in a Preface to Gaza's Grammar, allows him to be *virum probum et eruditum*, though inferior to Gaza. Ep. 301.

Eraſmus received this year a conſiderable preſent from Henry VIII. He returns him his thanks for it, as alſo for the kind offer which the King made him of an handſome maintenance in England for the reſt of his life. Without either accepting or refuſing this favour, he informs the King, that he ſhould be obliged to ſpend four months upon his new edition of the New Teſtament.

A little time after, Eraſmus wrote alſo to Cardinal Wolſey. After ſome compliments, which he beſtowed upon Wolſey, tho' he loved him not, he complains heavily of the calumnies of malicious men, and haters of literature, who croſſed his deſigns of employing human learning to ſacred purpoſes, and of tranſlating and illuſtrating the holy Scriptures, as he had begun to do. Theſe wretches, ſays he, aſcribe to Eraſmus every thing that is odious: like true calumniators, they confound the cauſe of literature with that of Reuchlin and Luther, tho' they have no connection. As for me, I never eſteemed the Cabala or the Talmud, and never converſed with [o] Reuchlin, except once at Frankfort.

[n] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 211, 221.

[o] Uberrimè de Reuchlini vita diſſeruit J. H. Majus. — Id unum tamen monendum eſſe duco, eum omnium inter Chriſtianos primum juſtam Grammaticam et Lexicon Hebraicum concinnaviſſe, A. 1506. — Primus etiam, quod ſciam, de Accentibus Hebræorum ſcripſit: primus item Chriſtianorum particulam quandam Hebræi Codicis ſacri, Pſalmos nempe pœnitentiales, A. 1512, orbi dedit; cum antea ſoli Judæi in Italia Soncini, Piſauri, ac Venetiis, operam Bibliis Hebraicis typographiæ beneficio publicandis navarent, quorum tamen pauciſſima exempla in Chriſtianorum manus pervenere. *Amœnit. Liter.* Tom. XIII. p. 208.

Frankfort. We are only upon thoſe terms of civility, which uſually ſubſiſt between men of letters; though, if I had been his intimate friend, I ſhould have no reaſon to be aſhamed of it. He hath received letters from me, before I knew him by ſight; in which I adviſed him to refrain from ſuch invectives and inſults, as he had inſerted in his German Apology, when he was provoked by his enemies. As to Luther, he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of his, except two or three pages; not becauſe I deſpiſe him, but becauſe my own ſtudies and occupations did not give me leiſure; and yet, as I hear, there are perſons, who affirm that I have helped him. If he hath written well, the praiſe belongs not to me; and if he hath written ill, I ought not to bear the blame, ſince in all his works there is not a line that came from me.—His life and converſation is univerſally commended; and it is no ſmall prejudice in his favour, that his morals are unblameable, and that Calumny itſelf can faſten no reproach upon him. If I had really been at leiſure to peruſe his writings, I am not ſo conceited of my own abilities, as to paſs a judgment upon the performances of ſo conſiderable a Diving; though even children, in this knowing age, will boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that is heretical. I was once againſt Luther, purely for fear leſt he ſhould bring an odium upon literature, which is too much ſuſpected of evil already; and I know full well, how invidious it is to oppoſe thoſe received opinions, which produce ſo plentiful an harveſt to Prieſts and Monks. Many *Theſes* have appeared concerning Papal Indulgences: then came out a book concerning Confeſſion, and another on Penance; and ſome Bookſellers being diſpoſed to reprint them, I diſſuaded them from it very earneſtly, leſt it ſhould excite an hatred for learning.—He hath publiſhed ſeveral ſmall Tracts, which I have not read, and which no man ever heard me commend or diſcommend: for I am not ſo extravagant as to praiſe, or ſo addicted to calumny as to cenſure, what I never A. D. 1518.

A. D. 1518. ſaw. Germany hath produced ſome promiſing youths, who have eloquence and learning, and of whom ſhe will one day, in my opinion, have reaſon to boaſt, no leſs than England can now boaſt of her ſons. I know none of them, even by ſight, except Helius Eobanus, Ulricus Huttenus, and Beatus Rhenanus. Theſe men fight their enemies with all the weapons, which their natural and acquired abilities have put into their hands. I myſelf ſhould confeſs that they take too much liberty, if I did not know how cruelly they have been treated, and how much provoked, both publicly and privately. The Monks take upon them to rail moſt violently, and even ſeditiouſly, in their ſermons, in the Schools, at entertainments, before the illiterate multitude, and to throw out any thing that their ſpleen ſuggeſts; and then imagine that it is an unpardonable crime, if the inſulted perſons ſay a word in their own defence: and yet even a bee hath a ſting to wound her enemy, and a mouſe will bite when hard preſſed. Whence came this new race of Deities? They call every one an heretic whom they diſlike, and ſtir heaven and earth when they are called calumniators. A lunatic would be aſhamed to act like them; and yet, forſooth, they expect to be treated with complaiſance and veneration! Such is the confidence which they repoſe in the ſtupidity of the multitude, not to ſay, of rulers and princes!

Thus Eraſmus defends himſelf here, and thus in many other places of his writings; and we may here obſerve his reſerved caution not to condemn Luther, whilſt he condemned openly enough the conduct and the ſentiments of Luther's enemies. His frankneſs alſo appears in thus diſcloſing his heart to a man, who was altogether unworthy of having ſuch confidence repoſed in him. Eraſmus, it ſeems, thought it proper to addreſs himſelf to Wolſey in this free manner, and to plead his cauſe againſt thoſe, who had tried to make him paſs, in the opinion of the Cardinal, for a dangerous man, and an innovator. His apology would

would have been good, if laid before men of honour and honeſty; A. D. 1518.
but to talk at this rate to ſuch an Eccleſiaſtic as Wolſey, was little better than pleading Guilty. So Le Clerc obſerves: but may it not be ſaid, that Eraſmus, who knew Wolſey well enough, might judge that he ran no great riſque in talking thus to a man, who both favoured literature, and was not fond of the Monks? Ep. 317.

Eraſmus dedicated an edition of [p] Suetonius, which he had reviſed, to Frederic Elector of Saxony, and to George a Prince of the ſame houſe. The firſt was the patron and protector of Luther; the [q] latter oppoſed him to the utmoſt of his power. In the dedication he ſhews them what uſe was to be made of ſuch hiſtories. Ep. 318.

He had publiſhed an edition of Suetonius the year before, with a [r] Preface to the Reader, which is not in our Collection of his works.

He went to Baſil, to look after the printing of his New Teſtament; and Martin Dorpius, who, as we obſerved, had been his antagoniſt, ſent him from Louvain a civil and friendly [s] letter, to ſhew that he was ſincerely reconciled to him. An uncommon thing amongſt Scholars, and above all amongſt Divines! So ſays Le Clerc; and I am here only his tranſlator. But Le Clerc had felt much of the *Odium Theologicum*, which ſeems not to be ſo violent now, as it was in his time.

Eraſmus greatly commends the Rector of Erphort, for having introduced the *Belles Lettres* into that Academy in a gentle and peaceable manner. I hate tumults, ſays he; and I am much miſtaken, or more is obtained by moderate counſels, than by outrageous violence. It is the duty and the honour of good men

ſo

[p] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 316.

[q] See an account of George of Saxony, and of Luther's conteſts and quarrel with this Prince, in Seckendorf, L. I. p. 277. L. III. p. 208—214.

[r] Appendix.

[s] Ep. 323.

A. D. 1518. ſo to ſerve the public, as to offend and hurt few perſons, and even no perſon, if that be poſſible. A cold and contentious Theology was become ſuch a nuiſance, that it was neceſſary to return back to the fountain-head; and yet, rather than to drive it out too furiouſly, I ſhould chuſe to have it mended, and even tolerated, till ſomething better were ready to ſupply its place. Luther hath given us good advice on many points: I wiſh he had done it with greater diſcretion and civility! more perſons then would have favoured and defended him, and more good would have accrued to the Chriſtian cauſe. And yet it would be an impiety to leave him undefended, where he hath the truth on his ſide; for then who will ever dare to ſtand up for the truth? It is not for a perſon of my condition and capacity to paſs a ſentence upon his doctrine. Hitherto he hath certainly been uſeful to the world: he hath ſet men upon ſtudying the Fathers, ſome to ſatisfy their own minds, and others to plague him, and to hunt out arguments and objections againſt him.

This is good advice in the main; but men, like the Scholaſtic Divines, accuſtomed to dictate and to bear rule, would not hear of enjoying nothing better than a bare toleration, and even of being obliged to tolerate others. They would ſooner have riſqued their all, than have ſuffered themſelves to be thus taken down, and reduced to defend their cauſe only by rational arguments. Therefore the tumults, which honeſt Eraſmus ſo dreaded and abhorred, were a neceſſary evil in many places, where theſe ignorant Rulers would liſten to no remonſtrances, nor yield up the ſmalleſt ſcrap of their pretended rights. As well might men have charmed the Dionyſiuſes, and other Tyrants of Antiquity, with philoſophic diſcourſes, and have perſuaded them to quit their poſt, and to make due reparation for all the miſchief which they had done. Ep. 325.

This is what Eraſmus himſelf had experienced, as often as he had endeavoured to bring ſuch Incorrigible perſons to a better mind.

mind. This is what he ſoon experienced again, when he had written his preface to the Chriſtian Soldier's Manual, which is contained in Ep. 329, to Paulus Volzius, an Abbot. A. D. 1518.

In this Epiſtle he cenſures the Scholaſtic Divinity, and the life and converſation of the Monks, entirely oppoſite to the uſeful rules laid down in that little Treatiſe; and though his remarks on this ſubject contain truths moſt manifeſt and inconteſtable, yet they drew upon him anew the indignation of Monks and Eccleſiaſtics. This preface well deſerves a ſerious peruſal; but, as it is a long one, we will only ſelect a few paſſages from it.

'We are making preparations, ſays he, for a war againſt the Turks. [t] With what view ſoever this be undertaken, we ought to pray to God that it may be profitable, not to a few, but to all of us in common.

If we ſhould conquer them, it is to be ſuppoſed, (for we ſhall hardly put them all to the ſword) that attempts will be made to bring them over to Chriſtianity. [x] Shall we then put into their hands an Occam, a Durandus, a Scotus, a Gabriel, or an Alvarus? What will they think of us, (for, after all, they are rational creatures) what will they think, when they hear of our intricate and perplexed ſubtilties, concerning Inſtants, Formalities, Quiddities, and Relations? what, when they obſerve our quibbling Profeſſors ſo little of a mind, that they diſpute together, till they turn pale with fury, call names, ſpit in one another's faces, and even come to blows? what, when they behold the Jacobins fighting

[t] He hath treated this ſubject more amply in his *Conſult. de Bello Turc.* T. V. c. 346.

[u] Nolim enim hic ſuſpicari, quod tamen heu nimium ſæpe compertum eſt! prætexi belli Turcici rumorem: ut hoc titulo ſpolietur populus Chriſtianus, ut omnibus modis preſſus fractuſque ſervilius ferat Principum utriuſque generis tyrannidem. *Adag.* c. 968. B.

[x] Eraſmus was ſomewhat miſtaken. The Chriſtians of his time, if they had been victorious, would certainly have eſtabliſhed an *Inquiſition* in Turky, and by that method have converted them ſpeedily, and effectually ſtopped the mouths of gainſayers.

A. D. 1518. fighting for their Thomas, and the Minorites for their moſt refined and Seraphic Doctors, and the Nominaliſts and the Realiſts each defending their own jargon, and attacking that of their adverſaries? [y] what muſt they think, when they find it ſo very difficult a thing to know what expreſſions may be uſed, when you ſpeak of Jeſus Chriſt; as if you had to do with a moroſe and malicious Dæmon, whom you will call forth to your own deſtruction, if you uſe a wrong word in the form of evocation, and not with a moſt merciful Saviour, who requires nothing of you but a purity and ſimplicity of manners? [z]

Tell me, I beſeech you, what effects will all this produce, when they ſhall find our lives no better than our Divinity, and obſerve our tyranny, our ambition, our avarice, our rapaciouſneſs, our luſt, our debauchery, our cruelty, and our oppreſſions? With what forehead ſhall we dare to recommend to them the doctrine of our Saviour ſo directly contrary to our behaviour? The moſt efficacious way of gaining them would be to approve ourſelves the ſervants and imitators of Jeſus Chriſt, and to convince them, that we covet neither their lands, nor their money, nor their wives, nor their daughters, but only deſire their ſalvation, and the glory of our Lord and Maſter. This is the true and powerful Theology, which formerly ſubjected to Jeſus Chriſt the pride of Philoſophers, and the ſceptres of Princes; and he himſelf will aid us, when we begin

[y] Quid cogitabunt, ſi viderint rem uſque adeo difficilem eſſe, ut nunquam ſatis diſcuſſum ſit, quibus verbis de Chriſto ſit loquendum? perinde quaſi cum moroſo quopiam agas Dæmone, quem in tuam ipſius perniciem evocaris, ſi quid te fefellerit in verbis præſcriptis, ac non potius cum clementiſſimo Servatore, qui a nobis præter puram ſimplicemque vitam nihil exigit.

[z] *If you would convert them, ſays he in another place, you muſt give them C[illegible]nity in its ſimplicity, and only the Apoſtles Creed:*

Adſ[illegible]mus fidei profeſſionem ſimplicem vereque Apoſtolicam; non tam Articulis humanitatis additis oneratam. Ea potiſſimum exigamus ab illis, quæ nobis aperte ſacris voluminibus et Apoſtolorum literis tradita ſunt. In paucis facilior erit conſenſus, et facilius conſtabit concordia, ſi in pleriſque liberum erit in ſuo cuique ſenſu abundare, tantum ut abſit contentio. *Adag.* c. 968. C.

begin to act thus. Let us ſhew our zeal, not by killing the Turks, and ſending millions of Unbelievers to Hell, but by converting them; not by uttering imprecations againſt them, but by charitable wiſhes and fervent prayers for their ſalvation. If we have no ſuch honeſt and pious intentions, it is much more likely that we ſhall become Turks, than that they ſhall become Chriſtians. If the fortune of war, which is ever uncertain, ſhould favour us, the Pope indeed and the Cardinals will have a more widely extended empire, but the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt will not be enlarged; nor can it flouriſh, except where piety, charity, chaſtity, peace, and good order flouriſh likewiſe. May it ſo happen under the auſpices of Leo X! and this we may hope, unleſs the viciſſitudes of human affairs croſs and interrupt his good deſigns. A. D. 1518.

Then he proceeds to give very good leſſons to all the Religious Orders, particularly to the Monks, who preferred human inſtitutions to divine commandments, and who made religion to conſiſt in mere forms and ceremonies, and who were more buſy and meddling in ſecular affairs than even any of the laity.

Eraſmus ſets forth all this with vehemence enough; and if he had not the ſame impetuous acrimony in his ſtyle, which predominated in the writings of Luther, yet the Monks were offended at him not a jot leſs than at Luther; becauſe the abuſes which he attacked were the ſource of their beſt revenues, and made them love a Monaſtic life, which, if they would have avoided and abhorred.

When he cenſures the Monks of his own time, he often affects, to ſpeak much in favour of their anceſtors, who lived in the days of Chryſoſtom and Baſil. He was ſomewhat prejudiced in behalf of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, ſince Monkery was the invention of Fanatics, and did ten times more harm than good, even when it was (as he thought) at the beſt.

A. D. 1518. In Ep. 325, he commends [a] Draco, as a youth of an excellent diſpoſition, who was afterwards a Lutheran miniſter.

He gives a great character to [b] Leonicenus, an Italian phyſician; and mentions [c] Argyropylus amongſt other learned Greeks and Italians.

Eraſmus, whilſt he was preparing a ſecond Edition of his New Teſtament, had a mind to obtain a Brief from [d] Leo, which might ſtamp ſome authority upon it, and put thoſe to ſilence, who had calumniated the firſt Edition. For this purpoſe he wrote to ſome Cardinals, who happened to be abſent from Rome, and to his friend Bombaſius, ſecretary to the Cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*. Bombaſius ſerved him faithfully on this occaſion, and, with the conſent of his Cardinal, drew up a form for the Brief, deſigning to ſend it to the Pope for his peruſal and approbation, if he thought fit. But an odd accident retarded the expediting of the Brief. A French youth, who called himſelf Silvius, came to Rome a little before this affair, and had pretended to be an intimate friend of Eraſmus, and had forged two letters of recommendation from him; one of which he gave to Bombaſius, and the other to Leo, who upon ſight of the letter received him very courteouſly, and even promiſed to beſtow ſome favours upon him. It happened afterwards that Leo went to Oſtia, at the time when Bombaſius received at Rome the letter of Eraſmus, and was conſidering by whom he ſhould ſend the Brief to Oſtia. Silvius offered himſelf quite *à propos*, and the Cardinal of the Four Saints gave him a letter of recommendation to the Pope. Bombaſius wrote alſo to the Secretary, deſiring him to return the Brief, when Leo had ſigned it, by the ſame hand. Silvius falling ſick, ſent

[a] Seckendorf L. I. 279.

[b] Meditina loqui cœpit apud Italos, opera Nicolai Leoniceni, ſenis immortalitate digni. Ep. 333. Summæ eruditionis et innocentiæ ſenex Philoſophus. *P. Jovius* Vit. Alphonſ. p. 198. Bayle LEONICENUS. Pope Blount, p. 342.

[c] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. 187. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 211, 238.

[d] In Bayle's Dictionary there is a very full and good account of this Pope.

ſent the letters to Oſtia by a meſſenger, and ſoon after died. The Pope and his Secretary, knowing nothing of this, made great inquiry after him, to give him the Brief, and to beſtow ſome preſent upon him, for the ſake of Eraſmus. The youth having thus diſappeared, the papers were ſent to Rome by another hand. Eraſmus received the Brief, but, as he ſays, knew not this ſtory till many years were elapſed. The Brief is prefixed to his New Teſtament. Ep. 335, 1257. A. D. 1518.

Albertus, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of Mentz, wrote a moſt obliging letter to Eraſmus, [e] much deſiring to ſee him, and highly commending his New Teſtament; and [f] made him a preſent of a ſilver cup.

Eraſmus returned to Louvain; and, in a long letter to his friend Rhenanus, gives a ludicrous account of his journey, and of the calamities which befell him on the road; and complains of ſome boils, which came out in certain parts of his body, and which an ignorant ſurgeon took to be the plague. A letter proper enough, it may be, for a familiar acquaintance, but hardly for the public; and containing a detail of his grievances fit to have been communicated to his apothecary, and to turn the ſtomach of a reader not the moſt ſqueamiſh. Yet he recommends the peruſal of it to ſeveral of his correſpondents, who might find in it the ſmall

[e] —— cepit nos ingens quod tui te videndi deſiderium: quippe nihil magis ex dignitate noſtra arbitrati ſumus, quam cum nos Dei Opt. Max. benignitate in principem Epiſcoporum locum evecti ſimus, eum virum, qui non per Germaniam modo, ſed univerſam prope Europam, in literis principatum obtineat, complecti ac fovere, &c. Ep. 334.

[f] Inſignis ille Heros, Albertus Cardinalis Moguntinenſis, cujus divinas dotes tu nuper cominus es admiratus, mihi poculum dono miſit, cum amplum et grave, tum opere ſpectandum. Addit ſe id dare mihi ipſum fugienti, majorem experturo benignitatem, ſi mei fecero copiam. Dignum nimirum munus, quod a tali Principe mitteretur; ſed Eraſmus dignior qui Samiis bibat. Quin et nomen indicat. Ait vocari *poculum amoris* —ex quo qui biberint, protinus benevolentia mutua conglutinari. Si vera ſunt hæc, utinam Theologi Lovanienſes ex eo poculo mecum potaſſent ante annos duos. Ep. 372.

A.D. 1518. remains of an unpolite education, which his intercourſe with men of faſhion had not quite removed. Ep. 357.

It appears from his letters, that he held correſpondences with many Prelates and Nobles; and he often mentions it, not out of vanity, for perhaps no learned man was ever leſs infected with that ſilly diſeaſe, but becauſe it procured him reſpect from ſome, who paid no regard to real merit, and ſerved to humble and repreſs thoſe, who called him an heretic. Ep. 353, 356.

The Divines of Louvain began this year to exclaim more than ever againſt his New Teſtament, as it appears from Ep. 356, 375, where Eraſmus defends himſelf very ſkilfully againſt their accuſations, as we will ſhew by ſome extracts: for, as the ſpirit of Calumny operates much in the ſame manner in all times and places, the apologies, which learned men have made for themſelves, ought not to be overlooked and forgotten, and may be more uſeful to us than we commonly apprehend.

There are none, ſays he, who bark at me more furiouſly, than they who never ſaw even the outſide of my book. Try the experiment upon any of them, and you ſhall find that I tell you what is true. When you meet with one of theſe bawlers, let him rave on at my New Teſtament, till he hath made himſelf hoarſe, and out of breath. Then aſk him gently, whether he hath read it. If he hath the impudence to say, yes; urge him to produce one paſſage that deſerves to be blamed. You will find that he cannot. Conſider now whether[g] this be the behaviour of a Chriſtian, or ſuitable to the profeſſion of a Monk, to blacken before the populace a man's reputation, which they cannot reſtore to him again, though they ſhould attempt it, and thus to rail at things,

[g] Simul atque iſto ex grege unus quiſpiam grunnire cœperit, mox grunniunt univerſi, et apud populum quiritantes ad ſaxa provocant; velut, obliti profeſſionis ſuæ, non aliud profeſſi ſint quam ut virorum bonorum nomina linguæ ſuæ virulentia contaminent; ac prorſus juxta Pſalmographi vaticinium, *acuerunt linguas ſuas ſicut ſerpentes, venenum aſpidum ſub labiis eorum*, &c.

things, of which they are entirely ignorant; never conſidering A. D. 1518.
the declaration of St. Paul, that Slanderers ſhall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Of all the vile ways of defaming a man, none is more villainous than to accuſe him of hereſy; and yet to this they have recourſe upon the ſlighteſt provocation. As amongſt the Swiſs, if one of the multitude lifts up his finger, and gives the ſignal, all the reſt, as they ſay, do the ſame, and run to pillage; ſo when one of this Monkiſh herd hath begun to grunt, all the reſt grunt alſo, and ſtir up the populace to ſtone their enemies, forgetting the character which they aſſume, and making it their only occupation to throw dirt at honeſt men.

So it was in the days of Eraſmus, and ſo it hath been ſince: the ſame Tragicomedy hath been repreſented by different actors, and upon different ſtages.

In another letter Eraſmus repels the attacks of ſome Monk, who had written like a Barbarian, and reaſoned like an Ideot.

This adverſary had cenſured Eraſmus for departing in divers places from the Vulgate, which he ſuppoſed, as it then ſtood, to have been the true verſion of Jerom. Eraſmus ſays, that he had left every one at liberty to make uſe of the Vulgate, if he were ſo diſpoſed; but that he had a right, as he thought, to make a better verſion, and more conformable to the Original.

The man had complained, that Eraſmus dared to reprehend even Jerom and Auguſtin; and he added, that there had been Doctors appointed *(ad glossandum)* to write gloſſes upon them, and not upon the New Teſtament of Eraſmus. As if, ſays Eraſmus, we ought to defend and palliate all their miſtakes, becauſe, forſooth, they were greater men than we! On the contrary, we ought ſooner to excuſe the defects of the weak and the ſimple, as a child is more excuſable than a man. And accordingly we make more allowances for the writings, which thoſe two Fathers compoſed in the days of their youth, than for their later productions. The Divines will have a fine time of it, and be well helped up, if

A. D. 1518. if it be required of them to defend at all adventures every paſſage, that hath dropped from the pens of the Fathers! If the Fathers have ſaid what is right, why ſhould not we be permitted alſo to ſay it after them? Why do you cenſure in us, what you approve in them? If they have erred, why do you reprove us for erring along with them, and yet vindicate them at the ſame time? What a ſpirit, and what a conduct is this, to defend the Ancients, and to wink at their faults, and to revile and calumniate every thing in the works of the Moderns?

The ſame ſpirit hath been as predominant in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Amongſt the Proteſtants, how many Divines have ſuffered interpretations of the Scriptures given by Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Beza, &c. to paſs uncenſured, and have inſulted perſons who adopted thoſe very interpretations? Men have been branded with the odious appellations of heretics and latitudinarians, for ſpeaking and writing like ſome men, who were allowed to be orthodox. Ep. 375.

In the next Epiſtle, Eraſmus defends himſelf againſt Eckius, and ſays,

1. That when he had ſuppoſed the Apoſtles capable of making ſlips of memory, he had not affirmed it for certain, and had only ſpoken after St. Jerom; and that the authority of the Scriptures would not be invalidated, though ſuch ſmall inadvertences ſhould be found in them, in points of little or no conſequence, eſpecially as it was not clear and evident, how far divine inſpiration was to be extended:

2. That it was by no means certain, that the Apoſtles received the Greek language by inſpiration; and that therefore it was no wonder, if they wrote it ill and unelegantly:

3. That though he had no ſmall eſteem for St. Auguſtin, yet he judged him far inferior to Jerom, upon many accounts, and in many reſpects. He wonders at the rash boldneſs of thoſe, who affirmed that he had never read Auguſtin, though he had cited him

him ſo frequently; and he declares, that he found more [h] Chriſtian philoſophy in one page of Origen, whom Jerom had much ſtudied, than in ten of Auguſtin. A. D. 1518.

Beza afterwards [i] cenſured Eraſmus for having entertained a mean opinion of the ſtyle of the New Teſtament.

In this Epiſtle Eraſmus makes ſome mention of [k] Philelphus, as alſo in Ep. 411. c. 1798.

Gulielmus Croius, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of Toledo, had declared himſelf (in converſation perhaps, or in ſome letter to Eraſmus) for the opinion of the Stoics concerning the *chief good*, that it conſiſted in virtue, which always is its own reward. Eraſmus writes him a letter, in which he prefers the doctrine of the Peripatetics, who add to virtue the gifts of nature and of fortune, as neceſſary ingredients in human happineſs; and then gives good moral advice to the Cardinal, who was very young.

Croius received this letter as a ſort of civil challenge, and wrote back a polite defence of his ſentiments, to which Eraſmus replied again as politely.

If Croius wrote the letter himſelf, he muſt have been no ſmall Genius. But who knows that? He mentions Ludovicus Vives in it; and Vives was at that time his preceptor, and probably his aſſiſter alſo in compoſing this pretty Epiſtle. Ep. 349, 350, 351.

[l] He was cut off in the flower of his youth, and Eraſmus affectionately

[h] Plus me docet Chriſtianæ philoſophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Auguſtini.

[i] See Act. Erudit. XXVI. 520.

[k] Philelphi Epiſtolæ, *bonnes*. Scaligeran. p. 310. Memoires pour la vie de Philelphe. Memoires de L'Academie des Belles Lettres, T. XV. p. 531. Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 50 Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 218. Pope Blount, p. 331. Franc[illegible]s Philelphus, vir ille quidem eruditus, ſed nonnunquam plus ſatis φίλαυτος. *Eraſmus* Vita Hieronymi.

[l] Periit Gulielmus Croius, et periit veluti floſculus tener in ipſo exortu ſuciſus, ſimulque nos docuit, nihil eſſe ſatis firmi præſidii in rebus fortunæ arbitrio ſubjectis. — Quid optari poterat a fortuna, quod illi non affatim fuerat ultro largita? Generis antiquiſſima ſtemmata, tum patruus, ſic apud Carolum noſtrum.

A. D. 1518. affectionately laments his death. He is ſaid to have been [m] poiſoned by the Spaniards.

[n] In a letter to Warham he propoſes to end his days in England; and talks in the ſame way to Colet.

[o] He ſpeaks like a man of letters concerning the diſcomfort of attending Courts, and of being employed by Princes.

[p] He gives Longolius a great character.

[q] He obſerves of Wolſey, that he was a promiſer rather than a performer of favours, and uſually haughty and forbidding in his behaviour.

He wrote a friendly letter to Oecolampadius, in which he highly commends [r] Melanchthon; though at that time he was diſpleaſed

noſtrum gratioſus, ut penes unum propemodum videatur eſſe imperii ſumma: ætas virens, nondum enim egreſſus erat annum vigeſimum tertium: corpus vegetum ac firmum: tam multiplex dignitas, ut in illo vix eluceret majeſtas galeri Cardinalitii: morum mira facilitas candorque; toto pectore favebat bonis ſtudiis, nec oderat Eraſmum. Certe Vives noſter Mæcenatem amiſit, qualem poſthac haud facile nanciſcetur. Ep. 565.

[m] Seckendorf L. I. p. 151.

[n] Ubicumque terrarum ero, tuus ero clientulus.—Eſt animus in Angliam velut feceſſum quendam abditum ſemotumque demigrare, et confido fore, ut tua benignitas fortunulas noſtras augeat; quandoquidem in dies accedit ſenium, et quotidie magis ac magis intelligo poſtremum caput Libri *Eccleſiaſtæ*.—Numquam mihi videbor infelix, te incolumi. Ep. 269. c. 1673. & Ep. 305. c. 1690.

[o] Morus adhuc eſt Caleti, magno, ut apparet, cum tædio, tum ſumtu, et in negotiis longe odioſiſſimis. Sic Reges beant amicos: hoc eſt a Cardinalibus adamari. Sic et Pacæum jam ſupra biennium apud Elvetios relegatum detinent. Ep. 344.

[p] Juvenis, ut ex illius intelligo ſcriptis, cum ad omnes bonas diſciplinas, tum ad eloquentiam factus. Hic, ni fallor, unus eſt eorum qui mox Eraſmi nomen obſcurabunt. Verum ea res mihi voluptati eſt, quando mei nominis jactura lucrum eſt Reipublicæ literariæ. Ep. 347.

[q] Cardinalis perbenigne pollicetur; verum hæc ætas non moratur lentas ſpes. —Complexus eſt me Cardinalis Eboracenſis, non paſſim comis aut facilis. Ep. 352, 353.

[r] De Melanchthone et ſentio præclare, et ſpero magnifice, tantum ut eum juvenem [illegible]is Chriſtus diu velit eſſe ſuperſtitem. Is [illegible]ſus obſcurabit Eraſmum. Ep. 3[illegible]

diſpleaſed with him for having ſpoken [s] ſlightingly of his New Teſtament. A. D. 1518.

He was alſo a little diſſatisfied with his ancient patron Montjoy, and thought him rather [t] too cold and too ſtingy. So he ſays to Sixtinus and to More.

In a letter to Bombaſius, he complains alſo grievouſly of his friend [u] Richard Pace, who had been guilty of no ſmall indiſcretion, and, in a ſilly book, had between jeſt and earneſt repreſented Eraſmus as a beggar, and a beggar hated by the Clergy. I am, ſays Eraſmus, neither the one, nor the other. He makes the ſame complaints to More, and adviſes him to exhort Pace, ſince he had ſo little judgment, rather to confine himſelf to tranſlating Greek writers, than to venture upon works of his own invention, and to publiſh ſuch mean and contemptible ſtuff. Ep. 287. c. 1681.

 But

[s] Quin et Melanchthon vocem ſe *dignam (perhaps it ſhould be* indignam) emiſit, ſe multa reprehenſurum in Novo Teſtamento, ni eſſem amicus Reuchlino. Ep. 289. c. 1682.

[t] Montjoius ſui ſimilis eſt; aut promittit, aut queritur. Ep. 261. c. 1669. Miror frigus Mæcenatis vetuſtiſſimi Montjoii; ſed uxor opinor et filius augent naturæ vitium. Ep. 311. c. 1694.

[u] Sciebam Richardum Pacæum hominem eſſe moribus plane niveis, integrum, liberum, ſic amicum amico, ut non alius æque, πολύγλωτ∫ον, πολυμαθῆ, ſed tamen optarim illius nomine libellum eum, *De utilitate ſtudiorum*, editum non fuiſſe. Scio doctos, q[illegible] non paucos habet Britannia, longe aliud ingenii doctrinæque ſpeciu[illegible] ab illo expectaſſe. Si ſerio ſcripſit, quid illic ſerium? ſin joco, quid ibi feſtivum? poſtremo nihil illic conſtat aut cohæret ſibi, ſed velut ægri ſomnia, &c. Deinde, quid opus erat Eraſmum toties traducere, nunc ut eſurientem, nunc ut Theologis invi∫um? Certe cum primis Theologis mihi probe convenit; et famelicus ille quotannis ſupra trecentos ducatos poſſideo; præter ea quæ ex Mæcenatum liberalitate meiſque laboribus accedunt; plura habiturus, ſi libeat; quidvis habiturus, ſi vel paulum me velim Principum negotiis immergere. Adeone quicquid in mentem venit, illico chartis illinendum putat? — Ego certe illum nondum tantum quantus nunc eſt, aliquanto honorificentius tractavi in meis *Chiliadibus*. Ep. 275. c. 1676.

A. D. 1518. But this diſguſt ſoon paſſed away, and Eraſmus ſpeaks of him afterwards with much affection and eſteem, Ep. 483, and in many other places.

" [x] Pace had been one of the moſt particular friends of Eraſ-
" mus, and their acquaintance was of an early date. Pace was
" trained up at ſchool, as we are told by Wood, at the charge of
" Thomas Langhton, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom he was
" *amanuenſis*. The Biſhop, being much pleaſed with his pro-
" ficiency, ſent him to Padua to improve himſelf. There he
" met with Tonſtall and W. Latimer, by whom he much pro-
" fited. Upon his return, he ſettled at Queen's College in
" Oxford: thence he was ſent for to Court, his accompliſhments
" rendering him very acceptable to Henry VIII, who made him
" Secretary of State, and employed him in matters of high
" concern. Though ſo much immerſed in political affairs, he
" went into Orders, and had ſome preferments given to him,
" whilſt he was employed in foreign embaſſies. Upon the death
" of Dean Colet in 1519, he ſucceeded him at St. Paul's. Thus
" far the bright part of his life: for, ſome years afterwards, whilſt
" he was upon public buſineſs at Venice, he fell under the diſ-
" pleaſure of Wolſey; for which two reaſons are aſſigned; firſt,
" that he had ſhewed a readineſs to aſſiſt Charles Duke of Bour-
" bon with money, for whom the Cardinal had no great af-
" fection; and, ſecondly, that he had not forwarded the Cardi-
" nal's deſigns of getting the Papacy. Upon theſe two reaſons,
" he was ſadly diſtreſſed by that great man, who ſtopped his
" allowance, and almoſt ſtarved him, and purſued him with the
" utmoſt vengeance, ſo that it did at laſt bereave him of his
" ſenſes; though he had ſome lucid intervals, in which he remon-
" ſtrated to the King againſt his ill uſage. But the Cardinal was
" too hard for him, and he was confined in the Tower two
" years. He reſigned his two Deaneries of St. Paul's and Exeter
" a little

[x] Knight, p. 37.

" a little before his death; and retiring to Stepney for his health, A. D. 1518.
" he there died and was buried in 1532, not being quite fifty
" years old. Leland's Encomium, on his return from Venice,
" contains an elegant and juſt character of him.

" Eraſmus, as he had a great opinion of Pace, for his candor
" and ſweetneſs of temper, ſo he was much afflicted at his miſ-
" fortunes, and could never forgive the man that cauſed them.
" And it much rejoiced him to [7] hear that he had recovered him-
" ſelf, and was reſtored to his places again, &c.

" As Pace ſucceeded Colet in the Deanery of St. Paul's, it
" had been well, if he had uſed his caution too in abſenting
" himſelf from Court, after the Cardinal came to be prime Mi-
" niſter. Colet had too much of the humble Chriſtian, and of
" the reputed heretic, to be favoured by Wolſey, and therefore
" avoided being concerned with him. Having told Eraſmus, in
" a letter, that Wolſey had the ſupreme command, he adds,
" that he himſelf was going to retire from the world."

" There is extant a remarkable [8] letter of Pace to the King,
" written in the year 1527, wherein he very honeſtly gives his
" opinion concerning the Divorce. Fiddes himſelf tells us, that
" Pace always uſed a faithful liberty to the Cardinal, which
" brought him at laſt to confinement and diſtraction."

It was impoſſible for Wolſey to be a ſincere friend to Eraſmus, becauſe Eraſmus was patronized by Warham, between whom and Wolſey there was no good underſtanding; and becauſe the great praiſes, which Eraſmus frequently beſtowed upon the Archbiſhop, would be interpreted by Wolſey as ſo many ſlights and affronts

 paſſed

[7] Exſilii præ gaudio, Pacæe chariſſime, quum viderem illam mihi non ignotam manum, acciperemque te tantis calamitatibus ac malorum naufragiis incolumem enataſſe, ac priſtin. etiam dignitati reſtitutum. Hoc mihi gratius fuit, quam ſi quis angel os miſiſſet ſexcentos. Video non dormire Numen, quod et innocentes eruit, et *feroces dejicit*.—Poſt fatales iſtas tempeſtates, confido poſthac tibi ſerena tranquillaque fore omnia, &c. Ep. 1097.

[8] Knight's Appendix, p. xxv.

A. D. 1518. paſſed upon himſelf. Eraſmus, in his Preface to Jerom, ſays, amongſt other things, of Warham, that he uſed to wear plain apparel; that once, when Henry VIII and Charles V had an interview, Wolſey took upon him to ſet forth an Order, that the Clergy ſhould appear ſplendidly dreſſed in Silk or Damaſk; and that Warham alone, deſpiſing the Cardinal's commands, came in his uſual clothes. In his dedication of Jerom to the Archbiſhop, he gives him this title, *Sedis Apoſtolicæ Legato nato*, &c. He probably intended to intimate, that, even in this reſpect, Warham was equal, if not ſuperior to the Cardinal.

Wolſey was not one of thoſe, who have ſo happy a memory, as *to forget nothing beſides diſcourteſies:* he was proud and vindictive; and ſuch a man, if he is offended at you, will hate not only you, but all thoſe whom you love, and by whom you are beloved:

— — — — *exurere claſſem*
Argivum, atque ipſos cupiet ſubmergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam.

Eraſmus, in a letter to More [a], informs him what favours he had received from the old Biſhop of Baſil, and praiſes the inhabitants of that [b] city.

In

[a] Epiſcopus Baſileenſis, vir admodum patu grandis, integer et eruditus, dictu mirum qua me ſit humanitate proſecutus, homo alioqui multorum conſenſu non admodum benignus: nam hunc nævum reperiunt in tam formoſo corpore. Invitavit, complexus eſt, ornavit teſtimonio vocis ſuæ, obtulit pecuniam, fortunam, donavit equum, quem, vix portam egreſſus, ſtatim quinquaginta florenis aureis vendere potui. Paraverat poculum argenteum, verum aurifaber illi verba dederat, id quod indigne tulit. Eloqui vix poſſum, quantopere mihi placeat hoc cœlum Baſileenſe, quantopere genus hominum: nihil illis amicius, nihil ſincerius. Quot me comitabantur equis abeuntem, quibus lacrimis dimiſerunt! — *Enchiridion* exoſculantur omnes. Id Epiſcopus Baſileenſis ſemper circumfert. Vidi margines omnes ipſius manu depictas. Sed deſino hæc, ne glorioſulus videar: quanquam apud *Morum* non verear vel ineptire. Ep. 364.

[b] A Baſle il y a de belles filles.—Baſilea eſt valde ſalubris. — Ex Baſileenſi Bibliotheca omnes boni libri ſunt excuſi; libenter dabant mutuo libros cum cautione ſufficienti. *Scaligeran.* p. 48.

In a letter to Tonſtall he defends the words [c] *hiemo* and *exalto*, which he had uſed in his New Teſtament, and which that learned Prelate had blamed too haſtily. A. D. 1518.

He had a great loſs this year in the death of Sylvagius, Chancellor of Burgundy, and his ſingular friend and patron. Ep. 299. c. 1688.

The 306th is a friendly letter to Eraſmus from [d] Richard Sampſon, who was employed by Wolſey.

" [e] Eraſmus was acquainted with him firſt at Cambridge, and " then at Tournay, where Sampſon uſed his utmoſt endeavours " to procure a Prebend in that Church for his friend Eraſmus.

" Sampſon was firſt of Clements Hoſtel, and then of Trinity " Hall; and afterwards Dean of the Royal Chapel of St. Stephen, " and Chaplain to the King. Being neglected by Wolſey, he " wrote him an expoſtulating letter for preferment, which ſuc- " ceeded not at that time, though he became at length Biſhop of " Chicheſter. In 1543 he was tranſlated to Lichfield, and was " of the King's Privy Council, and ſent abroad in embaſſies: " but this was after he had written a book in vindication of the " Supremacy; the Cardinal ever bearing hard upon thoſe, who " would not run the lengths he would have them."

" [f] The Biſhop of Chicheſter, Sampſon, though a man com- " pliant in all things, and Dr. Wilſon, were exempted out of " the general pardon, for no other crime, but that Abel, who " ſuffered for denying the King's Supremacy, being in the " greateſt extremity of want and miſery in priſon, where it was " ſaid he was almoſt eaten up by vermin, they had ſent him ſome " alms.—Sampſon, though he fell into this diſgrace for an act of " Chriſtian pity, yet hitherto had ſhewed a very entire com- " pliance

[c] Miror tibi diſplicuiſſe *hiemare*, quod toties habeatur apud Cæſarem. — *Exaltare* reperimus apud Columellam. Ep. 282. c. 1679. *See* Geſner's Theſaurus.

[d] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. I. 215. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 161.

[e] Knight, p. 43.

[f] Burnet III. 149.

A. D. 1518. " pliance with all that had been done. He had publiſhed an " Explanation on the firſt fifty Pſalms, which he dedicated to " the King; in which as he extolled his proceedings, ſo he run " out into a ſevere invective againſt the Biſhops of Rome, and " the uſurpations and corruptions favoured by that See, and he " reflected ſeverely on Pole. Pole's old friend Tonſtall did alſo, " in a Sermon at St. Paul's, in his grave way, ſet forth his unna- " tural ingratitude."

[g] Eraſmus had a great ſhare of favour from moſt of the Cardinal's domeſtics, from [h] Burbank, Lovel, Tones, Philips, Francis, Gonell, and Clement.

William Burbank was known at Rome to Eraſmus, who acknowledges many favours received from him. He was Secretary to the Cardinal, and promoted by him to the Prebend of South Grantham, in the Church of Sarum. He was a Cantabrigian. Thomas Lovel was Sub-Dean of Wells, and Vicar General to the Biſhop. [i] Robert Tones, or Toneſius, was the Cardinal's Counſellor. Philips is ſaid by Eraſmus to be a zealous friend, and a youth of a moſt promiſing genius. Francis was the Cardinal's phyſician. Eraſmus was very intimate with him, and, after the death of Linacer [k], uſed to apply to him for advice under his frequent indiſpoſitions. Gonel was acquainted with Eraſmus at Cambridge, and was probably one of the Cardinal's domeſtic Chaplains. John Clement had been tutor to Sir Thomas More's children, at whoſe recommendation Wolſey made him Profeſſor of Rhetoric and of Greek at Oxford. He was alſo of the College of Phyſicians at London. He left England for the ſake of religion: in Queen Mary's reign he returned home, and practiſed in his faculty; but when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, he went over to Mechlin, and there died in 1572.

In

[g] Knight, p. 43.
[h] Ep. 526.
[i] Ep. 701.
[k] Ep. 431. c. 1813. Ep. 432. c. 1815.

In an epiſtle to More, Eraſmus [1] ſpeaks very ludicrouſly of the projected war againſt the Turks, and of the ſevere mortifications impoſed by Pope Leo upon the wives of all who ſhould bear arms in that expedition; and throws out a jeſt upon More's ſpouſe *en paſſant*. A. D. 1518.

He was politician enough to diſcern, that it was a mere villainous trick, deſigned to raiſe money, or a ſcheme to employ the troops for other purpoſes.

In a letter directed to Warham, and which begins with *Mæcenas optime*, &c. he deſires him to intercede with the King for ſome ſmall ſubſidy, of which he ſtood in need, and to give him an horſe. But here muſt be ſome error; for in the ſame letter mention is made of the Archbiſhop's wife and children. Perhaps it ſhould have been inſcribed to Lord Montjoy. Ep. 312. c. 1694.

In a [m] letter to Fiſher he ſupplicates for an horſe: he alſo complains of the coldneſs of the King and the Cardinal, and of the wickedneſs of the Court of Rome, and talks of coming to ſettle in England.

In

[1] Pontifex, et Principes aliquot, novas agunt comœdias, prætexentes bellum in Turcas horribile. O miſeros Turcas! ne nimium ſæviamus Chriſtiani. Illud etiam ad uxores pertinet. Cogentur arma ſumere mariti omnes, minores quinquaginta annis, majores viginti ſex. At interim prohibet Pontifex ne uxores abſentium in bello, domi voluptuentur, ſed abſtineant a cultus elegantia, ne utantur ſericis, auro, aut gemmis ullis, ſucum nullum attingant, vinum ne bibant, jejunent diebus alternis; quo magis Deus faveat maritis in bello tam cruento verſantibus. Quod ſi qui erunt, qui domi negotiis neceſſariis alligantur, nihilo minus uxores ſervent eadem, quæ ſervanda fuerant maritis in bellum profectis. Dormiant in eodem cubiculo, ſed lectis diviſæ; nec oſculum interim detur; donec bellum hoc terribile favente Chriſto feliciter confectum fuerit. Scio hæc moleſta fore multis uxoribus, non ſatis perpendentibus negotii magnitudinem; quanquam uxorem tuam pro ſua prudentia, proque pietate in rem religionis Chriſtianæ, ſcio libenter etiam obtemperaturam. Ep. 265. c. 1671.

[m] ——opus eſt equo tum commodo, tum patiente laborum.—Grocini malum, ita me Deus amet, mihi ex animo dolet, qualiſcunque ille in me fuit. Optarim ejuſmodi ingenia nec mortem ſentire nec ſenium. — Jam tot eſcis capto Regem, tot

A. D. 1518. In Ep. 377 to Bombaſius [n], he mentions, amongſt other learned Engliſhmen, John Stockeſlie.

" [o] Stockeſlie was Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College in " Oxford, and made Principal of Magdalen Hall; afterwards " Vicar of Willoughby in Warwickſhire, and Rector of Slinbridge " in Glouceſterſhire, both in the gift of his College; then Pre- " bendary of the King's Chapel of St. Stephen, Archdeacon of " Dorſet in the room of Pace, and Chaplain to Richard Fox " Biſhop of Wincheſter, who gave him the Archdeaconry of " Surry. He was made Biſhop of London, upon the tranſlation " of Tonſtall to Durham, and Almoner to the King. He was " ſent to the Emperor, and to the Pope, and to ſeveral Univer- " ſities, on the affair of the Divorce, and was with Cranmer at " the citation of Queen Catharine to appear at Dunſtable, when " ſhe was divorced. It is ſaid of him, that he was very ſevere " to the poor Proteſtants; Hollinſhed telling us, that he once " boaſted he had burned fifty heretics. — He had alſo a hand in " burning Tindal's Bible, then a common effort of ridiculous " bigotry. Collier informs us, that he conteſted the Archiepiſ- " copal Viſitation, and refuſed to ſubmit, till he had entered " three proteſtations for preſerving the privileges of his See, by " which

tot reverendum Regis *Achatem*, et tamen hic funiculus nihil attrahit: ſi nunc non procedit, poſthac nec hamum periclitabor, nec eſcam. — Animus eſt ab hoc ſceleratiſſimo ſeculo ſecedere. Ad ſummum venere Principum technæ, Romanæ Curiæ impudentiæ; atque is videtur brevi futurus populi ſtatus, ut tolerabilius ſit Turcarum ferre tyrannidem. Ad vos igitur totus confugiam, velut extra orbem, et fortaſſis minime inquinatam orbis Chriſtiani partem. Ep. 306. c. 1691.

Scis, optime Bombaſi, quam ſemper abhorruerim ab aulis Principum, quam vitam ego nihil aliud judico, quam ſplendidam miſeriam ac perſonatam felicitatem: at in talem aulam [Anglicam] jubeat demigrare, ſi liceat rejuveneſcere. Ep. 377.

[n] Joannes Stocſlerus *(ſo he calls him)* præter Scholaſticam hanc Theologiam, in qua nemini cedit, trium etiam linguarum haud vulgariter peritus. —

[o] Knight, p. 192.

" which means a Regal Inhibition enſued. He died in 1539, A. D. 1518.
" and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral." [p]

" [p] John Stockeſly, Biſhop of London, a man of great witte
" and learning, but of lytle diſcretion and humanity."

" [q] Stockeſley being by the Cardinal (Wolſey) not long before
" in the Starre-Chamber openlie put to rebuke, and awarded to
" the Fleet, not brooking his contumelious uſage — had now a
" good occaſion offered him to revenge his quarrel, &c."

" [r] All agree, that Eraſmus was never here in England after
" the year 1518. And indeed we are much at a loſs to give an
" account of him, during the time he ſpent in this his laſt ſhort
" viſit. Wood ſpeaks of his being at Oxford in 1518, or 1519:
" but all the confirmation he gives us is from ſome Manuſcript
" notes upon Bryan Twyne's Book of the Antiquities of Oxford.
" All agree, that Cardinal Wolſey founded his Lectures in the
" Univerſity about this time; but it is not ſo evident, that *Eraſ-*
" *mus read certain Lectures in the public Refectory of Corpus Chriſti*
" *College:* Wood advancing nothing to prove this a true account.
" Till then one Epiſtle be produced to or from Eraſmus, at
" Oxford, about this time, the queſtion will ſtill remain, whe-
" ther he was ever more than once there. It may not how-
" ever be improper to inſert here a Memorandum of old Bryan
" Twyne, relating to Eraſmus, and to his ſojourning at Oxford,
" as I received it from Dr. Tanner:

" *Memorandum. Upon the* 18 *of February, A. D.* 1622, *Stilo*
" *veteri, (having heretofore received notice by Mr. Dr. Holt, Pre-*
" *bend of Weſtminſter, how that Mr. Clarencieux* [*Camden*] *had*
" *made of late time much enquiry of him touching me) repairing*
" *to Mr. Clarencieux his lodging at Mr. Dr. Heather's in Weſt-*
" *minſter, after ſome conference with him about divers matters,—He*
" *queſtioned with me about Eraſmus, and namely where he abode,*

" *whilſt*

[p] Hall *Chron.*

[q] Rooper's Life of More, p. 54.

[r] Knight, p. 187, 102.

A. D. 1518. " *whilſt he ſtudied in Oxford. I told him, I thought in a Religious* " *Houſe of the Auguſtinians, commonly called St. Maries College, a* " *little hitherward from Bocardo, from whence he wrote his book,* De " Agone Chriſti; *which houſe, after the Suppreſſion, came into the* " *hands of one Mr. Dr. Floid. But he replied, that when he was* " *a boy in Oxford, and ſtudied in Chriſt-Church College, there was* " *an old picture of Eraſmus hanging in a certain chamber in Pecwa-* " *ters Inn; which was therefore ſuppoſed to have been Eraſmus his* " *chamber, to which I replied nothing.*

" What foundation there is for Camden's conjecture, I ſhall " leave the Reader to judge."

This year was publiſhed, [s] *Quint. Curtius, cum annotationibus Eraſmi, curante Beato Rhenano. Argent.* See Ep. 276. Alſo, *Eraſmi Epigrammata. Baſil.*

[t] Livy was publiſhed at Mentz, with a Preface of Eraſmus. In this [u] Preface (which is not amongſt the Epiſtles of Eraſmus, and which is addreſſed to the learned reader) he ſeems to aſcribe the invention of printing to John Fauſt, of Mentz.

Budæus [x] informs Eraſmus, that Francis I had called [y] Juſtiniani from Italy to France. This Biſhop had paid a viſit at Louvain to Eraſmus, and is mentioned by him as a [z] courteous and candid man.

A. D.

[s] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. p. 316, 321, 322.

[t] Liber XXXIII (ſed prioribus 17 fere capitibus truncatus) et pars poſterior libri XL, a capite 37, primum prodiit in editione Livii Moguntina An. 1518, fol. e codice antiquo Longobardicis literis ſcripto ædis S. Martini illius urbis, ex officina Jo. Scheferi, qui Jo. Fauſti nepos fuit, curantibus Nic. Carbachio et Wolfg. Auguſto, cum præfationibus Hutteni et Eraſmi, et variis lectionibus ex eodem codice librorum ſeptem poſteriorum de bello Macedonico. *Fabricius* Bibl. Lat. T. I. p. 196, 4to.

[u] Appendix.

[x] Ep. 310.

[y] Bayle JUSTINIANI.

[z] Ep. 285.

A. D. MDXIX. Ætat. LII.

It had been reported to Eraſmus, that [a] Melanchthon had cenſured his [b] Paraphraſes: this [c] learned man therefore writes a very civil letter to Eraſmus, to juſtify himſelf; and ſends him compliments from Luther. Ep. 378. A. D. 1519.

Eraſmus accepted of theſe excuſes; but tells him, that he had cenſured, if not the Paraphraſes, yet the New Teſtament of Eraſmus; however, that men of letters ought to love each other,

X 2 and

[a] Bayle MELANCHTHON. Beza Icon. Verheiden Theolog. Effigies, p. 29. Melch. Adam. Camerarius Vit. Melanch. Burnet III. 111. Baillet II. 300. III. 57. IV. 406. Du Pin B. E. T. XIII. 42. Seckendorf L. I. p. 43, 44. L. II. p. 158, 181. P. Jovius Hiſt. L. XXXIX. p. 438. Scaligeran. p. 15. Colomeſius Theol. Preſb. Icon. p. 4. Continuat. Sleidani, L. II. p. 117. Pope Blount, p. 434. Thuanus L. XXVI. 809. Amœnitates Literariæ, T. XII. p. 628.

[b] The writings of Melanchthon, and the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus, were in great eſteem in England. King Edward ordered, that all Bachelors of Divinity ſhould be obliged to have the Paraphraſes, and to ſtudy them, that they might preach to their flocks the comfortable doctrines therein contained. In the reign of Elizabeth they went ſtill farther, and commanded that in every Church there ſhould be a copy of this book, on a deſk, for the uſe of the congregation. *Heylin.* See *Bibl. Univ.* IV. 343, 352.

[c] Helvetii et Germani habuerunt magnos viros, Melanchthonem, Glareanum, Camerarium, Geſnerum, ſed præcipue Vadianum et Agricolam. *Scaligeran.*

——Atque utinam parem vertendis antiquis ſtyli moderationem, et, ut ita dicam, continentiam adhibuiſſet Philippus Melanchthon: quæ fuit hominis facundia, et egregia Latini ſermonis integritas, eruditos omnes, excuſſis de manibus veterum ſcriptis, ad ſui lectionem pellexiſſet. *Huetius* De Clar. Interpr. p. 227.

Luther, in the year 1536, wrote upon his table theſe words following: *Res et verba Philippus; verba ſine rebus Eraſmus; res ſine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Carloſtadius.* Melanchthon unawares coming to Luther at that time, and reading the ſame, ſmiled, and ſaid, Touching Eraſmus and Carloſtad, it is well judged and cenſured; but too much is attributed unto me: alſo good words ought to be aſcribed to Luther, for he ſpeaketh exceeding well. *Luther's* Colloq. Menſal. p. 510.

A. D. 1519. and be united to defend themſelves againſt their common enemies. He ſpeaks very kindly to him; and ſays of Luther, All the world is agreed amongſt us in commending his moral character; but, as touching his doctrines, there are various ſentiments. I have not as yet read his works. He hath given us good advice on certain points; and God grant that his ſucceſs may be equal to the liberty which he hath taken. Ep. 411.

Melanchthon was always [d] mild and moderate, and though he had a ſincere affection for Luther, he could not refrain from [e] complaining now and then of his haughty and impetuous temper, ſo that even his beſt friends hardly knew how to bear with him at all times. But Luther, notwithſtanding his paſſionate ſallies, had a great [f] love and eſteem for Melanchthon.

From Melanchthon's Epiſtles it may be obſerved, that he was a believer in Judicial aſtrology, and a caſter of nativities, and an interpreter of dreams. A ſtrange weakneſs in ſo great a man!

[g] He foreſaw and feared, that violent diſputes would ſome day break out concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. The Scriptures,

[d] P. Jovius, after having abuſed Luther in a moſt ſcandalous manner, pays a ſmall ſort of compliment to Melanchthon; — *qui Latinæ facundiæ deditus, nova et ipſe placita mitiore ingenii veneno publicarat.*

[e] Luther étoit violent, & ſouffletoit Melanchthon. *Ab ipſo colaphos acceperim.* Ep. 29 ad Theodorum. *Longueruana*, V. I. p. 76.

[f] Quod agentem (Melanchthonem) cum (boni) omnes, tum Lutherus ipſe, non modo diligere, ſed ſuſpicere etiam ac colere; neque ſine ejus conſilio quicquam inſtituere, quod momenti aliquid haberet, et ad cuncta informanda, componenda, explicanda, opera ipſius uti. *Camerarius*, p. 158.

[g] *He ſays in one of his Epiſtles:*

De *Servéto* rogas quid ſentiam. Ego vero video ſatis acutum et vafrum eſſe in diſputando, ſed plane gravitatem ei non tribuo. Et habet, ut mihi videtur, confuſas imaginationes, nec ſatis explicatas earum rerum, quas agitat, cogitationes. De Juſtificatione manifeſte delirat. Περὶ τῆς Τριάδος, ſcis me ſemper veritum eſſe, fore ut hæc aliquando erumperent. Bone Deus! quales tragœdias excitabit hæc quæſtio ad poſteros, εἰ ἔστιν ἀνάσασις ὁ Λόγος, ὡ ἔστιν ἀνάσασις τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ego me refero ad illas Scripturæ voces, quæ jubent invocare Chriſtum, quod eſt ei honorem divinitatis tribuere, et plenum conſolationis eſt: τὰς δὲ ἰδέας τῶν ἀναστάσεων καὶ διαφορὰς ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν οὐ πάνυ συμφέρει. L. IV. Ep. 140.

tures, ſays he, direct us to invoke Jeſus Chriſt, which is to aſcribe Divinity to him. As to curious inquiries concerning his nature, they ſeem not uſeful or neceſſary. A. D. 1519.

Cardinal Sadolet wrote a friendly letter to Melanchthon, and highly eſteemed both him and Bucer. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 43.

Seckendorf hath given us an [h] inſtance of Melanchthon's ſcrupulous honour and diſintereſtedneſs, who refuſed to receive his ſalary, as a Reader in Divinity, becauſe he could not beſtow ſuch cloſe attendance, as, in his opinion, that office required.

Petrus Moſellanus, Profeſſor of Greek at Leipſic, wrote to Eraſmus, and told him of a public diſpute, which was to be held between Eckius and Caroloſtadius. He ſhews much [i] contempt of theſe two Divines: but, in a more ſerious Epiſtle to Pirckheimerus, he ſpeaks favourably of Caroloſtadius, and condemns Eckius.

In Seckendorf we have a full account of this diſputation, and of an excellent ſpeech made on that occaſion by Moſellanus, and of the character of Moſellanus, who was much beloved by Luther and by Eraſmus, and died aged only thirty-one, in 1524. The learned

[h] Scripſit Lutherus Electori, Melanchthonem ex conſcientiæ ſcrupulo recuſare florenos ducentos pro ſalario Lectionis Theologicæ nuper ab Electore conſtitutos, dicere enim, Se lectioni iſti non ſatis diligenter, et, ut res poſtularet, vacare poſſe. Suadet itaque Lutherus Principi, ut mentem ſuam erga Philippum ita declaret, ut is intelligat, non requiri aſſiduitatem lectionis, ſed ſufficere, ſi vel una vice in hebdomade legerit, pro tempore nempe et viribus. Addit: *Etſi Celſitudo tua ad unum alterumque annum ſalarium illud prorſus gratis ei dederit, optime tamen id fieret, quia jam duos annos abſque ſalario, magno cum labore, nec minori fructu, ſacram Scripturam explicavit. Vellem utique lectionem Scripturæ promoveri, quia ejus intellectus jam ubique terrarum deſideratur.*

Obſecutus eſt Luthero Elector, taleſque ad Melanchthonem literas dedit. L. II. 64.

[i] Joannes Eckius, ὁ τῶν ἀεροβατούντων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πνεόντων ἄλφα, cum Caroloſtadio Archidiacono pro ſua vita, hoc eſt, corollariis, in diſputationis arenam deſcendet. —Magnis apparatibus pugna utrinque adornatur. —Videas commiſſos nobile par Scotiſtarum. — Decem Democriti ſatis quod rideant, habebunt. Ep. 379.

A. D. 1519. learned Julius Pflug, who had been his diſciple, wrote his epitaph. L. I. 71—93.

Seckendorf hath alſo given us an ample relation of Caroloſtadius, who was of a turbulent and fanatical diſpoſition. L. I. p. 198—200, 302. L. II. p. 26, 28.

[k] Jacobus Latomus, [l] once a friend of Eraſmus, had publiſhed ſomething, in which he had obliquely cenſured Moſellanus and Eraſmus. The latter wrote a ſhort [m] anſwer to it, as he informs Moſellanus, whom he compliments, as being both a wit and a ſcholar. Ep. 380.

He adds many inſtances of the ignorance and unfairneſs of the Monks, who in a moſt ſpiteful manner attacked his verſion of the New Teſtament, as if he had corrupted the *Pater noſter*, the *Magnificat*, and other parts of Scripture. Thus they railed at him, both in their ſermons, and in their converſation. A Dominican, who had ſignalized himſelf this way at Stratſburg, in the preſence of Jacobus Sturmius, (whom Eraſmus hath often commended) was compelled to own that he had not read one line of the book. Theſe men, ſays Eraſmus, firſt hate, and then condemn, and then ſeek for paſſages to juſtify their cenſures. If any perſon oppoſes them, and calls them calumniators, they call him a [n] diſturber of the public peace; which is juſt as if you hit a man a blow on the face, and then bid him be quiet, and not make a tumult. The delicacy and dignity of theſe men, which takes

[k] Boiſſard Icon. p. 187. Du Pin XIV. 169. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 425. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 27.

[l] There was a Bartholomæus Latomus, a friend and correſpondent of Eraſmus. Ep. 1283, 1286. Du Pin XVI. 41.

[m] See T. IX. c. 79—106.

[n] Thus Feuardentius, a ſeditious and perſecuting Cordelier, repreſents himſelf as ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake; and complains, that he had been aſſaulted, beaten, plundered, and ſhot at by wicked heretics; but not a word of his own unchriſtian behaviour. It ſeems, this Confeſſor and Miſſionary ſometimes met with adverſaries almoſt as impetuous as himſelf, who rewarded his zeal with baſtinadoes. Bayle FEUARDENT.

takes fire at a ſingle word, requires from us a more than Socratic patience; and they are equally tender of their own reputation, and regardleſs how much they wound that of others. A. D. 1519.

He alſo tells a ſtory, how the King of England had mortified a Divine, who in his preſence had railed at the ſtudy of the Greek language. And yet theſe men had ſome reaſon to act thus: they ſaw plainly, that their authority would ſoon come to nothing, if the Originals were conſulted and examined; and they received ſo much advantage from the ignorance of the world, that they could not avoid ſuſpecting and hating ſuch learned innovations. All the rhetoric and the addreſs of Eraſmus could not ſoften and pacify them, eſpecially when the Reformation appeared, which was the offspring of theſe inquiries, and of this new light. For, if that age had continued under the ſame darkneſs, which had overſpread the earth in the foregoing centuries, the deciſions of the Scholaſtic Doctors would ſtill have been adored as heavenly truths.

The 382d letter is remarkable, and the prettieſt of all the Epiſtles of [o] Longolius.

[p] Chriſtophorus Longolius, of Schoonhove in Holland, was a famous Ciceronian, whom Eraſmus hath often commended, though Ciceronianiſm

[o] Longolius non ſuo ſenſu, ſed Ciceronis loquutus eſt, dum non ſtylum Ciceronis, ſed ipſiſſimas phraſes, adeoque ſententias tranſcribit. *Scaliger.* p. 247.

——Ne ipſis quidem Bembis et Sadoletis inferior factus eſt. Eum tamen, ut in ſententiis exilem, et in verbis minime luculentum, aſpernantur Itali homines, qui parem in hoc laudis genere nullum ferre poſſunt. *Sammarthanus.*

Sammarthanus was a learned and ingenious writer, and a good poet; but, in delivering his judgments, he was apt to be partial to his countrymen, and here to Longolius, who affected to paſs for a Frenchman, though he was really a Dutchman, and who is not to be compared with Bembus or Sadolet.

[p] Baillet VI. 56. Du Pin XIV. 181. P. Jovius Elog. 127. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 199. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 114. Sammarth. Elog. L. I. p. 4. Vita Longolii per Bateſium, p. 240.

A. D. 1519. Ciceronianiſm had ſet them a little at variance. [q] In this letter to a friend, Longolius draws up a compariſon between Eraſmus and Budæus, and, upon the whole, gives the preference obliquely to the

Chriſtophorus Longolius Jacobo Lucæ, Decano Aurelianenſi, S. D.

Nunquam nobis ſane non deerit ſcribendi argumentum, niſi, ut te olim monui, mutuis id interrogationibus excitemus: quo nomine ſcripſi ad te haud ita pridem, mihi adeo gratum fore, ſi plenius ex te intelligerem, cur Princeps veſter Eraſmum Budæo prætulerit, Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari. Nam quod ad eruditionem pertinet, non video qua in re Budæus Eraſmo cedat: ſive humaniores, ſive Chriſtiano dignas homine literas æſtimare libeat. Quod vero ad dicendi facultatem pertinet, parem, mea ſententia, in tam diverſo dicendi genere laudem merentur. Beatiſſima in ambobus et rerum et verborum copia: ſed ita ut alter *altius* [*read* latius] exſpatietur, alter anguſtiore quidem alveo, verum altiore ingentem aquarum vim trahat: fluit ille plenior, hic fertur rapidior. In Budæo videor mihi agnoſcere plus nervorum, ſanguinis, ſpiritus: in Eraſmo plus carnis, cutis, coloris. In illo plus diligentiæ, in hoc plus facilitatis: creber ille ſententiis, hic facetiis: ille omnia utilitati, hic plurimum delectationi tribuit. Pugnat Budæus cura, ingenio, gravitate, dignitate: Eraſmus arte, ſubtilitate, lenitate, jucunditate ad victoriam contendit. Hunc amare poſſis, illum admirari: huic favere, parere illi. Profecto ille me violenter cogit, hic ſuaviter allicit. Ducit alter blanditiis, alter viribus trahit, verborum delectu religioſus, proprietate perſpicuus. Si res tralationem expoſtulat, in metaphoris felix, ſententiis gravis, figuris varius, ſumma orationis ſpecie honeſtus, ſublimis, ſeverus, grandiloquus. Contra, Eraſmus venuſtus, modeſtus, popularis, floridus, verborum ſupellectile dives, compoſitione ſimul expeditus, ſimul nitidus, frequens exemplis, denſus argumentis, gratus ſalibus. Ille in oratione ſua totus quidem ſemper eſt, ſed tum potiſſimum tonat, tum fulminat, quum materia temporum noſtrorum objurgationem admittit: hic, etiam cum moribus convicium facit, magis inſtituto ſuo ſervire atque dolere videtur, malagmatis, collyriis, cerotis, et cæteris id genus leniorum medicamentorum remediis ſanitati conſulens: ut ille amarulentis quidem illis, ſed hac tempeſtate neceſſariis potionibus, ſectionibus, cauteriis alte graſſantem vim morbi inſectatur. Breviter, ſi Hiſtoriam ſcripturi ſint, Budæus Thucydidem magis quam Salluſtium, Eraſmus Livium quam Herodotum retulerit. [*Perhaps Longolius intended to ſay*, Budæus Thucydidem magis quam Herodotum, Eraſmus Livium quam Salluſtium retulerit.] Si poëma pangendum, hic Tragicum et Heroicum quiddam verborum ſententiarumque pondere altius intonabit: ille Comœdiam urbanius, Lyricos ſuavius, Elegiam mollius inſpirabit,

the latter, though, as he ſays, Francis I had given it to Eraſmus. A. D. 1519.
This compariſon turns principally upon the ſtyle of each competitor; and in this point ſome of his remarks are not injudicious. But

inſpirabit. Aſſurgit tamen et hic quoque alieno ingenio, ſuo vero tam difficulter, quam ille nunquam, etiamſi velit, ſe demittere queat: alioqui ſuperiores illæ virtutes ut neutri deſunt, ſic in altero magis patent, in altero magis latent: effectu pares, habitu diſſimiles, ut haud prorſus aberret quiſquis hunc concioni, illum judiciis natum dixerit: alterum Palladis numine afflatum, alterum Gratiarum choro ſtipatum. Cæterum, ut intelligas nihil eſſe, quod ſit ab omni, ut ille ait, parte beatum, aut certe quod omnium ſtomacho ſatis poſſit facere; audi quid in eis hi deſiderant, qui ſe aliquod operæ pretium in re literaria feciſſe arbitrantur. Budæus hoc illis peccare videtur, quod nihil peccet; Eraſmus quod vitiis ſuis faveat: illum enim, dum ſcrupuloſius omnia ad Veterum normam exigit, ſæpe oblitum eorum quibus ſcribit, ſibi tantum et Muſis canere; hunc, dum ingenio ſuo nimis indulget, nihilque putat eſſe tam vulgare, quod non aliquando in oratione ſuum ſibi locum honeſte vindicet, turbidum interim fluere: illum potius nobis ſignificare quid velit quam dicere; hunc immodica ſermonis ubertate, veluti læto gramine ſata ſtrangulare: illum oratione nunc obliqua verticoſum, nunc figurata elatum, ſæpe intumeſcere; hunc recto nudoque ductu humiliorem, plerumque humi ſerpere; hunc laſcivia molliorem, illum auſteritate duriorem. Denique alterum doctis mirum in modum poſſe placere, alterum etiam imperitis, ſi in tam ſecunda (ut illorum verbis utar) facundia modum tenerent, et ſuo ſemper freti ingenio, alieno nonnunquam eſſent diſerti, vel judicio vel conſilio. Nam cum præſtare poſſint quicquid volunt, par eſt, inquiunt, ut optima quæque velint, nec ſeſe ambitioſius nobis venditent: eo res noſtras recidiſſe, ut mature potius juvandi quam intempeſtive delectandi ſimus: pro ſuſcepto operis inſtituto fideliter docendi, non crebris licentioſiſſimiſque excurſionibus ambagioſe ſuſpendendi: digredi quidem Senecam et Plinium, ſed alterum parce, alterum raro, nec ſic quoque quæſito, nec niſi oblato argumento. Hæc Critici: quorum ſententiæ quo minus ſtatim ſubſcribam, faciunt cum alia multa, tum quod non defuere clari oratores, qui non grammaticos, ſed populum eloquentiæ judicem ſtatuerint. Eſto, ſit porrigendus doctis modo calculus, ſint ſoli literatorum principes hac de re in conſilium mittendi, quiſnam amabo hac ætate dignus, cui tam ſuperba cenſura jure credatur? Tuebuntur ſe uterque haud magnis ſolum exemplis, ſed etiam validiſſimis argumentis. Dicent ſe non perperam ſcribere, ſed illos corrupte judicare: in orationibus ſuis non naſci, ſed ab imperitis ſpinas afferri: Eraſmus ſe omnium rationem habuiſſe, Budæus paucorum theatro contentum eſſe. Itaque ipſe nihil decerno, vel ne ſutor (ut aiunt) ſupra

A. D. 1519. But certain it is, that if Budæus ſurpaſſed Eraſmus in Greek literature, and in the knowledge of the Civil Law, and wrote more learnedly and laboriouſly, the latter had far more taſte and fancy than he, a more agreeable ſtyle, and much greater ſkill in Divinity and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities. Eraſmus and Budæus continued, after this judgment of Longolius, to correſpond together as before, but they did not become warmer friends for it. Ep. 383, 387, 390, &c.

Eraſmus, having ſeen this letter of Longolius, wrote him an anſwer of compliments and thanks; but at the ſame time gives him

ſupra crepidam; vel quod apud me paria faciant, hoc eſt, virtutibus, ſi qua ſunt, vitia penſent, atque adeo ſuperent. Habent enim plus quod laudem, quam quod ignoſcam. Illud tantum miror, quod ab initio dicebam: Cur Princeps veſter in tanta Budæi probitate, doctrina, eloquentia, Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari prætulerit. Nec hoc dico, quod Eraſmi fortunæ invideam; ſtudeo namque homini, ſi quis mortalium alius, tametſi de facie nunquam mihi viſo, idque ob communem patriam (ſumus enim ejuſdem, ut noſti, et linguæ et ditionis) colo autem ob eximias illas animi dotes, quas in eo ita ſuſpicio, ut votorum meorum ſumma ſit, hinc ad annum etiam alterum ſupra viceſimum, quo me ætate ſuperat, ſi non illum, quem nunc tenet, ſaltem proximum eloquentiæ gradum attingere. Improbum, inquis, votum: improbum ſane, ſed quod nec ipſe plane improbet. Ego nec exiſtimationi, nec commodis tanti viri invideo, cujus eloquentia apud me pluris eſt, quam totius Galliæ opes. Sed in hoc iſta ſcribo, ut ſi quid habes, actutum me certiorem facias, cur ſemper neglectis Gallorum, nunc primum faſtiditis Italorum ingeniis, Germanica tam ambitioſe affectemini. Vale. Ex Urbe Roma, 29 Jan. Anno 1519.

[r] Eraſmus Roterodamus Chriſtophoro Longolio, S. D.

Cum multis nominibus mihi jucunda fuit, eruditiſſime Longoli, epiſtola tua, non illa quidem ad me ſcripta, ſed de me, tum hoc præcipue, quod mihi renovavit veterem ingenii tui notitiam, ac ſpem eloquentiæ nequaquam vulgaris, quam ante complures annos conceperam, ex Oratione panegyrica, qua laudes divi Ludovici, ni fallor, Galliarum regis, admodum adhuc juvenis es proſecutus. Epiſtolam exhibuit Ruzeus urbis Lutetiæ ſuppræfectus, homo tum eruditus ipſe, tum eruditionis alienæ mire candidus æſtimator. Tantum autem abeſt, ut ægre feram mihi præferri Budæum, ut in illum pene parcus, in me prodigus laudator fuiſſe videaris. Abunde multum illi tribuit tuus candor, ſed quoties hominis dotes prope divinas contemplor,

him ſome hints, that he was not over-pleaſed. Longolius had ſaid, amongſt other things, that Eraſmus *favoured his own defects*, that is, that he would not give himſelf the trouble to be more accurate, A. D. 1519.

templor, videor mihi videre quiddam majus omni facundia. Mihi vero tantum tribuis, quantum nec agnoſco nec poſtulo: cui abunde palmarium eſt ac triumphale, cum viro modis omnibus incomparabili comparari: neque poteras, mea quidem ſententia, plenius honeſtare famam Eraſmi, quam ſi illum faceres ita poſteriorem Budæo, ut eum non longo intervallo ſequeretur. Majore tamen cum voluptate Budæi laudes legi quam meas, vel quod illius gloriæ ſic faveam, ut nullius æque, vel quod quicquid illi poſſeſſionis eſt honeſtæ, id meum etiam eſſe ducam: non tantum publica illa Pythagoricorum lege, quæ vult inter amicos eſſe communia omnia, verum etiam peculiari fœdere, quod verbis rite conceptis, et ſyngraphis obſignatis inter nos jampridem pepigimus, ne alterutri fas ſit inficiari. Belle tu quidem me mihi depingis, ſed haud ſcio an omnino meis coloribus. Et tamen ad hanc tabulam ipſe mihi nonnihil blandior, non quod illi prorſus credam, ſed quod juvet Apellis manu depingi. Porro cum indicas, quid in me deſiderent Critici, non minus cepi utilitatis quam voluptatis. Quanquam ad quædam utcumque tergiverſari poteram, niſi tuo judicio tam impenſe faverem. Nam quod ſcribis me favere meis vitiis, crede mihi non tam favor eſt, quam vel inſcitia, vel potius pigritia. Sic ſum, nec poſſum naturam vincere. Effundo verius quam ſcribo omnia, ac moleſtior eſt recognoſcendi quam cudendi labor. Jam ut in delectu verborum nolim omnino videri indiligens, ità non arbitror congruere ei, qui res ſerias perſuadere cupiat, in affectandis dictionis emblematis eſſe moroſum aut anxium. Neque vero mirabitur eloquentiæ noſtræ rivum alicubi turbidum fluere ac lutulentum, qui cogitarit per quos auctores decurrat, nimirum ſordidos, et impuri ſermonis; ut non poſſit hinc non aliquid limi ducere. Uſu venit hoc non raro ſummis illis eloquentiæ proceribus, ut in Græcorum voluminibus verſantes, frequenter imprudentes Græce loquerentur. Illud haud ſcio an ſcribæ debeat imputari, quod mihi tribuis immodicam ſermonis ubertatem, quæ dos nimirum Budæo peculiaris eſt. Nam rectus ac nudus orationis ductus ſimplici naturæ congruit: nec mirum eſt humilem eſſe ſermonem cujus humilia ſunt omnia, corpus, animus, fortuna. Porro nimis crebras et immodicas digreſſiones, quas nobis communiter adſcribunt Critici (nam ſub horum, ni fallor, perſona maluiſti tuam indicare ſententiam) jam mutuis literis uterque alteri objecerat. Cum primis autem demiror, quî tibi ſuccurrerit demirari, cur Galliarum Princeps Franciſcus Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari prætulerit. Neutrum alteri prætulit Rex, ſed utrumque alteri ſtuduit conjungere. Neque enim cui-

A. D. 1519. accurate, and to ſeek out words and expreſſions of the Auguſtan age. Eraſmus replies, that he wrote ſo, not thro' conceitedneſs or ſtubbornneſs, but partly from ignorance, and ſtill more from indolence. I am ſo made, ſays he, and I cannot conquer my nature. I precipitate rather than compoſe, and it is far more irkſome to me to review than to write: and though I would not paſs for a ſlovenly and barbarous author, totally negligent of words and phraſes, yet neither do I think it becoming a man, who writes upon ſerious and important ſubjects, and wants to perſuade and inſtruct his reader, to be over-difficult in the choice of ſuch ornamental parts of compoſition.

They, who are acquainted with the works of Eraſmus, will eaſily ſee that this was his true character. As the Ciceronians were more ſolicitous in their compoſitions about phraſes and periods, than about things, and ſlaviſhly confined themſelves to words taken from Cicero, or authors who were contemporary with him, they either could not mention many things of real importance, or they could not expreſs them properly, becauſe they could not find words to repreſent their thoughts in the above-mentioned writers. There are a multitude of ſubjects relating to Divinity, Natural Philoſophy, Morality, Politics, and other

quam ſuo loco cedendum erat, ſi me in Galliam contuliſſem. Tantum abeſt ut Budæo fuerim offecturus. Quod ſcribis et ditionem et patriam et linguam mihi tecum eſſe communem, non tam mihi gratulor, quam huic regioni, quam vehementer gaudeo talibus, hoc eſt, veris ſemperque duraturis ornamentis in dies magis ac magis illuſtrari. Proinde nihil optatius mihi poſſit accidere, quam multos exoriri tui ſimiles, qui nobis in hoc laudis ſtadio non modo ſuccedant, ſed etiam antevertant; et quicquid eſt hoc nominis, quod mihi mea peperere ſtudia, ſuo ſplendore obſcurent. Sed tamen agnoſcet, opinor, poſteritas, nobiſque nonnihil debere ſe fatebitur, quod parum felici ſeculo, quod his regionibus, in quibus prorſus extinctæ fuerant et inviſæ bonæ literæ, longum et invidioſum certamen ſuſtinuimus adverſus pertinaciſſimos meliorum ſtudiorum hoſtes. Sed utcunque de nobis cenſebit ætas ſecutura, volupe eſt interim optimas literas paſſim feliciter efflorescere. Bene vale, Longoli doctiſſime, et in hæc ſtudia ut cœpiſti conſtanter ac feliciter incumbe. Lovanio, 1 April. Anno 1519.

other ſciences, which the ancient Latins never thought upon, A. D. 1519.
and therefore had no convenient words to deſcribe them. On ſuch occaſions our Ciceronians were ſtopped and diſtreſſed, and therefore they could only deal in ancient notions, which might be diſcuſſed and deſcribed according to the manner of the Ancients; and this rendered their works extremely cold, jejune, inſipid, and tireſome. Eraſmus, on the contrary, who paid more regard to things than to words, and had a fine genius, expreſſed his thoughts in a moſt lively manner, accommodating his phraſes to his ſubject, with great variety and facility. His invention thus unfettered was the more ſpritely and abundant, and he never fails to entertain his reader, both in matter and in manner. Ep. 402.

Longolius afterwards wrote againſt Lutheraniſm, and undertook a taſk for which he was not at all qualified, having nothing in his head beſides Ciceronianiſm and a little philology.

We ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter on the Ciceronian controverſy.

In a letter to Ruzeus, a Frenchman, Eraſmus compliments that nation, and is [r] willing, if they ſhould do him the honour of claiming him, to paſs himſelf for a Frenchman. But the Germans would not agree to that. Ep. 393.

Luther ſent a letter to Eraſmus, very courteous and civil, though not over-elegant as to ſtyle. He fancied that Eraſmus was on his ſide, becauſe he had declared himſelf againſt the ſuperſtitious religion of the Monks, and becauſe theſe men hated them both almoſt equally. He thought that he could diſcern the taſte and temper of Eraſmus from his new Preface to the *Enchiridion Militis Chriſtiani*. Ep. 399.

Eraſmus replied, calling Luther his deareſt brother in Chriſt, and informed him what a noiſe had been made againſt his works at

[r] Gallum eſſe me, nec aſſevero, nec inficior: ſic natus ut Galluſne an Germanus ſim, anceps haberi poſſit: quamquam apud ſtudiorum cultores minimum habere momenti par eſt regionum diſcrimina.

A. D. 1519. at Louvain. As to himſelf, he had, as he ſays, declared to the Divines of that Univerſity, that he had not read thoſe works, and therefore could neither approve nor diſapprove them; but that it would be a better method for them to publiſh anſwers conſiſting of grave and ſolid arguments, than to rail before the populace, eſpecially as the moral character of the Author was irreprehenſible. Eraſmus however owns, that he had peruſed part of his Commentaries upon the Pſalms, that he liked them much, and hoped they might be very ſerviceable. He tells him, that many perſons both in England and in the Low Countries commended his writings. He exhorts him alſo to moderation, and to content himſelf with attacking, not the perſons of Popes and Kings, but thoſe evil Counſellors, who impoſed upon them, and made a bad uſe of their authority.

There is, ſays he, a Prior of a Monaſtery at Antwerp, a true Chriſtian, who loves you extremely, and was, as he relates, formerly a diſciple of yours. He is almoſt the only one who preacheth Jeſus Chriſt, whilſt others preach human fables, and ſeek after lucre. The Lord Jeſus grant you from day to day an increaſe of his ſpirit, for his glory and for the public good.

From theſe and from other paſſages, it appears, that Eraſmus entertained hopes, that the attempts of Luther, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might be ſerviceable to true Chriſtianity. Ep. 427.

He writes to the Biſhop of Rocheſter concerning a book of Latomus. Eraſmus, in a treatiſe *of true Theology*, had ſaid, that a great part of it conſiſted in a pious diſpoſition of heart. Latomus attacked this propoſition with many arguments, and ſaid, that to be a good Divine, and to be a good man, was not the ſame thing. By and by, ſays Eraſmus, I fancy they will come to ſay, that [s] to be a good Divine, and to have common ſenſe, are very different things. Ep. 403.

The

[s] ——Non idem eſſe, Theologum eſſe, et ſapere.

The 392d is a pretty letter from [t] Huttenus, to which Eraſmus A. D. 1519.
replied in a very friendly manner, and exhorted this [u] impetuous man to moderation in his conduct.

Hutten having afterwards declared himſelf openly for Luther, and Eraſmus, on the contrary, growing more ſhy and cautious on that affair, they became enemies. Hutten at this time was with the Archbiſhop of Mentz, to whom Eraſmus recommended him warmly; and his commendations were not fruitleſs, as it appears from that Prelate's anſwer. Ep. 413, 419, 456.

Hutten was of a bold and daring ſpirit, and a great [x] fighter upon occaſion. In ſome place, where he had power, he [y] fined the Carthuſians two thouſand pieces of gold, for having wiped — with his picture.

Camerarius, in his life of Melanchthon, makes mention of Hutten, and tells us, that he was of an ancient and noble family, (upon which he valued himſelf not a little) learned, ingenious, and courageous; that he had a daring ſpirit lodged in a weak and ſickly body; that he fought with four (he ſhould have ſaid, five) Frenchmen at Viterbo, and put them all to flight, though wounded, and deſerted by his fellow-traveller; that he was of a turbulent and ſeditious temper, paſſionate, impatient of affronts, and ſomewhat cruel; that he wrote a violent invective againſt Eraſmus,

[t] Boiſſard Icon. Part. II. p. 33. Beza Icon. Camerarius *Vit. Melanch.* Baillet IV. 335. Seckendorf L. I. p. 130. Sleidan L. IV. 84. Bayle HUTTEN. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutteni. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 327, 332, 340. Act. Erudit. XLIV. 410. XLV. 134.

[u] Neque violentia Hutteni, quam calamo, et aliquando manu cum poterat exercebat, religioni profuit; nocuit potius. Improbavit eam etiam Lutherus, literis ad Spalatinum, ubi ita ſcribit: *Quid Huttenus petat, vides. Nollem vi et cæde pro Evangelio certari: ita ſcripſi ad hominem.* Seckendorf L. I. p. 131.

[x] Eraſmus Ep. 413.

[y] Huttenus Carthuſianos, quia imagine ſua pro *anitergiis* uſi ſunt, in duobus millibus aureorum nummûm mulctavit. Epiſt. Gerbelii, p. 22. In Centur. Epiſt. ad Schwebelium.

A. D. 1519. Eraſmus, who repaid him with a ſmart anſwer; and that he died aged thirty-ſix (it ſhould be, thirty-five) p. 90, &c.

La Monnoye ſays, that he is a poor writer in proſe, and that his verſes are even worſe than his proſe. Burckhard hath extolled him beyond his deſerts, and hath given an account of him, and of his works, in three volumes. Hutten died in miſerable circumſtances, overwhelmed with poverty and debts, and eaten up with a certain diſeaſe.

In one of his Epiſtles, he declares to a friend, that he was inclined to ſettle, and to take a wife. He wanted a virgin, who was young, handſome, good-natured, virtuous, and rich. As to pedigree, he ſays, that he ſhould be eaſy on that article, having nobility enough for himſelf and his lady. It is pleaſant to hear a Beggar talk thus, who had nothing to give to his wife, beſides a coat of arms and the ——.

We ſhall ſay more concerning Hutten hereafter.

This year John Colet died at London; and Eraſmus, in a [z] letter to Jodocus [a] Jonas, makes his [b] Elogium, and along with it the Panegyric of a Franciſcan, called Joannes Vitriarius. The characters of theſe two eminent men, drawn by ſo great a maſter, well deſerve to be carefully peruſed; and if Eraſmus hath not given the reins a little to his Imagination, and embelliſhed his ſubject, it is no wonder that he ſo ſincerely loved and admired them both. They were two excellent Eccleſiaſtics, and in many things bare no ſmall reſemblance to Eraſmus. Richard Pace ſucceeded Colet, as Dean of St. Paul's. Ep. 435.

" [c] It were to be wiſhed, (ſays Knight) ſince Eraſmus follows " the example of Plutarch, and gives us a parallel between two " very excellent perſons, that he had choſen another of our [d] coun-

" trymen,

[z] This letter, ſays Knight, ſhould be dated 1520.

[a] Seckendorf L. III. p. 373.

[b] Appendix.

[c] Life of Colet, Intr. p. xi.

[d] But where could Eraſmus have found an Engliſhman proper for his purpoſe; eſpecially as he was to ſeek him, not amongſt the living, but amongſt the dead?

" trymen, rather than gone to France for the character of Vitria- A. D. 1519.
" rius: who though it muſt be owned he was a very pious man;
" yet, conſidering the different way of life in which he was
" engaged from that of Dean Colet, the one being a Recluſe,
" and the other as active as any one of his function in the age he
" lived, by no means is the parallel juſt or proper."

I am not inclined to diſpute about this, or about any point, with my deceaſed friend; but ſhall only obſerve, that we are much obliged to Eraſmus for giving us a moſt entertaining account of two Divines, ſo far reſembling each other, that they had a largeneſs of mind, a ſolidity of judgment, and a freedom of thinking and ſpeaking, far beyond their contemporaries, very few excepted.

" [a] Biſhop Latimer remembered the noiſe that the proſecution
" of Colet for hereſy had made; and ſays expreſsly, that he
" ſhould have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart
" to the contrary, &c.

" Some time after he had been dead and buried, he had like
" to have been ſerved as Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, who
" were taken up and burnt at Cambridge.

" Collier in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory leaves out all the preach-
" ing of Colet againſt the corruptions of the Church of Rome;
" and doth not ſo much as mention his name in his Hiſtorical
" Dictionary, &c.

" Under Lily and Rytwiſe, the Maſters of St. Paul's ſchool,
" founded by Colet, if there was any fault, it was the practice of
" too much ſeverity, owing a little to the roughneſs of that age,
" and to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of cruelty. Somewhat too may
" be attributed to the auſtere temper of the founder, Dean Colet,
" who thought there was a neceſſity of harſh diſcipline to humble
" the ſpirit of boys.

[a] Knight's Life of Colet, p. 93, 258, 172.

A. D. 1519. " Eraſmus was of a contrary opinion, and more for the mer-
" ciful and [f] gentle way of education; and therefore was almoſt
" [g] angry with the Dean and his two Maſters, and hath told a
" ſtory of them, not very much to their reputation; which,
" though he concealed their names, it will be a hard taſk to apply
" to any other than to them.

" Eraſmus, as well as Colet, was ſuſpected of hereſy. [h] When
" they were joint ſpectators of ſome ſuperſtitious reliques of
" Thomas à Becket, Colet was out of patience to ſee thoſe ſilly
" fopperies;

[f] He hath treated this ſubject very well in T. I. c. 361. *De Conſcrib. Epiſt.*

[g] Novi Theologum quendam, et quidem domeſtice, maximi nominis, cujus animo nulla crudelitas ſatisfaciebat in diſcipulos, quum Magiſtros haberet ſtrenue plagoſos. Id exiſtimabat unice et ad dejiciendam ingeniorum ferociam, et ad edomandam ætatis laſciviam pertinere. Nunquam agitabat convivium apud gregem ſuum, niſi quemadmodum Comœdiæ exeunt in lætam cataſtrophen, ita poſt cibum ſumtum, unus aut alter protraheretur virgis laceerandus; et interim ſæviebat et in immeritos, nimirum, ut aſſueſcerent plagis. Ipſe quondam adſtiti proximus, quum a prandio ex more puerum evocarat, annos natum, ut opinor, decem. Recens autem a matre venerat in eum gregem. Præfatus eſt, illi matrem eſſe cum primis piam fœminam, ab ea ſibi puerum ſtudioſe commendatum: mox ut haberet occaſionem cædendi, cœpit objicere neſcio quid ferociæ, quum nihil minus præ ſe ferret puer, et innuit illi cui Collegii præfecturam commiſerat, huic ex re ſatelles erat cognomen, ut cæderet. Ille protinus dejectum puerum ita cæcidit, quaſi ſacrilegium commiſiſſet. Theologus ſemel atque iterum interpellavit, *ſatis eſt, ſatis eſt.* At carnifex ille, fervore ſurdus, peregit ſuam carnificinam pene uſque ad pueri ſyncopem. Mox Theologus verſus ad nos, *Nihil commeruit*, inquit, *ſed erat humiliandus*, nam hoc verbo eſt uſus. Quis unquam ad eum modum erudivit mancipium; imò quis aſinum? *De Puer. Inſtit.* c. 505.

[h] In Anglia offerunt oſculandum calceum Divi Thomæ, qui forte calceus eſt alicujus balatronis; et ut fit, quid ineptius quam adorare calceum hominis? Vidi ipſe, quum oſtentarent linteola lacera, quibus ille dicitur abſterſiſſe muccum narium, Abbatem et cæteros qui adſtabant aperto ſcriniolo venerabundos, procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam ſublatis adorationem geſtu repræſentare. Iſta Joanni Coleto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna: mihi ferenda videbantur, donec ſe daret opportunitas ea citra tumultum corrigendi. *Mod. Orand.*

« fopperies; whereas Eraſmus was more eaſy, waiting till a A. D. 1519.
« proper time ſhould come of reforming ſuch abuſes, &c."

It is obſervable of Colet, that, with all his ſenſe, and with all his learning, he was not able to acquire a purity, facility, and elegance in writing Latin. Eraſmus takes [1] notice of this defect in his illuſtrious Friend, and aſſigns the cauſe of it. It will uſually be the caſe, more or leſs, of thoſe who have not laid a grammatical foundation betimes.

It is true, that a bare knowledge of rules will not enable a man to write Latin elegantly; for, *Aliud eſt Grammatice, aliud Latine loqui*; and that it is needful to be converſant with good authors: but both theſe things ſhould be joined together, the one without the other being defective.

Eraſmus wrote to Cardinal Campegius, who was then at London, and ſent him his ſecond edition of the New Teſtament. He excuſeth himſelf for not preſenting it to him in perſon, partly on account of his health, and partly as being invited to France by the King's letters, and deſigning to go thither. It is ſtrange, that theſe letters of Francis I, or of his Miniſters, ſhould not be found in this collection. But Eraſmus never went his projected journey; and it appears from many of his letters, that he liked infinitely better to pay his court to the Great at a diſtance, than in perſon. Ep. 416.

Campegius returned him a polite letter, full of commendations, and ſent him a preſent of a diamond ring, and gave ten pieces of gold, *decem aureos*, to the meſſenger by whom Eraſmus had ſent his book to him. He exhorts Eraſmus to deſpiſe the malice of thoſe Divines, who traduced him in ſo odious a manner;

[1] Recte loquendi copiam non ferebat peti e præceptionibus Grammaticorum, quas aſſeverabat officere ad bene dicendum, nec id contingere niſi evolvendis optimis Auctoribus; ſed hujus opinionis ipſe pœnas dedit. Cum enim eſſet et natura et eruditione facundus, ac *dicendi (read* dicenti) mira ſuppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen ſcribens ſubinde labebatur in his, quæ ſolent notare Critici, &c. Ep. 335. c. 460.

A. D. 1519. and declares, that their cenſures had not in the leaſt diminiſhed the eſteem and the love, which he had for him.

Eraſmus failed not to return him the thanks, which his condeſcenſion and civility ſo juſtly deſerved, and often praiſes him in letters written to other correſpondents. Ep. 443, 445, 471, 648. In one to Jacobus Baniſius, he calls him *virum omnium et optimum et doctiſſimum.* Ep. 437.

[k] Campegius acted very prudently, as well as generouſly, towards his learned client; and it was no ſmall honour to him to appear in the world, and to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as the Patron of Eraſmus.

" [l] Henry VIII had abſolutely gained Campegio to do all he " could for him, without loſing the Pope's favour. Campegio " led at this time (in 1529) a very diſſolute life in England, " hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores " all

[k] Leo X, when he ſent a Cardinal's Cap to Campegius, told him in a Brief, which is compoſed in elegant Latin, and preſerved to us by Sigonius, that this ſame Cap contained in it, according to the Fathers, ſundry great myſteries. — *Qui (Pileus) ut te intelligere confidimus, ex Patrum auctoritate, magnum myſterium continet. Deſignat enim, &c.* Vit. Laur. Campeg. p. 38.

Nothing is here wanting, except a dozen handſome citations from Cyprian, Auguſtin, Jerom, &c. *Longueruana* II. 21.

There was a man, who uſed to take ſingular care of his beard: it coſt him three crowns a month. Cardinal Campegius ſaid, By and by the beard will coſt more than the head is worth. *Menagiana* I. 208.

After the Diet at Augſburg was ended, Cardinal Campegius went with King Ferdinand to Vienna, where the people made an image of clouts and rags, like a little Cardinal, and ſet it upon a dog's back, which about his neck had tied the Pope's letters of Pardons, Indulgences, and Seals: under the dog's tail they hung a ſwine's bladder filled with peaſe, and in that ſort they hunted the dog through the ſtreets in Vienna. The next day after, the Cardinal appointed a whore to bear him company that night, who ſtole from him his Cardinal's Croſs. This Cardinal, in regard he was rich, was [illegible] the Pope's ſon made away with poiſon. *Luther's* Colloquia Menſal. p. 314.

[l] Burnet I. 69. Fiddes hath offered ſome remarks in vindication of the moral character of Campegius. *Collect.* p. 239.

" all the night; and brought a baſtard of his own over to Eng- A. D. 1519.
" land with him, whom the King knighted: ſo that, if the King
" ſought his pleaſure, it was no ſtrange thing, ſince he had
" ſuch a copy ſet him by two [m] Legates; who repreſenting his
" Holineſs ſo livelily in their manners, it was no unuſual thing,
" if a King had a ſlight ſenſe of ſuch diſorders."

" [n] The Duke of Suffolk often aſked the King, How he could
" ſo humble himſelf, as to ſubmit his cauſe to ſuch a vile,
" vitious, ſtranger Prieſt, as Campegio was?"

" [o] Campegio's ſon is by Hall, none of his flatterers, ſaid to
" have been born in wedlock, i. e. before he took Orders.
" This is alſo confirmed by Gauricus, *Genitur.* 24, who ſays, he
" had by his wife three ſons and two daughters."

" [p] That miſerable Hiſtorian, that deteſtable author, Sanders,
" hath had the impudence to ſay, that Henry VIII knighted a
" baſtard ſon of Campegius. Either he knew not, or he pre-
" tended not to know, that this Cardinal had been married
" fifteen or twenty years, and had had four ſons."

Ep. 417 is to Sir Henry Guildeford, concerning whom ſee Knight, p. 205.

In Ep. 438 to Claymond, Eraſmus extols the piety and bounty of Biſhop Fox, who had founded the College of Corpus Chriſti at Oxford.

" [q] Wood gives a pretty full account of Dr. Claymond, which
" ſhews that he was very conſiderable, both as to learning and
" preferments, having ſeveral dignities and Eccleſiaſtical benefices
" beſtowed upon him, &c."

At this time Lee began to give about manuſcript copies of his Remarks, in which he had attacked the firſt edition of the Annotations of Eraſmus upon the New Teſtament. Eraſmus, hearing

[m] Campegius and Wolſey.
[n] Burnet I. 92.
[o] Fulman, Appendix to Burnet II. p. 412.
[p] Longuerüana II. p. 23.
[q] Knight, p. 205.

A. D. 1519. ing of this, ſent him a letter full of reproaches and menaces, which had no effect upon him to reſtrain him. Ep. 446.

[r] In the following letter to Hutten, Eraſmus draws the portrait of his friend [s] More, deſcribing even the ſmalleſt particularities relating to his body and mind, not forgetting to mention a trick which he had in walking, to ſet his right ſhoulder higher than his left, and that his hands were clumſy, *ſubruſticæ*. He ſays alſo of him, that, whilſt his age permitted it, he had loved the girls, though not in a diſſolute way, &c. Few perſons would much like to be deſcribed by their friends in ſuch a manner; they would hardly thank them even for commendations mixed with ſuch ſort of raillery. However, it appears not that the union between More and him was ever broken in the leaſt; and it is certain, that Eraſmus had no deſign to offend him.

Eraſmus hath made a miſtake in ſaying that More was forty years old, who was born in the year 1482. Thus Le Clerc obſerves, but is probably miſtaken himſelf; for More was born in [t] 1480, if we may depend upon the teſtimony of his great grandſon.

We have a Life of Sir Thomas More written by this Mr. More, who was a narrow-minded zealot, and a very fanatic. However, we will extract a few paſſages from it. Wood, the Antiquary, ſays of this book, that it was incomparably well written: and the judgment is ſuch as might be expected from the man. *Similes habent labra lactucas.*

" [u] Cranmer is ſaid to have ſolicited in behalf of More; and " there is ſtill extant a letter from him to Secretary Cromwell, " wherein he preſſes, that More and Fiſher might be diſpenſed " with

[r] Appendix.

[s] Baillet II. 266. III. 39. IV. 353. Boiſſard Icon. p. 121. P. Jovius Elog. p. 166. Pope Blount, p. 396.

[t] The year of Sir Thomas More's birth is not certain. By Eraſmus's reckoning it was 1479, if not higher. Others ſay it was 1480; and others 1484. *Appendix* to Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. Vol. II. p. 416.

[u] Editor's Preface to More, p. viii.

" with in the preſent caſe, and allowed to take the oath to the A. D. 1519.
" ſucceſſion only, without ſwearing to the preamble, as they had
" both of them freely offered to do, &c."

" x When at Bruges in Flanders an arrogant fellow had ſet up
" a Theſis, that he would anſwer whatſoever queſtion could be
" propounded to him in any art whatſoever, Sir Thomas made
" this queſtion to be put up, for him to anſwer thereto, Whether
" *Averia capta in Withernamia ſunt irreplegiabilia*; adding, that
" there was one of the Engliſh Embaſſador's retinue, that would
" diſpute with him thereof. This Braggadocio, not ſo much as
" underſtanding thoſe terms of our Common Law, knew not
" what to anſwer to it; and ſo he was made a laughing-ſtock to
" the whole city."

" y It is reported, that he who conducted Eraſmus to England,
" procured that Sir Thomas More and he ſhould firſt meet toge-
" ther in London at the Lord Mayor's table, neither of them
" knowing each other. And in the dinner-time they chanced
" to fall into argument, Eraſmus ſtill endeavouring to defend
" the worſer part; but he was ſo ſharply ſet upon and oppoſed
" by More, that, perceiving that he was now to argue with a
" readier wit than ever he had before met withal, he broke forth
" into theſe words, not without ſome choler, *Aut tu Morus es,*
" *aut nullus:* whereto Sir Thomas readily replied, *Aut tu es Eraſ-*
" *mus, aut Diabolus*; becauſe at that time he was ſtrangely diſ-
" guiſed, and had ſought to defend impious propoſitions: for
" although he was a ſingular Humaniſt, and one that could utter
" his mind in a moſt eloquent phraſe, yet he had always a
" delight to ſcoff at religious matters, and find fault with all ſorts
" of Clergymen. He had a felicity to ſet out ſundry Com-
" mentaries upon the Fathers works, cenſuring them at his plea-
" ſure, for which cauſe he is termed *Errans mus*; becauſe he
" wandereth

x Hoddeſdon, Stapleton, More, p. 60. y Hoddeſdon, Stapleton, More, p. 82, 314.

A. D. 1519. " wandereth here and there in other mens harveſts; yea, in his " writings he is ſaid to have hatched many of thoſe eggs of " hereſy, which the apoſtata Fryer Luther had before laid: not " that he is to be accounted an heretick, for he would never be " obſtinate in any of his opinions; yet would he irreligiouſly " glance at all antiquity, and find many faults with the preſent " ſtate of the Church.—Sir Thomas in ſucceſs of time grew leſs " affectionate unto him, by reaſon he ſaw him ſtill fraught with " much vanity and inconſtancy in reſpect of religion: as when " Tindall objecteth unto Sir Thomas, that his darling Eraſmus " had tranſlated the word *Church* into *Congregation*, and *Prieſt* " into *Elder*, even as himſelf had done; Sir Thomas anſwered " thereto, *If my darling Eraſmus hath tranſlated thoſe places with* " *the like wicked intent that Tindall hath done, he ſhall be no more* " *my darling, but the Devil's darling.* Finally, long after, having " found in Eraſmus's works many things neceſſary to be amended, " he counſelled him, as his friend, in ſome later book of retracta- " tions to correct in his writing what he had unadviſedly written " in the heat of youth. But he, that was far different from " St. Auguſtin in humility, would never follow his counſel; and " therefore he is cenſured by the Church for a buſy fellow: many " of his books are condemned, and his opinions accounted erro- " neous, though he always lived a Catholic prieſt, and hath " written moſt ſharply againſt all thoſe new Goſpellers, who " now began to appear in the world; and, in a letter to * John " Fabius Biſhop of Vienna, he ſaith, that he hated theſe ſeditious " opinions, with the which at this day the world is miſerably " ſhaken; neither doth he diſſemble, ſaith he, being ſo addicted " to piety, that, if he incline to any [illegible] of the balance, he will " bend rather to ſuperſtition than to impiety: by which ſpeech he " ſeemeth in doubtful words to tax the Church with ſuperſtition, " and the new Apoſtolical brethren with impiety."

As

* He ſhould have ſaid, *John Faber.*

As to the ſtory of the firſt converſation between Eraſmus and More, *Sit fides penes auctores.* That More exhorted Eraſmus to recant, may poſſibly be true; for he was at laſt bigot enough to be capable of giving this ſilly advice. If he did ſo, Eraſmus in return ſhould have adviſed him to look at home, and retract his own free-thinking *Utopia.* But there is no relying upon ſuch authors as theſe, unleſs they cite chapter and verſe. A. D. 1519.

Luther, ſays this Wiſeacre, *laid the eggs, and Eraſmus hatched them.* The contrary was the truth, and the common ſaying concerning theſe two great men. As to the elegance, politeneſs, candour, and judiciouſneſs of his remarks, they may be ſafely left to the determination of every Reader of common ſenſe.

The ſame author gives us ſome account of More's ſecond [a] wife, who was homely and niggardly; and of one of his [b] ludicrous actions, which was, to employ a cut-purſe to rob a Juſtice, as he ſat on the bench, who thought that none except careleſs fools could be ſerved ſo.

[c] Knight obſerves, that More [d] exhorted Eraſmus to be very cautious, and to reviſe and amend every thing that had given or could give offence; and that Eraſmus would not humour his friend in this, or write any more againſt Luther: but here Knight ſeems to confound different times together; for this letter of More was written A. 1516, before Eraſmus had any conteſts with Luther: and beſides, he, who ſhall carefully peruſe it, will ſee that the advice given in it hath the air of banter, rather than of ſuperſtition, and that More ſpeaks of theſe cenſurers of Eraſmus with the utmoſt contempt. In the year 1532, which was only three years before his own death, he ſtill correſponded with Eraſmus, ſhewing, as it appears, the ſame eſteem for him, which he had always entertained. In one of theſe letters,

[a] P. 95.
[b] P. 86.
[c] P. 337.
[d] Ep. 87. c. 1574.

A. D. 1519. he [e] admoniſheth Eraſmus very gently, not to recant or retract any thing, but only to condeſcend, as far as he could, to the infirmities of ſome honeſt and weak brethren.

" [f] Sir Thomas More, who was a man celebrated for virtue " and learning, undertook anſwering ſome of (the Lutheran " books;) but before he went about it, he would needs have " the Biſhop's licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote, " according to the way of the age, with much bitterneſs; and " though he had been no friend to the Monks, and a great " declamer againſt the ignorance of the Clergy, and had been ill " uſed by the Cardinal, yet he was one of the bittereſt enemies of " the new Preachers, not without great cruelty, when he came " into power, though he was otherwiſe a very good-natured " man."

" [g] In the year 1532, More laid down his office of Chan- " cellor. He had carried that dignity with great temper, and loſt " it with much joy. He ſaw now how far the King's deſigns " went: and though he was for cutting off the illegal juriſ- " diction which the Popes exerciſed in England, and therefore " went chearfully along with the Suit of *Præmunire*; yet, when " he ſaw a total rupture like to follow, he excuſed himſelf, and " retired from buſineſs with a greatneſs of mind that was equal " to what the ancient Philoſophers pretended in ſuch caſes. " He alſo diſliked Anne Boleyn, and was perſecuted by her " father, who ſtudied to faſten ſome criminal imputations on him " about the diſcharge of his employment; but his integrity had " been

[e] Macte igitur, mi Eraſme, virtutibus iſtis tuis, et tantum, ſi quid interdum boni cujuſquam viri anxiam ſolicitudinem, vel abſque ſatis grandi cauſâ, commoveat, ne te pigeat tamen ad pios eorum affectus quædam attemperare: alioquin, neglectis malevolorum latratibus, perge placidus juvandis ſtudiis et promovendis virtutibus nihil remoratus inſiſtere. Ep. 1223. c. 1441.

[f] Burnet I. 32.

[g] Burnet I. 124.

" been ſuch, that nothing could be found to blemiſh his A. D. 1519.
" reputation."

" [h] In 1534, More and Fiſher were attainted.—This ſeverity,
" though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was
" neceſſary in ſo great a change.—But others obſerved the
" juſtice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own ſeve-
" rities to others: for, as Fiſher did grievouſly proſecute the
" preachers of Luther's doctrine, ſo More's hand had been very
" heavy on them, as long as he had power; and he had ſhewed
" them no mercy, but the extremity of the Law, which himſelf
" now felt to be very heavy.—

" The Cardinal was no great perſecutor of heretics, which was
" generally thought to flow from his hatred of the Clergy, and
" that he was not ill pleaſed to have them depreſſed.—But, as
" ſoon as More came into favour, he preſſed the King much to
" put the laws againſt heretics in execution, which was done
" accordingly.—

" There came out a book againſt the Friars, which took
" mightily, entitled, *The ſupplication of the Beggars*, &c. More
" was the moſt zealous champion the Clergy had; for I do not
" find that any of them wrote much, only the Biſhop of Ro-
" cheſter wrote for Purgatory. So More anſwered this *Suppli-*
" *cation* by another, in the name of the ſouls that were in Pur-
" gatory; repreſenting the miſeries they were in, and the great
" relief they found by the Maſſes of the Friars ſaid for them, and
" brought in every man's anceſtors calling earneſtly upon him to
" befriend thoſe poor Friars now, when they had ſo many ene-
" mies. He confidently aſſerted, it had been the doctrine of the
" Church for many ages.—

" John Frith, who was an excellent ſcholar, wrote an anſwer
" to More's *Supplication*, and to the Biſhop of Rocheſter's book.
" —For the places in the New Teſtament, he appealed to More's

[h] Burnet I. 158.

A. D. 1519. " great friend Eraſmus, whoſe expoſition of theſe places[i] differed " much from his gloſſes.—

" Frith had written againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſt in " the Sacrament. —More ſet himſelf to anſwer it in his ordinary " ſtyle, treating Frith with great contempt. Frith, though con- " fined in jail, and cruelly uſed there, and lying under all poſſible " diſadvantages, drew up a reply to More, by which it may ap- " pear how much truth is ſtronger than error: for, though More " wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that " age did, and Frith wrote plainly without any art; yet there is ſo " great a difference between their books, that whoſoever compares " them will clearly perceive the one to be an ingenious defender " of a bad cauſe, and the other a ſimple aſſertor of truth.

" Frith was burnt in Smithfield, and ſuffered with heroic " conſtancy.

" James Bainham, a Gentleman of the Temple, was carried to " the Chancellor's houſe, where much pains was taken to per- " ſuade him to diſcover ſuch as he knew in the Temple, who " favoured the new opinions; but fair means not prevailing, " More made him be [k] whipt in his preſence, and after that " ſent him to the Tower, where he looked on, and ſaw him " put to the rack. —He was burnt in Smithfield, and with him " More's perſecution ended; for ſoon after he laid down the " Great Seal, which ſet the poor Preachers at eaſe."

" Luther, [l] being aſked, whether Thomas More was executed " for the Goſpel's ſake? anſwered, No, in no wiſe; for he was a " notable tyrant. He was the King's chiefeſt Counſellor, a very " learned

[i] The uſe which theſe Reformers made of the Theological works of Eraſmus, might perhaps contribute to leſſen, in ſome degree, the affection of More towards his old friend; for he could not be well pleaſed to find himſelf preſſed by ſuch arguments.

[k] Sir Thomas More denies the truth of ſome accuſations of this kind, and of ſome cruelties laid to his charge by the Proteſtants. See Pref. to Rooper's Life of More, p. 13.

[l] Luther's Colloq. Menſal. p. 464.

"learned and a wiſe man. He ſhed the blood of many innocent A. D. 1519.
"Chriſtians that confeſſed the Goſpel; thoſe he plagued and
"tormented with ſtrange inſtruments, like an Hangman, &c."

"[m] More received the ſentence of condemnation with that
"equal temper of mind, which he had ſhewed in both conditions
"of life, and then ſet himſelf wholly to prepare for death; which
"was ſo little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiouſneſs
"remained with him even upon the ſcaffold. It was cenſured
"by many, as light and undecent: but others ſaid, that way
"having been ſo natural to him on all other occaſions, it was not
"at all affected; but ſhewed that death did no way diſcompoſe
"him, and could not ſo much as put him out of his ordinary
"humour. Yet his rallying every thing on the ſcaffold was
"thought to have more of the Stoic than the Chriſtian in it.

"In his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by
"his Utopia, and his letters to Eraſmus: but afterwards he be-
"came ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the intereſts and paſſions of the
"Popiſh Clergy; and as he ſerved them when he was in autho-
"rity, even to aſſiſt them in all their cruelties, ſo he employed
"his pen in the ſame cauſe.—More was no Divine at all; and it
"is plain to any that reads his writings, that he knew nothing
"of Antiquity, beyond the quotations he found in the Canon-
"Law, and in the Maſter of the Sentences: only he had read
"ſome of St. Auſtin's treatiſes: for, upon all points of contro-
"verſy, he quotes only what he found in theſe Collections. Nor
"was he at all converſant in the Critical learning upon the Scrip-
"tures; but his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had
"a natural eaſy expreſſion, and preſented all the opinions of
"Popery with their fair ſide to the Reader, diſguiſing or con-
"cealing the black ſide of them with great art; and was no leſs
"dextrous in expoſing all the ill conſequences that would follow
"on the doctrine of the Reformers; and had upon all occaſions

"great

[m] Burnet I. 355.

A. D. 1519. " great ſtore of pleaſant tales, which he applied wittily to his " purpoſe. And in this conſiſts the great ſtrength of his wri- " tings, which were deſigned rather for the rabble, than for " learned men. But for juſtice, contempt of money, humility, " and a true generoſity of mind, he was an example to the age " in which he lived."

" [n] Queen Mary ordered all Sir Thomas More's works to be " printed. One piece of fraud hath occurred to me. — In the " manuſcript out of which his letters were printed, there is a " long one concerning the Nun of Kent. It contains many " remarkable paſſages concerning her, of the high opinion he at " firſt had of her; how he was led into it; and how he was " afterwards convinced, that ſhe was a moſt falſe diſſembling " hypocrite, &c. and that he believed ſhe had communication " with an evil ſpirit. This letter was at that time concealed, " but not deſtroyed.—It ſeems, it was reſolved to raiſe the credit " of that ſtory; and ſince the Nun was believed to be both a " martyr and a propheteſs, it is like ſhe might have been eaſily " gotten to be canonized; and therefore ſo great a teſtimony " from ſuch a man was not thought fit to be left in her way. " The letter I have put into the *Collections.*"

" [o] Thoſe of the Church of Rome look upon More as one of " their glories, the champion of their cauſe, and their Martyr. " [p] The firſt Edition of his *Utopia*, that I could ever ſee, was " at Baſil in 1518: for he wrote it in 1516. He compoſed " that book probably before he had heard of Luther; the " Wicklevites and the Lollards being the only heretics then " known in England. In that ſhort but extraordinary book, he " gave his mind full ſcope, and conſidered mankind and religion " with a freedom which became a true Philoſopher. By many " hints it is very eaſy to collect what his thoughts were of religion;

" of

[n] Burnet II. 316.

[o] Burnet III. 29.

[p] Anno, ut conjicio, 1516, prior prodiit Utopiæ editio, cui ſucceſſit poſterior Gourmontiana. *Maittaire* Ann. Typ. II. 293.

" of the Conſtitutions of the Church, and of the Clergy at that A. D. 1519.
" time. And therefore though an obſerving Reader will find
" theſe in his way, yet having read it with great attention, when
" I tranſlated it into Engliſh, I will lay together ſuch paſſages,
" as give clear indications of the ſenſe he had then of thoſe
" matters.

" Page the 21ſt, when he cenſures the incloſing of grounds,
" he ranks thoſe *holy men* the Abbots amongſt thoſe, *who thought*
" *it not enough to live at their own eaſe, and to do no good to the*
" *public, but reſolved to do it hurt inſtead of good:* which ſhews,
" that he called them *holy men* in deriſion. This is yet more
" fully ſet forth p. 37, where he brings in Cardinal Morton's
" Jeſter's advice, to ſend all the beggars to the Benedictins to be
" lay-brothers, and all the female beggars to be Nuns, reckoning
" the Friars as vagabonds, that ought to be taken up and reſtrain-
" ed: and the diſcourſe that follows for two or three pages gives
" ſuch a ridiculous view of the want of breeding, of the folly and
" ill-nature of the Friars, that they have taken care to ſtrike it out
" of the later impreſſions. But as I did [a] find it in the impreſſion
" which I tranſlated, ſo I have copied it all from the firſt edition,
" and have put in the Collection, N°. 10, that which the In-
" quiſitors have left out. From thence it is plain, what opinion
" he had of thoſe, who were the moſt eminent Divines,
" and the moſt famed Preachers at that time. This is yet
" plainer p. 56, in which he taxes the Preachers of that age for
" *corrupting the Chriſtian doctrine, and practiſing upon it: for*
" *they, obſerving that the world did not ſuit their lives to the rules*
" *that Chriſt has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a*
" *leaden rule, to their lives, that ſome way or other they might agree*
" *with one another.* And he does not ſoften this ſevere cenſure,
" as if it had been only the fault of a few, but lets it go on
" them all, without any diſcrimination or limitation.

" P. 83,

[a] It is in my Baſil Edition of the year 1563, in p. 31.

A. D. 1719. " P. 83, he taxes the great company of *idle Prieſts*, and of " thoſe that are called *Religious Perſons*, that were in other nations; " againſt which he tells us in his laſt chapter how carefully " the Utopians had provided: but it appears there what juſt " eſteem he paid to men of that character, when they anſwered " the dignity of their profeſſion: for, as he contracts the number " of the Prieſts in Utopia, p. 186, ſo he exalts their dignity as " high as ſo noble a function could deſerve. Yet he repreſents " the Utopians as *allowing them to marry*, p. 114; and, p. 130, " he exalts *a ſolid virtue much above all rigorous ſeverities*, which " were the moſt admired expreſſions of piety and devotion in " that age. He gives a perfect ſcheme of Religious men, ſo " much beyond the Monaſtic Orders, that it ſhews he was no " admirer of them.

" P. 152, he commends the Europeans for obſerving their " leagues and treaties ſo religiouſly; and aſcribes that to the " good examples that Popes ſet other Princes, and to the ſeverity " with which they proſecuted ſuch as were perfidious. This " looks like reſpect; but he means it all ironically: for he, who " had ſeen the reigns of Pope Alexander VI, and Julius II, the " two falſeſt and moſt perfidious perſons of the age, could not " ſay this, but in the way of ſatyr. So that he ſecretly accuſes " both Popes and Princes for violating their faith, to which they " were induced by Diſpenſations from Rome. P. 192, his *put-* " *ting images out of the Churches of the Utopians* gives no obſcure " hint of his opinion in that matter. The opinion, p. 175, " that he propoſes, doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the " firſt converts to Chriſtianity in Utopia, who (there being no " Prieſts amongſt thoſe who inſtructed them) were inclined to " chuſe Prieſts that ſhould officiate amongſt them, ſince they " could not have any that were regularly ordained; adding, that " they ſeemed reſolved to do it; this ſhews that in caſes of " neceſſity he had a largeneſs of thought far from being engaged

" blindfold into the humours and intereſts of the Prieſts at that A. D. 1519.
" time; to whom this muſt have appeared one of the moſt
" dangerous of all hereſies. And whereas perſecution and cruelty
" ſeem to be the indelible characters of Popery; he, as he gives
" us the character of the religion of the Utopians, that *they offered*
" *not divine honours to any but to God alone*, p. 173; ſo he makes
" it one of their maxims, that *no man ought to be puniſhed for his*
" *religion*: the utmoſt ſeverity practiſed among them being
" baniſhment; and that, not for diſparaging their religion, but
" for inflaming the people to ſedition: a law being made among
" them, that *Every man might be of what religion he pleaſed*, p. 191.
" And though there were many different forms of religion
" among them, yet they all agreed in the main point of wor-
" ſhipping the Divine Eſſence; ſo that there was nothing in
" their temples, in which the ſeveral perſuaſions among them
" might not agree.

" The ſeveral ſects performed the rites that were peculiar to
" them in their private houſes; nor was there any thing in their
" public worſhip, that contradicted the particular ways of the
" ſeveral ſects: by all which he carried not only *Toleration*, but
" even *Comprehenſion*, further than the moſt moderate of our Di-
" vines have ever pretended to do. It is true, he repreſents all
" this in a Fable of his Utopians: but this was a ſcene dreſſed up
" by himſelf, in which he was fully at liberty to frame every
" thing at pleaſure. So here we find in this a ſcheme of ſome of
" the moſt eſſential parts of the Reformation. He propoſes no
" ſubjection of their Prieſts to any Head; he makes them to be
" choſen by the people, and conſecrated by the College of
" Prieſts; and he gives them no other authority, but that of ex-
" cluding men that were deſperately wicked from joining in their
" worſhip, which was ſhort and ſimple: and though every man
" was ſuffered to bring over others to his perſuaſion, yet he was
" obliged to do it by amicable and modeſt ways, and not to mix

A. D. 1519. " with theſe either reproaches or violence; ſuch as did otherwiſe
" were to be condemned to baniſhment or ſlavery.

" Theſe were his firſt and cooleſt thoughts; and probably, if he
" had died at that time, he would have been reckoned amongſt
" thoſe, who, though they lived in the communion of the
" Church of Rome, yet ſaw what were the errors and corrup-
" tions of that Body, and only wanted fit opportunities of decla-
" ring themſelves more openly for a Reformation. Theſe things
" were not written by him in the heat of youth; he was then
" thirty-four years of age, and was at that time employed together
" with Tonſtall in ſettling ſome matters of ſtate with the then
" Prince Charles; ſo that he was far advanced at that time, and
" knew the world well. It is not eaſy to account for the great
" change, that we find afterwards he was wrought up to. He
" not only ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Reformation in many treatiſes,
" that, put together, make a great volume; but, when he was
" raiſed up to the chief poſt in the miniſtry, he became a perſe-
" cutor even to blood, and defiled thoſe hands, which were
" never polluted with bribes, by acting in his own perſon ſome
" of thoſe cruelties, to which he was, no doubt, puſhed on by
" the bloody Clergy of that Age and Church.

" He was not governed by intereſt; nor did he aſpire ſo to
" preferment, as to ſtick at nothing that might contribute to
" raiſe him; nor was he ſubject to the vanities of popularity.
" The integrity of his whole life, and the ſeverity of his morals,
" cover him from all theſe ſuſpicions. If he had been formerly
" corrupted by a ſuperſtitious education, it had been no extra-
" ordinary thing to ſee ſo good a man grow to be miſled by
" the force of prejudice. But how a man, who had emancipated
" himſelf, and had got into a ſcheme of free thoughts, could be
" ſo entirely changed, cannot be eaſily apprehended; nor how
" he came to muffle up his underſtanding, and deliver himſelf up
" as a property to the blind and enraged fury of the Prieſts. It
" cannot

" cannot indeed be accounted for, but by charging it on the in- A. D. 1519.
" toxicating charms of that religion, that can darken the cleareſt
" underſtandings, and corrupt the beſt natures. And ſince they
" wrought this effect upon Sir Thomas More, I cannot but con-
" clude, that *if theſe things were done in the green tree, what ſhall*
" *be done in the dry?*"

" [x] There are heavy things charged on More and Fiſher: but,
" except Fiſher's being too much concerned in the buſineſs of
" the Nun of Kent, which was without doubt managed with a
" deſign to raiſe a rebellion in the nation, I do not find any other
" thing that can be laid to his charge; and it does not appear
" that More gave any credit or countenance to that matter. Yet
" I have ſeen that often affirmed."

" [y] More was the glory of the age, and his advancement was
" the King's honour, more than his own, who was a true
" Chriſtian Philoſopher. He thought the cauſe of the King's
" divorce was juſt, and as long as it was proſecuted at the Court
" of Rome, ſo long he favoured it: but when he ſaw that a
" breach with that Court was like to follow, he left the great
" poſt he was in, with a ſuperior greatneſs of mind. It was a
" fall great enough to retire from that into a private ſtate of life;
" but the carrying matters ſo far againſt him as the King did,
" was one of the juſteſt reproaches of that reign. More's ſuper-
" ſtition ſeems indeed contemptible; but the conſtancy of his
" mind was truly wonderful."

" [z] It is remarked by Atterbury, that More in his anſwer to
" Luther forgot himſelf ſo, as to throw out the greateſt heap of
" naſty language that perhaps ever was put together; and that
" the book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, with-
" out a grain of reaſon to ſupport it, and gave the author no

 " other

[x] Burnet III. 100.
[y] Burnet III. 172.
[z] Rooper and More have repreſented Sir Tho. More as always diſapproving the Divorce.
[a] Pref. to Rooper's Life of More, p. 8.

A. D. 1519. " other reputation, but that of having the beſt knack of any " man in Europe at calling bad names in good Latin, &c. The " like cenſure do his Engliſh tracts againſt Tindal, Barns, &c. " deſerve."

More, in his younger days, had incurred the diſpleaſure of Henry VII, who wanted to ruin him.

" [x] Hereupon it fortuned, that Sir Thomas More coming in a " ſuite to Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop called him " aſide, and pretended great favour towards him, and promiſed, " that, if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail but bring " him into the King's favour again; meaning, as it afterward " appeared, to cauſe him thereby to confeſs his offence againſt " the King, whereby his Highneſs might with the better colour " have occaſion to revenge his diſpleaſure againſt him. But, " when he came from the Biſhop, he fell in communication with " Whitford, his familiar friend, then Chaplain to that Biſhop, " and ſhewed him what the Biſhop had ſaid to him, deſiring to " hear his advice therein, who prayed him in no wiſe to follow " his counſel: for my Lord, quoth he, to ſerve the King's turn, " will not ſtick to agree to his own father's death. So Sir Tho- " mas More returned to the Biſhop no more; and had not the " King ſoon after died, he was determined to have gone over " ſea, thinking that he could not live in England without great " danger."

" [y] King Henry VIII, on a time, came unlooked for to More's " houſe at Chelſea, and dined with him, and after dinner walked " with him in his garden by the ſpace of an hour, holding his " arm about his neck. As ſoon as he was gone, I, rejoycing " thereat, ſaid to Sir Thomas More, How happy he was whom " the King had ſo familiarly entertained, as I had never ſeen " him do to any other, except Cardinal Wolſey. I thank our " Lord, ſon, quoth he, I find his Grace my very good Lord " indeed,

[x] Rooper, p. 29. [y] Rooper, p. 40.

" indeed, and I believe he doth as ſingularly favour me as any A. D. 1519.
" ſubject within this realm. Howbeit, ſon Rooper, I may tell
" thee, I have no cauſe to be proud thereof; for if my head
" would win me a caſtle in France, it ſhould not fail to go."

" [a] His jeſts were thought to have in them more levity, than
" to be taken every where for current. He might have quitted
" his dignity, without uſing ſuch ſarcaſms, and betaken himſelf
" to a more retired and quiet life, without making his family and
" himſelf contemptible."

" [a] The oath for maintaining the ſucceſſion was, it ſeems,
" required to be taken by all men and [b] women throughout the
" realm. Mr. Juſtice Raſtall obſerves, that Mrs. Margaret Rooper
" took it with this exception, as far as it would ſtand with the
" Law of God. And it is ſaid of Harry Patenſon, Sir Thomas
" More's Fool, that, meeting one day one of Mr. Rooper's ſer-
" vants, he aſked where Sir Thomas was, and being told that he
" was ſtill in the Tower, he grew very angry, and ſaid, Why, what
" aileth him that he will not ſwear? Wherefore ſhould he ſtick
" to ſwear? I have ſworn the oath myſelf."

Eraſmus hath [c] ſaid of More, in one place, that he was rather ſuperſtitious than irreligious; and in another place, that he was extremely remote from all ſuperſtition. The truth is, that in his youth he was free from that bigotry, which grew upon him in proceſs of time.

He was charitable to the poor; he deſpiſed riches; and though he had opportunities, he had no inclination to *lay up for himſelf treaſures upon earth.*

His

[a] Lord Herbert. Rooper, p. 67. Not.

[a] More's Engliſh Works. Rooper, p. 80. Not.

[b] The contrivers of this Law, when they compelled all the females to ſwear to the Succeſſion, ſhould have given them leave at the ſame time to exerciſe all offices Civil, Military, Eccleſiaſtical, &c.

[c] Sic addictus pietati, ut ſi in alterutram partem aliquantulum inclinet momentum, ſuperſtitioni quam impietati vicinior eſſe videatur.

Veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor eſt, etiamſi ab omni ſuperſtitione alieniſſimus. Ep. 447.

A. D. 1519. His ſon, John More, was one of the *terrum filii*, who are ſeldom equal to their fathers. The firſt wife of Sir Thomas More, having had ſeveral daughters, and no ſon, uſed to pray moſt earneſtly for a male; and More afterwards told her, [d] *Wife, you have prayed ſo long for a boy, that I fear he will be a boy as long as he lives.* John's hiſtory, like that of an antediluvian Patriarch, is, that he was ſon of Thomas; and when he was eighteen years of age, he married Anne Criſacre, aged fourteen; and he begat five ſons; and all the days that John lived were —— years, and he died.

More entirely forfeited the favour of the Proteſtants abroad, by his ſeverity towards their Engliſh brethren. He even makes his [f] boaſts, in a kind of Epitaph, that he had been an enemy to Heretics, and [g] juſtifies it afterwards in an Epiſtle to Eraſmus.

In his [h] Utopia he hath declared himſelf fully and freely againſt putting thieves to death. He would have them confined to hard labour, and made ſlaves for a certain number of years, and kindly uſed all that time, if they behaved themſelves well. [i] Eraſmus was in the ſame charitable and reaſonable way of thinking.

More had, if ever man had, what is called *verſatile ingenium*, and was capable of excelling in any way to which he would apply himſelf. He was no bad poet; and might have been a better, if he had paid more aſſiduous court to the Muſes.

His tranſlation of ſome Dialogues of Lucian is dedicated to Ruthal, of whom we have already ſpoken. In this dedication he derides the Monkiſh miracles, and the lying Legends of the Saints.

His

[d] Lord Bacon. Knight, p. 344. Rooper, p. 179.

[e] Sleidan L. IX.

[f] —— furibus, homicidiis, hæreticiſque moleſtus. Ep. 1223.

[g] Quod in Epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuiſſe moleſtum, hoc ambitioſe feci. Nam omnino ſic illud hominum genus odi, ut illis, niſi reſipiſcant, tam inviſus eſſe velim, quam cui maxime, quippe quos indies magis ac magis experior tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuam. Ep. 466. c. 1856.

[h] L. I. p. 13, &c. Ed. Baſ.

[i] Tom. V. c. 167.

His Utopia is addreſſed by Eraſmus to John Froben. Then A. D. 1519.
follows a letter of Budæus in commendation of that ingenious work, a letter of Petrus Ægidius to Hieron. Buſlidius, and a letter of Buſlidius to More on the ſame occaſion.

[k] His Epigrams are recommended by Beatus Rhenanus to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus; and Rhenanus in this Epiſtle tells a good ſtory of ſome profound Critics, who, willing to detract from the reputation of More, obſerved, that his Utopia was not of his own making; and that he had only performed the office of a mere ſecretary and ſcribe to one *Hythlodæus*, the principal ſpeaker in the Utopia, and to whom therefore the principal credit of the performance was due.

He compoſed a poem upon the coronation of Henry VIII, which is a genteel compliment to that Prince and to his Queen, and a moſt ſevere ſatire upon the reign of his avaricious and rapacious father. He concludes the Dedication of it with theſe emphatical words: *Vale, Princeps illuſtriſſime, et (qui novus ac rarus regum titulus eſt) amatiſſime.*

Amongſt his poems there is a ludicrous one upon a poor Monk, whom he feigns to have been thrown overboard by the ſailors in a tempeſt, and ſo to have ſaved [l] the ſhip; there are ſome to Hieron. Buſlidius, who is alſo much commended in the Epiſtles of Eraſmus; three in praiſe of the New Teſtament of Eraſmus; ſeveral againſt Brixius; and one upon a lady, with whom he had been deeply in love in the days of his youth; and this is the moſt pathetic and elegant of his poetical performances. The reaſon is obvious: his hand was ſecretary to his heart.

Huetius

[k] T. Mori Lucubrationes, Baſil. A. 1563. See a Catalogue of his writings in Rooper, p. 174.

[l] Dicta probant, rapiuntque virum, ſimul in mare torquent;
Et lintrem levius quam prius iſſe ferunt.

A. D. 1519. Huetius [m] ſpeaks very favourably of his tranſlations.

Ovid hath two lines which characterize More, and ſuit him as if they were made for him. They are upon Hercules;

Cœpiſti melius, quam deſinis: ultima primis
Cedunt: diſſimiles hic vir, et ille puer.

Epiſt. IX. 23.

"More ſhewed his great [n] zeal for learning in a [o] letter which "he wrote, whilſt he was in the neighbourhood of Oxford, to "that Univerſity, in order to perſuade the diſcouragement of a "certain ſet of giddy and ignorant young men amongſt them, "who, that they might better oppoſe what they called the new "learning, or the Greek tongue, now beginning to be cultivated "at Oxford, had bandied together in a body, calling themſelves "Trojans, and ſo were to wage war with theſe Græcians. It "appears by his account of the combuſtions raiſed by theſe "Frantics, that much miſchief was done to learning, and would "in the conſequence be the ruin of the Univerſity, unleſs timely "prevented. —His indignation was raiſed by hearing that one of "this clan had been ſo impudent as to attack the Greeks in the "Univerſity pulpit, in the time of Lent. He hoped that for their "own credit they would ſuppreſs theſe illiterate fools and mad-"men. To raiſe an emulation, he mentions, after he had paſſed "a high compliment upon Oxford, the different treatment which "the ſtudy of Greek had met with in Cambridge: there, ſays "he, they who could not bring themſelves to take the pains to "learn

[m] Pauca ſane, ſed ex quibus de ſingulari ipſius induſtria exiſtimari poſſit, convertit Thomas Morus, plane optimis interpretibus æquiparandus: ad tenue limata et nativa oratio, non inflata, non corrupta, quæcumque vult, facile complectens, Græcæ vero tam exacta æquilibritate reſpondens, ut,

Qui utramvis recte norit, ambas noverit. *De Clar. Interp.* p: 234.

[n] See Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 215.

[o] A copy of this and of other letters of More hath been communicated to me by my friend Dr. Green, Dean of Lincoln, which will perhaps be inſerted in the Appendix.

" learn it, did however pay ſomething for the encouragement A. D. 1519.
" of thoſe who did. There are many other things in this Epiſtle
" that deſerve notice, which may be ſeen at the end of Roper's
" Life of More, publiſhed by Hearne at Oxford 1716, now very
" ſcarce and rare." *Knight*, p. 31.

" More's Utopia was tranſlated into French, or rather para-
" phraſed in a burleſque ſtyle, by one Gueudeville, A. 1717.
" Sam. Sorbiere had tranſlated it before, A. 1643.

" The Utopia is a moſt uſeful book, and it were much to be
" wiſhed that Princes and other great men would read it, and
" meditate upon it, and make a right uſe of the profitable leſſons
" which it contains. Raphael Hythlodæus, who is the traveller,
" and the relater of the laws, manners, and cuſtoms of the *Utopian*
" or *Non-exiſting* Republic, is More himſelf, who erecting a
" Kingdom in a new World, which no man had ſeen or would
" ſee, obliquely cenſures the faults and defects in the old one. In
" the firſt book are ſome beautiful and ſtriking paſſages, ſerving
" to excite the attention of the Reader, and to give him an im-
" patient deſire to know what Hythlodæus had ſeen in his voyages.
" Petrus Ægidius and More, who are his auditors, are ſo pleaſed
" with his diſcourſes, that they adviſe him to enter into the
" ſervice of ſome King, whom he may greatly aſſiſt by his whole-
" ſome inſtructions. But Hythlodæus cannot reliſh the propoſal;
" and obſerves, that, in the councils of Princes, good advice
" proves good for nothing, becauſe the Maſter never conſults his
" ſervants with any other view than to gratify his own paſſions.
" More had experienced enough of this already under Henry VIII,
" and afterwards experienced it ſtill farther. His refuſal to
" humour the caprice of his Maſter coſt him no leſs than his life.
" There is in this book a remarkable paſſage, wherein he deſcribes
" the views and deſigns of France in his days.—

" The ſecond book delineates the Republic of Utopia, in
" which all is not practicable, or indeed eligible and com-

A. D. 1519. " mendable. Yet we may ſay, with More, that in the Utopian " conſtitution there are many things rather to be wiſhed than " hoped for in the European States, which would be happier, " upon the whole, in following the Utopian plan, than they are " in their preſent condition." *Le Clerc* Bibl. A. & M. VII. 210.

Eraſmus, Ep. 447, mentions, amongſt other learned Engliſhmen, John Clerk.

" [p] Clerk was of Oxford, and afterwards travelled into foreign " countries, and in Italy became acquainted with Richard Pace. " His accompliſhments procured him the favour of the Duke of " Norfolk, to whom he was made Secretary. He wrote ſome " books. Wood ſays, that, *being clapped up priſoner in the Tower*, " (the cauſe is not mentioned) *he did, to avoid public ſhame, hang* " *himſelf in his chamber with his girdle*, in 1552. Fox ſpeaks of " him, as of one who had been an enemy to the Goſpel, and to " good men."

Ep. 439 is to [q] Tranquillus Parthenius Dalmata, who is called Tranquillus Andronicus by Jovius and others.

Eraſmus dedicated this year to Pucci, who was called Cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*, an edition of Cyprian, the firſt tolerable edition of the works of this Father. Ep. 448.

Afterwards he wrote a long letter to [r] James Hochſtrat, in which, though he keeps within the bounds of civility, he cenſures this [s] Dominican freely enough for the outrageous and unchriſtian

[p] Knight, p. 220.

[q] Bayle ANDRONICUS (TRANQUILLUS).

[r] Du Pin. XIV. 11. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 424. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 60. Bayle HOCHSTRAT, and T. IV. p. 3106. *Rem. Crit.*

[s] Hochſtratus, Halæ Saxonum, Hutteno obviam cum factus eſſet, equo deſiliens Huttenus improbo homini gladium intentaſſe dicitur, vindictam ſcelerum ab eo [illegible]rus: quo facto Hochſtratum in genua proſtratum rogaviſſe eum ferunt, ſi quid commerceſſerit inimicitiarum, id calamo potius, quam enſe proſequeretur, homini jam imbelli parceret. Sic placatum Huttenum ac miſertum, non adfixiſſe quidem eum, ſed gladio tantum obliquo aliquoties verberaſſe. Ex Caſp. Barthio ſe audiviſſe iſta Jac. Thomaſius confirmavit. *Burckhard* Comm. de Vit. Hutten. p. 177.

chriſtian manner, in which he had written againſt Reuchlin and his aſſociates. It ſeems, a Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Cologn had repreſented Hochſtrat to Eraſmus as a man who was capable of hearing reaſon, and of ſubmitting to good advice; but in this he was much miſtaken: ſuch brutiſh and violent men are only the more pertinacious for being told of their faults. Hochſtrat had alſo attacked a paſſage in the Annotations of Eraſmus, but without naming him. Eraſmus had ſaid, that it were to be wiſhed, that divorces, and a liberty of marrying again, could be granted to perſons, who were moſt unſuitably and unhappily coupled together, and who would probably lead a diſſolute life, to the ruin of their ſouls, if they were not releaſed from each other: but he had not ſaid, that the Church was obliged to grant ſuch divorces; and he had declared, that he ſubmitted his own judgment to that of the Church. The Dominican had declaimed violently againſt this poſition, and had ſet it in the moſt odious light, as Eraſmus obſerves. Almoſt all the enemies of Eraſmus took hold on this opinion of his, and abuſed him for it. Ep. 452. A. D. 1519.

He alſo poured out his complaints to Leo, of the calumniators who were eternally railing at the New Teſtament, which he had dedicated to this Pontiff, and begs of him to interpoſe his authority, and to command them to be [t] quiet. But, whatſoever

[t] Proinde mihi videtur T. S. rem factura Chriſto longe gratiſſimam, ſi contentionibus hujuſmodi ſilentium [illegible]ixerit, atque id præſtet in orbe toto Chriſtiano, quod Henricus et Franciſcus in [illegible] uterque regnis præſtitere. Tua pietas ſummos reges redigit in concordiam: ſupereſt, ut per eandem et ſtudiis ſua reddatur tranquillitas. Id fiet, ſi tuo juſſu homines, qui loqui non poſſunt, deſinant obgannire politioribus literis, et ad benedicendum elingues, deſinant in linguarum ſtudioſos maledicere, ſed ſuam quiſque profeſſionem graviter tueatur citra contumeliam alienæ. Ita fiet ut graviores illæ, quas vocant, Facultates, Theologia, Juriſprudentia, Philoſophia, Medicina, harum literarum acceſſione non mediocriter adjuventur. Sine ut hoc quoque beneficium debeant bonæ literæ, quæ jam beatitudini tuæ nihil non debent, quam in multam ætatem religioni ſuæ inſtaurandæ propagandæque tueatur Chriſtus Opt. Max. Ep. 453.

A. D. 1519. Eraſmus might think of it, it was really beyond the power of Leo to ſilence ſuch people; and one of the Popes judged not amiſs, when he declared, that he thought it ſafer to quarrel with a Prince, than with a Frier. This Epiſtle Dedicatory is written with great ſpirit and elegance.

He publiſhed Cicero's Offices, together with his books of Old age, of Friendſhip, and of Paradoxes, and dedicated them to Jac. Tutor, with whom he had formerly contracted an acquaintance at Orleans, and with whom he was very intimate, as it appears from ſeveral of his letters. Ep. 457.

In a letter to Ambroſius Leo, a phyſician, he exhorts him to publiſh his [u] book againſt Averroës [x]: but he had forgotten that Leo had already publiſhed that work, and had told him ſo. He ſays of himſelf, [y] that he was fifty-two, or at the moſt fifty-three years old, and grown grey as a badger; and makes mention of his old friend [z] Aldus Manutius, who died A. 1515. He alſo ſpeaks of [a] Petrus Alcyonius, as of a learned man, whom Leo had

[u] Atque utinam prodiſſet ingens illud opus adverſus Averrhem impium, καὶ τοῖς κατάρατον.

[x] Bayle AVERROES, Not. H.

[y] Quo minus exſpectatæ venerunt tuæ literæ, Ambroſi doctiſſime, hoc mihi plus voluptatis attulerunt. Sic enim mihi totam illam noſtræ conſuetudinis memoriam renovarunt, ut eas legens apud Venetos mihi viderer agere, veteres amicos tueri coram et amplecti, Aldum, Baptiſtam Egnatium, Hieronymum Aleandrum, M. Muſurum, te cum primis amicorum omnium ſuaviſſimum. Agnoſco lepidiſſimos mores tuos in Epiſtola tua, quæ tota jocis ac ſalibus ſcatet. — Fac valetudinem tuam tueare diligenter, quo et diu proſis optimis ſtudiis, et multis annis ſenex ſenè frui poſſim. Nam ipſe præcurrentem te ſum aſſequutus, totus ferme canus. Aldus in familiaribus colloquiis non ſine voluptate ſolitus eſt imitari ſenis decrepiti balbutiem, qua olim putaret futurum, ut alter alterum conſalutaremus: *Quomodo vales*, inquit, *domine Eraſme?* deinde voce æque balba, ſed exiliore, me videlicet age reſpondebat: *Si vales, ego valeo.* Hæc jucunde quidem ſomniabat, ſed fi em non præſtitit. Peliquit nos ante balbam illam ætatem: etiamſi memulto grandior erat Aldus, annis, ni fallor, plus minus viginti: nam ipſe nunc annum quinquageſimum ſecundum, aut ad ſummum tertium ago.

[z] Maittaire II. 37, &c.

[a] Bayle ALCYONIUS. P. Jovius Elog. p. 205. Maittaire I. 93.

had recommended to him for a friend; and he extols Linacer. A. D. 1519. Ep. 324, 466.

Joannes Slechta, a Bohemian, wrote a long letter to Eraſmus, wherein he gave him a particular account of three religious ſects, or parties, in Bohemia. The firſt conſiſted of thoſe, who adhered in all things to the Pope: the ſecond adminiſtered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and performed divine ſervice in the vulgar tongue, but in other reſpects followed the ſentiments and the ceremonies of the Church of Rome: the third was the ſect of the [b] *Pyghards*, as they were called, of whom Ziſca had been chief, and who abhorred the Prieſts and the Monks, and rejected many doctrines of Popery, and nearly reſembled moſt of the preſent Proteſtants. Slechta inveighs againſt theſe, but is much inclined to favour the ſecond ſect. Ep. 463.

Eraſmus replied, that it were to be wiſhed that this *Trinity* were reduced to an *Unity*, and paid due reſpect and obedience to his Holineſs the Pope. He ſays, that the Bohemians were in the wrong for affecting ſingularity in the holy Communion, (namely, for receiving it in both kinds) and that although their opinion were probable, yet he would have adviſed them to conform to the common practice. However, ſays he, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, I marvel how Chriſtians ever came to change the inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, ſince the reaſons given for ſuch a change ſeem to be of no great weight.

He cenſures the Pyghards very warmly; and yet, like them, he exclaims againſt the multitude of holy-days, as being an heavy impoſition on poor people, who, whilſt they were hindered from working upon thoſe days, were in reality hindered from earning their bread. Then, ſpeaking of the remedies which might be applied to heal theſe ſchiſms, he ſays, that there ſhould be

[b] Others call them *Picards*, and *Waldenſes*. See Seckendorf Supplem. PICARDS.

LVIII. Sleidan L. III. p. 68. Bayle

A. D. 1519. be ſome relaxation of ceremonies, and of modern deciſions, and proceeds thus:

One thing, in my opinion, might reconcile many perſons to the Roman Church, and that is, not to decide ſo dogmatically upon ſo many ſpeculative points, and to make them Articles of faith, but only to require an aſſent to thoſe doctrines, which are manifeſtly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, and which are neceſſary to ſalvation. THESE ARE FEW; and it is eaſier to perſuade men of a few articles, than of a vaſt number. Now, out of one Article we make an hundred; of which ſome are ſuch, that a man might either doubt of them, or have no notion about them, without endangering his ſoul and his religion. But ſuch is the nature of men, that what they have once dogmatically decided, they will obſtinately maintain.

Now Chriſtian Philoſophy, or Theology, may be fairly reduced to this; that we ought to place our whole truſt in Almighty God, who graciouſly gives us all things by his Son Jeſus Chriſt; that we are redeemed by the death of this Son of God, to whoſe body we are united by baptiſm, that, being dead to worldly luſts, we may live conformably to his precepts and example, not only doing no harm to any, but doing good to all; that, when adverſity befalls us, we patiently ſubmit to it, in hopes of a future recompence at the coming of the Lord; that we make a daily progreſs in virtue, aſcribing nothing to ourſelves, but all to God. Theſe things are to be preſſed and inculcated, till good habits are formed in the heart. If there be perſons of a ſpeculative genius, who want to ſearch into abſtruſer points concerning the divine nature, or the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, or the Sacraments, with a view to improve their underſtanding, and to raiſe their minds and affections above earthly things, be it permitted to them; provided always that their Chriſtian brethren be not compelled to believe every thing, that this or that teacher thinks to be true. As bonds, deeds, covenants, obligations, indentures, expreſſed in a multitude

multitude of words, afford matter for law-ſuits; ſo, in religion, a profuſion of determinations, decrees, and deciſions, begets endleſs controverſies. A. D. 1519.

For theſe words Eraſmus hath been called Free-thinker, Latitudinarian, Arian, Infidel, Heretic, and what not, by the Diſciples of Saint Ignatius, and other Prieſts of the Church of Rome; and true it is, that this Eraſmic Creed differs not a little from the Creed of Pope Pius.

If Chriſtianity had been propoſed to the poor Pyghards in this honeſt and ſimple manner, and no heavier yoke laid upon their ſhoulders, they would never have ſeparated themſelves from the Church of Rome; they would have ſubſcribed moſt willingly to each of theſe Articles of Faith. But an infinite number of *Dogmata*, and thoſe even as abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation, were obtruded upon them, none of which exiſted in the holy Scriptures; and they were inhumanly perſecuted, tormented, and murdered, if ever they were caught in places where Eccleſiaſtics bare rule.

If, inſtead of Leo X, Eraſmus I had filled the Papal Chair, he might perhaps have converted theſe people, and prevented all the ſad diſorders which enſued; but then we muſt alſo ſuppoſe, that, being raiſed to ſo exalted a ſtation, he had carried along with him, and preſerved untainted, all his good ſenſe, and all his probity and moderation:

> *Rarus enim ferme ſenſus communis in illa*
> *Fortuna.*

Even that would not have been ſufficient; he muſt alſo have had a good number of Cardinals, Biſhops, and Doctors ſettled in the ſame way of thinking, endued with courage to maintain theſe opinions, and bleſſed with an uncommon meaſure of prudence to conduct ſo important and ſo difficult an enterprize. Then in the Weſtern world there might perhaps have been only

A. D. 1519. one religion, called Chriſtianity, and the denominations of Papiſts and Proteſtants would not have exiſted.

Eraſmus thus proceeds: Let no man be aſhamed to reply to certain points, God knoweth how it can be; as for me, I am content to believe that it is ſo. I know that the body and the blood of our Saviour are things pure, to be received by the pure, and in a pure manner. He hath appointed this for a ſacred ſign and pledge of his love for us, and of the concord which ought to ſubſiſt amongſt Chriſtians. I will therefore examine myſelf, and ſee if there be any thing in me contrary to the mind of Jeſus Chriſt, and if I have any uncharitable diſpoſitions towards my neighbour. But to know how the ten Categories are in this Sacrament, how the bread is tranſubſtantiated by the myſtical words of conſecration, and how an human body can be in ſo ſmall a compaſs, and at different places at the ſame time; all this, in my opinion, ſerves little to advancement in piety.

Here Eraſmus repreſents *contradictions in terms* as *myſteries*; but let that paſs.

I know alſo, ſays he, that I ſhall riſe again. Jeſus Chriſt hath promiſed it; and to confirm his promiſe, he roſe again himſelf. But to know what body I ſhall have, and how it will be the ſame, after having gone through ſo many changes, theſe are not things on which much pains ſhould be beſtowed, with a view to make a progreſs in true religion: although I diſapprove not inquiries of this kind, purſued at proper times, and with due diſcretion and moderation. By theſe and a thouſand ſuch-like ſpeculations, for which men ſet an extravagant value upon themſelves, their thoughts are only diverted from the one thing needful.

This was ſufficient in the opinion of Eraſmus: but the mind of man is too reſtleſs to ſit down thus contented. Such humble ſimplicity and reſerve was not to be expected from the Scholaſtic Divines of thoſe days, any more than that moderation which he requires from Princes, in the following words:

It

It would be moreover of infinite ſervice towards reſtoring concord and peace to the world, if Secular Princes, and particularly the Pope, were clear from all appearance of tyranny and avarice. For men ſoon fly off, when they ſee that you only want to make them your ſlaves, and not ſo much to reform them, as to plunder them: but they are compliant and tractable, when they are perſuaded that you mean to profit, and not to hurt them. A. D. 1519.

Nothing can be more reaſonable than all this: but what could Eraſmus have replied, if any one had aſked him, why he took upon him to cenſure and condemn the Pyghards, who wiſhed for the very ſame things; and why he both ſubmitted himſelf, and exhorted others to ſubmit to an Eccleſiaſtical Power, which acted directly contrary to the rules which he preſcribed, and ſeized and burned, as ſo many vile heretics, all thoſe who dared to make ſuch remonſtrances?

Diviſions and ſchiſms are doubtleſs a grievous calamity in Chriſtendom; and yet it is better upon the whole, that the Church ſhould be thus diſunited, and ſplit into five, or into five hundred ſects, than that it ſhould be uniformly ſubject to ſo cruel a tyranny, and united only in the bond of ignorance or of hypocriſy. Under ſuch an head, and ſuch a government, every rational inquiry would be checked and ſuppreſſed; but now Truth and Liberty prevail, ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another, and are not entirely driven out of the Chriſtian world. But we ſhall have more occaſions to animadvert upon the timidity, I will not ſay the diſingenuity, of Eraſmus.

Slechta had informed him, that, beſides the three Sects abovementioned, they had amongſt them ſome Jews; ſome Nicolaitans, who held the community of wives; and ſome Epicureans. To this Eraſmus replies; That you have Jews amongſt you, is no wonder; ſuch there are in Germany, in Italy, and principally in Spain. But I am ſurpriſed to hear, that you have men who deny the immortality of the ſoul and a future ſtate. We have indeed

A. D. 1519. too many, who live as if they thought ſo; but none mad enough to be teachers or diſciples of this curſed ſect. We have alſo practical Nicolaitans, who lie with their neighbours wives as often as they can; but we have no ſpeculative and dogmatizing Nicolaitans.

This is more than we can ſay in behalf of our times.

Eraſmus received (perhaps about this time) a letter from a Nobleman of Hungaria or Bohemia, and in it a ſort of Confeſſion of faith made by the people of that country, who called themſelves *Fratres*. He deſires Eraſmus to ſend his opinion about it; and informs him, that the Lutheran doctrines prevailed greatly there amongſt men of good ſenſe and piety; and he ſuppoſeth, that Eraſmus himſelf was one of the Reformers.. He begs an anſwer; but probably Eraſmus diſſembled the receipt of the letter, and never ſent him one. Ep. 390. c. 1777.

In an elegant letter to the Elector of Mentz, he had the courage to apologize openly enough for Luther; though, as he ſays, he would neither approve nor condemn his ſentiments, nor make himſelf a party in the affair. He alſo laſhes moſt ſeverely the Mendicant Monks, the Dominicans, and the Scholaſtic Divines, whoſe wretched compoſitions were preferred to the Goſpel. Luther's friends, having obtained a copy of this letter, publiſhed it immediately, as being favourable to their party: and indeed it was ſo, and Eraſmus plainly juſtifies the beginnings of the Reformation.

The Elector had [c] preſented Eraſmus with a cup, for which he thanks this Prelate very ingeniouſly.

In

[c] Redditum eſt mihi Celſitudinis tuæ munus, materia juxta atque opere viſendum et inſigne, dignum quidem quod a tali Principe mitteretur, ſed haud ſcio an dignus Eraſmus ad quem mitteretur, quem magis convenit vitreis aut Samiis, quam auro cælatis poculis bibere. Quod ſi calix vitreus miſſus fuiſſet, tamen mihi inter ea quæ maxime ſunt in deliciis reponeretur: vel ob id ipſum, quod ab heroe longe optimo profectus fuiſſet. Commendavit autem mihi non mediocriter

In an epiſtle to Lupſet, Eraſmus ſhews at large, that he had condeſcended to the utmoſt in endeavouring to pacify or to reſtain Lee; but that this vain-glorious and malicious man was reſolved to acquire reputation, if he could, by uſing him ill. If, as he declares, he had offered Lee to correct any errors, that might be ſhewed him in his annotations on the New Teſtament, to diſcuſs all ſuch points with him in a friendly converſation and examination of conteſted paſſages, to agree to ſuch cenſures or obſervations of his as ſhould appear pertinent and reaſonable, and to make honourable mention of him in his next edition, it was a fooliſh and a baſe procedure in Lee to pay no regard to ſuch remonſtrances. In the ſame epiſtle, he [d] ſcourges the Monks, A. D. 1519.

criter munus per ſe gratiſſimum Huttenus noſter, qui docuit appellari *poculum Amoris*, ceu Gratiis ſacrum, ob id opinor, quod quum velut oſculo ſibi committuntur, e duobus fiat unum: addit eam ineſſe vim, ut qui ex hoc biberint, tenaciſſima quadam benevolentia conglutinentur. Hujus rei periculum facere volens, Guilhelmo Cardinali Croio, cum hiſce diebus inviſeret bibliothecam meam, e tuo poculo præbibi, et ille mihi viciſſim. Juvenis eſt longe feliciſſimus, et cujus indoles non videatur indigna tanta felicitate. Sed doleo ſerius fuiſſe redditum. Nuper enim Theologi Lovanienſes mecum redierunt in gratiam, hac lege, ut et illi compeſcerent obtrectatrices linguas, quas excitaſſent, ut ergerem cohibere calamos meorum, quantum eſſet in me. In eo convivio (nam hic nihil ſacrum abſque compotatione) produxiſſem tuum poculum, ſi mihi fuiſſet, ex quo ſi bibiſſent ſinguli, fortaſſe felicioribus auſpiciis coiiſſet noſtra concordia: nunc ex epiſtola neſcio qua, parum bene intellecta, et pejus interpretata, male farta gratia ſic diffiliit, ut poſt brevem tranquillitatem ſævior etiam tempeſtas coorta videretur. Ep. 477.

[d] Conſpiratum eſt agminatim ab iis, qui ſe devoverunt Diis Manibus, ni funditus perdant et bonas literas et veterem Theologiam, ut nuſquam non blaterent in Eraſmum, in compotationibus, in foris, in conciliabulis, in pharmacopoliis, in curribus, in tonſtrinis, in fornicibus, in privatis ac publicis lectionibus, in ſcholaſticis diatribis, in ſacris concionibus, in arcanis colloquiis, in ſecretis admiſſorum confeſſionibus, in bibliopoliis, in tabernis pauperum, in aulis divitum, in palatiis regum, apud ſuperſtitioſos ſenes, apud craſſos Midas, apud indoctam plebeculam, apud ſtultas mulierculas, per quas, *Serpentis* illius exemplo, aditum ſibi parant ad fallendos viros, nuſquam non penetrantes, nihil non mentientes,

A. D. 1519. who repaid him in kind, to the utmoſt of their power. Eraſmus was quite ſick and weary of ſuch quarrels, and almoſt reſolved to hold his peace thenceforward. Let another, ſays he, take my place, and enter into the field of battle; as for me, I have fought long enough with wild beaſts and monſters. It is beſt ſometimes to yield to a malice which you cannot reform, and which grows more furious by being expoſed and confuted. But his large Volume of Apologies ſhews, that he could not conſtantly adhere to this reſolution, which yet, for the moſt part, is the wiſeſt procedure.

" [e]Lupſet, when a boy, was taken into the care and protection " of Colet. Caius, the Antiquary, ſays, that he was educated " in Pembroke Hall. He went to Paris, and returning about " the year 1519, ſettled in Corpus Chriſti College, and ſucceeded " [f]John Clement in the Rhetoric Lecture of Cardinal Wolſey." The Univerſity of Oxford wrote a [g] letter of thanks and of [h] flattery to the Cardinal, in 1521, for having given them Lupſet.

" He

mentientes, quo mé videlicet de omnibus bene merentem in publicum odium vocent. Ad hoc ſanctum negotium alunt ſuos emiſſarios, non minus diligenter inſtructos ad inficiendos animos ſimplicium et imperitorum, et conſtabiliendum regnum Diaboli, quam Chriſtus ſuos diſcipulos inſtruxerat ad prædicandum regnum Dei. Ad hoc munus Evangelicum, Evangelicis viris potiſſimum ſunt uſi, quos mundus ſimul et Mendicos alit, et tolerat Tyrannos, &c. Ep. 481.

[e] Knight, p. 214, and Wood. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 389. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 216.

[f] Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 216.

[g] ——Nam immortalis beneficii loco accepimus, quod benigniſſima tua beneficentia in communem rei literariæ uſum dignata ſit Lupſetum ad nos remittere, quem etſi ſemper habuimus chariſſimum, nunc tamen, quia a tua MAJESTATE amanter commendatum, multo arctius amplectimur, &c.

[h] See Fiddes, p. 178, &c. where you will find, that our Cantabrigians, in one of their fawning addreſſes, called the Cardinal, *Præſens Numen*; according to Horace's *Creed:*

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præſens Divus habebitur
Auguſtus ——

or *Wolſeius*, or any other Giver of good things. Never was Nero, or Domitian, more

" He had been Secretary to Pace, whilſt he was Ambaſſador to A. D. 1519.
" the Venetians. He read Latin and Greek Lectures at Oxford.
" In Italy he became acquainted with Cardinal Pole, and was
" much in his favour. He aſſiſted Linacer and More in over-
" ſeeing and correcting their works at the preſs; and More
" makes very honourable mention of him. He wrote ſeveral
" pieces, and ſome letters in defence of his friend Eraſmus againſt
" Lee. By the [i] advice of Eraſmus he quitted betimes the ſtudy
" of the Scholaſtic writers, and ſold thoſe Praters to buy Greek
" Claſſics. He only obtained a Prebend in the Church of Saliſ-
" bury; and he died in 1532, aged thirty-ſix."

We have an [k] Epiſtle from him to Eraſmus in 1516, in which he moſt ſubmiſſively begs his pardon for ſome indiſcretion; and he was very uneaſy, till he was received into favour again.

There was a brace of Monks at Louvain, who this year began to plague Eraſmus: the one was Nicolas Egmond, (Egmondanus) a Dutch Carmelite; the other Vincentius, a Dominican,

more flattered by the corrupted Romans, than this vain man was by his hungry Paraſites: and Fiddes, with no ſmall complacency and glee, hath given us an account of theſe compliments; compliments, which would make a wiſe man call for a baſon: *Date pelvim.*

[h] Amongſt the praiſes beſtowed upon Wolſey, let us not forget thoſe of a certain Zany, who ſeems to have played his part very well:

" In[illegible]nd was a Cardinal, the
" ſon of a butcher, (he means Wolſey)
" concerning whom a knaviſh Fool
" ſaid, God be praiſed, that we have
" got ſuch a Cardinal: when he com-
" eth to be Pope, we may freely eat
" fleſh in Lent, and on forbidden days;
" for St. Peter was a fiſher-man, and
" he forbad eating of fleſh, to the end
" he might ſell his fiſh at a high rate;
" but this butcher's ſon will hold over
" fleſh, to get money thereby." *Luther's* Colloq. Menſal. p. 305.

[i] Lupſetus exiſtimat ſe noſtra renatum opera, planeque ab inferis emerſiſſe. Magiſtri moliuntur omnia, quo retrahant adoleſcentem in ſuum piſtrinum. Nam ſtatim eodem die, Sophiſticis libris diſtractis, Græcos emerat. Vide ut cum inciderit opportunitas, graviter agas partes tuas. Nihil hujus ingenio gratius, nihil amantius. Ep. 112. *This is a letter to More.*

[k] Ep. 79. c. 1579.

A. D. 1519. nican, whom Eraſmus ſometimes calls *Obtrectatorem pertinaciſſimum*, a moſt confirmed Detracter, and ſometimes *Bucentam*, Ox-driver, or Plough-man. Theſe men, and other Monks, provoked beyond meaſure by Eraſmus, who ridiculed them on all occaſions, and ſaid of them, that they were the perſons who had exaſperated Luther, and cauſed him to write ſo impetuouſly, revenged themſelves upon him, by repreſenting him as Luther's aſſociate, in all their ſermons to the people. Eraſmus complained of this calumny to Roſemundus, Rector of the Academy of Louvain; but to no purpoſe. Ep. 491.

In the [l] *Amœnitates Literariæ* there is a lively letter, addreſſed to Zuinglius, from an anonymous writer, againſt the Divines of Louvain. The perſons ridiculed in it are Joannes Atenſis, Joannes Winckel, Jacobus Latomus, Ruardus Encuſanus, and particularly [m] Egmond the *Carmelite*, whom by way of deriſion he calls the *Camelite*. It was printed A. 1520; and to it was added, *Vita Sancti Nicolai (Egmondani) ſive Stultitiæ Exemplar.*

Eraſmus had lately contracted an acquaintance with Joannes Ludovicus [n] Vives, a Spaniard of Valentia, whom he hath often commended, and who was much eſteemed by More. He is one of thoſe, ſays Eraſmus to More, whoſe glory will eclipſe mine. He is a true philoſopher, and a deſpiſer of Fortune; and he is fit to beat the Scholaſtics at their own weapons, the uſe of which

[l] Tom. I. p. 246, 248.

[m] —— perfrictæ frontis Nicolaus Egmondanus, dignus, qui ob inſignem ſtoliditatem *Camelita* vocetur.

Eraſmus alſo ſays, that he commonly went by the name of *Camelita*. T. IX. c. 112.

[n] Boiſſard Icon. p. 183. Baillet II. 283. Du Pin. P. Jovius Elog. p. 218. Pope Blount, p. 365.

Vives fallitur, dum in libello quodam Lucanum Virgilio præfert: ſed librum de anima compoſuit patri meo valde laudatum. *Scaligerin.* p. 411.

" Vives hath related, a remarkable thing, that when he had been long without eating, the firſt bits that he put into his mouth forced him to laugh. The ſame marvel may be ſeen in School-boys, Clarkes, Pages, Lackeys, Beggars, and Paraſites." *Vigneul-Marville*, Vol. II. p. 209.

which he underſtands perfectly well. And indeed Vives, in his Preface to his Commentaries upon Auguſtin *De Civitate Dei*, hath given an eſſay of his abilities in this way, and ſhewed the ſagacity of Eraſmus in forming ſo favourable a judgment of him, when he was but twenty-ſix years old. Their friendſhip continued uninterrupted, and many of their letters to each other are preſerved in the Volume of the Epiſtles of Eraſmus. Ep. 496, 387, 433. A. D. 1519.

"[o] Vives, whilſt he was at Louvain, in 1517, was choſen "Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, by the Founder. "He was invited into England by Wolſey in the year 1523; "and coming to Oxford, he read the Cardinal's Lecture of *Hu-* "*manity*, and alſo Lectures of Civil Law. Henry VIII and "Queen Catharine did him the honour of aſſiſting as Auditors at "his Lectures. Afterwards he went to Bruges in Flanders, and "married; and the year following returned to Oxford, and con- "tinued his Lectures, and was conſtituted Tutor for the Latin "tongue to the Lady Mary, daughter to Henry VIII. His "works are printed in two Tomes, at Baſil, 1555. He died at "Bruges in 1544."

"[p] Vives had been Preceptor to the young Cardinal Croius. "Henry VIII, who at firſt eſteemed him much, being offended "at the liberty which he had taken to ſpeak and to write againſt "his divorce, put him in priſon for ſix months. Afterwards he "went to Bruges. The year of his death is uncertain." Thus Du Pin; who hath alſo given an account of his writings, and concludes it in the following manner:

"Some writers, ſpeaking of the *Triumviri* of the Republic "of Letters in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, aſcribe "judgment to Vives, genius to Budæus, and eloquence to Eraſ- "mus. I cannot approve of this determination. Eraſmus had "more

[o] Knight, p. 165, and Wood. Fiddes Life of Wolſey, p. 211, 212, 216.

[p] Du Pin XIV. 99.

A. D. 1519. "more fancy and genius, more extent of learning, and more "ſolidity of judgment, than Vives. Budæus had more ſkill in "languages, and more philological erudition, than they. Vives "knew more of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic. The Theo- "logical works of Eraſmus, as they are more numerous, ſo "they are more uſeful and valuable, than thoſe of Vives."

[q] Frideric of Saxony, one of the moſt virtuous and illuſtrious Princes of the ſixteenth century, was a friend to Luther and to the Reformation, and the Proteſtants have great reaſon to reverence and bleſs his memory. [r] When he might have been choſen Emperor, he declined it, and gave the crown to Charles V. Eraſmus wrote a letter to him in the year 1519, which is not amongſt his Epiſtles; but a conſiderable part of it is publiſhed by Seckendorf [s]. It is very favourable to Luther.

In

[q] See his character in Seckendorf, L. I. p. 122, &c. L. II. p. 33, &c. See alſo Spalatinus in the *Amæn. Liter.* T. IV. p. 420.

[r] Dux Saxoniæ Fridericus bis ad me ſcripſit, eidem meæ reſpondens epiſtolæ: hujus unius præſidio ſubſtitit Lutherus. Id ait ſe cauſæ dediſſe verius quam perſonæ. Addit, non commiſſurum ſeſe, ut in ſua ditione opprimatur innocentia, eorum malitia qui ſua quærunt, non quæ Jeſu Chriſti. Ab omnibus delatum imperium ingenti animo recuſavit, idque pridie quam Carolus eligeretur, cui nunquam contigiſſet imperii titulus, niſi Fridericus deprecatus eſſet, clarior honore contemto, quam fuiſſet adepto. Mox rogatus quem igitur cenſeret eligendum, negavit ſibi quenquam alium videri tanti nominis oneri ſuſtinendo parem, quam Carolum. Ob hunc inſignem animum a noſtris oblata triginta florenorum millia conſtantiſſime rejecit. Quumque urgeretur ut ſaltem decem millia pateretur dari famulis: Accipiant, inquit, ſi velint; attamen nemo manebit poſtridie apud me, qui vel aureum acceperit: ac poſtridie conſcenſis equis ſubduxit ſeſe, ne pergerent eſſe moleſti. Ep. 474.

[s] —— Prodiere nuper lucubrationes aliquot Martini Lutheri, ſimulque rumor allatus eſt hominem ſupra modum gravari auctoritate Reverendiſſimi Cardinalis S. Sixti, qui apud Suevos Romani Pontificis agit Legatum. Ut his protinus exſilierunt? ut geſtierunt? ut gaviſi ſunt occaſionem, ut ipſi visum eſt, maxime opportunam eſſe datam lædendi bonas literas? Nam juxta Græcorum proverbium, *Improbis præter occaſionem nihil deeſt*; quæ videlicet nocendi facultatem præbeat iis, quibus adeſt perpetua nocendi voluntas. Continuo ſacræ apud populum

In an Epiſtle to Wolſey, Eraſmus makes his uſual complaints of his perſecutors, the Monks, and deſires the Cardinal's countenance A. D. 1519.

populum conciones, ſcholæ, concilia-abula, convivia, nihil aliud crepabant, quam hæreſes et antichriſtos. Atque huic tam odioſo negotio, præſertim apud mulierculas et indoctam plebeculam, miſcuerunt homines callidi, trium linguarum, eloquentiæ, politioriſque literaturæ mentionem; quaſi aut Lutherus his præſidiis fideret, aut ex his fontibus hæreſes naſcerentur. Hæc impudentia pluſquam ſycophantica, cum optimis quibuſque diſpliceret, tamen ut bellum inventum probabatur quibuſdam, qui ſe Theologiæ anteſignanos, et Chriſtianæ religionis columnas exiſtimant. Et vide quam ſtudio cæci, noſtris blandimur vitiis! Atrocem contumeliam, imo facinus hæreſi proximum ducimus, ſi quis Theologum rabulam, quales ſunt non pauci, pro Theologo *Ματαιόλογον* nominet. Ipſi nobis ignoſcimus, cum apud frequentem populum hæreticum et antichriſtum vocamus, cuicunque ſuccenſemus. Lutherus mihi tam ignotus quam cui ignotiſſimus, ut ſuſpectus eſſe non queam, quaſi faveam amico. Hujus lucubrationes nec tueri meum eſt, nec improbare, ut quas hactenus non legerim niſi raptim. Certe vitam hominis em.., qui novit, non probat, quæ cum longiſſime abſit ab omni ſuſpicione avaritiæ aut ambitionis, et morum innocentia, [*here is ſomething wrong*] vel apud Ethnicos favorem invenit. Quam non congruit manſuetudini Theologicæ, protinus, ac ne perlecto quidem libro, tam immaniter debacchari in nomen ac famam probi viri, idque apud imperitam plebeculam, quæ prorſus caret judicio? Præſertim cum ille diſputanda propoſuerit, cum omnium judicio ſeſe ſubmiſerit, quorum oportuit. Nemo monuit, nemo docuit, nemo revicit: tantum vociferantur hæreticum, ſeditioſis clamoribus ad lapides provocant. Dicas eos ſitire ſanguinem humanum, non ſalutem animarum. Quo inviſius eſt hæreſeos nomen auribus Chriſtianis, hoc minus committendum eſt, ut temere in quenquam impingatur. Non ſtatim quivis error hæreſis eſt, neque protinus hæreticum eſt, quicquid huic aut illi diſplicet. Neque ſemper fidei negotium agunt, qui prætexunt hujuſmodi ſplendidos titulos. Imo plerique ſuum agunt negotium, vel quæſtui ſuo conſulentes, vel tyrannidi. Quin præcipiti lædendi ſtudio ſæpe criminantur in alio, quod ipſi domi probant. Denique, cum tot ſint veteres ac neoterici Scriptores, nec horum quiſquam adhuc repertus ſit, in cujus libris non fateantur ineſſe periculoſos errores; cur reliquos taciti placidique legimus, in unum aut alterum tam atrociter ſævimus? Si veritati patrocinamur, cur non ex æquo offendit, ubicumque reperitur, quod veritati repugnat? Sanctiſſima res eſt fidei religioniſque ſinceritatem tueri; ſed ſceleratiſſima res eſt, prætextu defendendæ fidei, noſtris ſervire cupiditatibus. Si quicquid in Scholis receptum eſt, oraculum haberi volunt, cur inter ſe Scholæ

A. D. 1519. tenance and protection; and indeed Wolſey himſelf was no friend to the Monks at that time, and ſtill leſs afterwards.

This letter contains a very handſome elogium of Vives, whom he wanted to recommend as a proper Preceptor to Ferdinand I. Ep. 384.

In a letter to Jacobus Hornenſis, he ſays, that he was fifty-three years old. Ep. 405.

He ſent a letter of compliments and thanks to [t] Sir Henry Guildford, who had declared himſelf his friend. Ep. 417.

Longolius

diſſentiunt? Cur Scholaſtici Doctores inter ſeſe pugnant ac digladiantur? Imo, cur in eadem Sorbona Theologus a Theologo diſſentit? Imo perpaucos reperias, qui conſentiant, niſi conſpirarint. Adhæc, non raro deprehenduntur damnare in recentium libris, quod in Auguſtino aut Gerſone non damnant, quaſi veritas cum auctore mutetur. Eos quibus favent, ſic legunt, ut omnia torquentes nihil non excuſent; quibus infenſi ſunt, ſic legunt, ut nihil non calumnientur. Optima Chriſtianiſmi pars eſt, vita Chriſto digna. Quæ cum ſuppetit, non debet eſſe facilis hæreſeos ſuſpicio. Nunc quidam nova comminiſcuntur fundamenta, ſic enim vocant, hoc eſt, novas leges condunt, per quas docent, hæreticum eſſe quicquid non placet. Quiſquis alterum hæreſeos accuſat, ipſe præſtare debet mores Chriſtiano dignos, charitatem in admonendo, lenitatem in *concipiendo*, (*perhaps* corripiendo) candorem in judicando, *lenitudinem* (*perhaps* lentitudinem) in pronunciando. Cum nemo noſtrum careat erratis, cur alienos lapſus tam inclementer inſectamur? cur malumus vincere quam mederi? cur opprimere quam docere? At Ille, qui ſolus omnium caruit errore, non comminuit baculum confractum, nec extinguit linum fumigans. Auguſtinus de Donatiſtis pluſquam hæreticis agens, non vult eos cogi, ſed tantum doceri; et ab horum cervicibus magiſtratuum gladios depellit, quorum ſicis ipſe quotidie impetebatur. Nos, quorum proprium munus eſt docere, cogere malumus, quia facilius. Hæc, illuſtriſſime Dux, eo ſcribo liberius, quo minus ad me pertinet cauſa Lutherana. Cæterum, ut tuæ Celſitudinis eſt, Chriſtianam religionem pietate tua protegere, ita prudentiæ eſt, non committere ut quiſquam innocens te juſtitiæ præſide, ſub prætextu pietatis, aliquorum impietati dedatur. Vult idem Leo Pontifex, cui nihil magis eſt cordi, quam ut tuta ſit innocentia. Pater vocari gaudet, nec amat eos, qui ſuper ipſius membra tyrannidem exercent. Neque quiſquam magis paret animo Pontificis, quam is, qui quod æquiſſimum eſt, exſequitur. Quid iſtic de Luthero ſentiant, neſcio. Certe hic video libros illius ab optimis quibuſque cupidiſſime legi. Quanquam mihi nondum vacavit evolvere. L. I. p. 96.

[t] Knight, p. 205.

Longolius is gently cenſured for the affectation of deſiring to paſs for a Frenchman, though he be my countryman, *noſtras*, ſays Eraſmus. Ep. 467. A. D. 1519.

He recommends to Wolſey Antonius Grimbergius, a young nobleman of promiſing parts and a good diſpoſition, who went to the Engliſh Court. He wrote alſo upon the ſame occaſion to ſeveral of his Engliſh friends. Ep. 472.

He ſpeaks very [u] favourably of [x] Helius Eobanus Heſſus, who was reckoned amongſt the good poets of that age, and who took a journey on purpoſe to have the pleaſure of ſeeing Eraſmus.

Writing to Sir H. Guildford, he either [y] repents, or pretends to repent, that he had not ſettled in England.

Joannes

[u] Vel unus Helius queat Germaniam noſtram a barbariæ calumnia vindicare. Deum immortalem! quam felix felicitas, quam facilis facilitas in carmine! Dicerem in hoc renatum Ovidium. Neque ſui diſſimilis eſt in oratione ſoluta. Nam in utroque ſpecimen ſui præbuit, idque ex tempore. Tum autem, qui morum candor? quæ comitas? quæ facilitas? quam nuſquam eſt affinis iis vitiis, quibus vulgo ſunt obnoxii, præſertim apud Italos, qui Poëticen deamant? quam pia Muſa caſtaque Chriſtianas celebrat Heroidas? Felicem ter quaterque Germaniam, ſi plures huic ſimillimi vates exorirentur! et exoriuntur jam aliquot. Sed longe plures exorituros video, ſi Principes ac primates ingeniis honorem habere cœperint. — Unum hoc me male habet, quod Heſſus noſter tantum itineris exantlarit fruſtra. Quid enim fructus erat? aut quod operæ pretium vel totum Eraſmum vidiſſe? Meliorem mei partem, ſi quid in me boni eſt, jam in lucubrationibus meis conſpexerat. Porro, quod ſupereſt, quæſo, quid habet viſendum? Ep. 473.

[x] Camerarius wrote his Life.

Helius Eobanus, if my memory deceives me not, ſays in one of his poems, that when he was a boy, he had, like Ovid, ſuch a talent for poetry,

Ut non præcipuus dubitaret ſcribere vates;
Heſſe puer, ſacri gloria fontis eris.

[y] Atque hic quoque ſentio mihi Rhamnuſiam infenſam. Ante complures annos et Regis benignitas, et Cardinalis Eboracenſis humanitas, me ad aulæ conſortium non ſemel invitavit; eodem provocavit Guilielmi Montjoii fidele ſemper et amicum conſilium. Sed mihi læva mens erat, ſurdo canebatur fabula. Sciebam haud ullam uſquam aulam iſta eſſe incorruptiorem: at quis divinare poterat Principis domum Muſarum domicilium futurum? Nunc id conſilium ſequar oportet, quod dant ætas ac valetudo.

A. D. 1519. Joannes Turzo, Biſhop of Breſlaw, [z] ſent him a moſt obliging letter, and ſome preſents; for which Eraſmus [a] returned him thanks,

tudo. Vobis interim gratulabor iſtam felicitatem, quando meam infelicitatem deplorare, nihil attulerit fructus. Ep. 475.

[z] Igitur ut amoris et obſervantiæ meæ ſingularis in te ſtudium tibi etiam atque etiam magis fiat cognitum, atque interim ob oculos obverſetur Turzonis tui memoria, munus tibi mitto, non magni ſane pretii: quatuor, inquam, horologia, vitreis vaſculis, exigua, pulviſculoque paulatim delabente, horas dimetientia: quorum uſus, opinor, clepſydram noſtro ſeculo æquat. Hæc ſane crebro obverſatu atque tractatu te noſtri in horas poterunt admonere. Adjunxi præterea auri puri nativique quatuor particulas, ſive ramenta, e ſubterraneis ſpecubus, adeoque ex ipſis terræ viſceribus, in ditione meæ diœceſeos, qualia vides nuper eruta, nempe ut auri vivax vis te immortalitate digniſſimum declaret: ad hæc tegmentum ſacro tuo capiti ex murium Ponticorum exuviis, quas noſtrates *Sabellinas* pelles, etiamnum uſurpata voce, cognominant. — Verum, quicquid eſt hujus, quod mitto, ut lubens et grato animo accipias vehementer oro. Id quod futurum confido, ſi animi mei benevolentia, atque profuſiſſima in te propenſione, non pretio munuſculum æſtimaveris. Nam ſi pro tuis meritis ornandus ſis, vix certe totius orbis opes et copiæ, nedum Dynaſtæ cujuſpiam facultates, tuæ dignitati ſatis ſint facturæ. Ep. 479.

[a] Cur ita viſum eſt Superis, ut tanto intervallo disjungant montes et flumina, quos tanta copulat charitas animorum? Epiſtola tua poſt ſextum demum menſem mihi reddita eſt, una cum munuſculis. Quorum nihil non fuiſſet gratiſſimum, etiamſi minimi pretii fuiſſet, vel hoc nomine, quod a tali Præſule, ſed multo magis quod a tali animo proficiſceretur. Nunc et pretii magnitudine, et ipſa novitate, et auctoris titulo commendabantur; ſed in his tamen nihil mihi tam charum eſt viſum, quod epiſtola tua non ſuperaret. —Faxit Deus, ut iſtud pectus imitentur complures Epiſcopi Proceresque, et imaginibus ſuis tam eximium decus adjungant, et auctoritatem ſuam bonitatis ac ſapientiæ cumulent acceſſione. Quam ardentem virtutis amorem ſpirant illæ tuæ literæ, quantam ſitim eruditionis Chriſtianæ? Ad hæc, quantum candoris, quantum modeſtiæ præ ſe ferunt? Quis credat hæc a tanto Præſule, a tanto Principe ſcribi? —Jam ut in tuis munuſculis etiam nonnihil philoſopher, gratulor tuæ ditioni, e cujus venis aurum tam elegans ac purum eruitur; ſed tu beatior, qui e divinorum Voluminum longe felicioribus venis tam avide ſcruteris aurum Evangelicæ ſapientiæ, quo locupletes gregem tuæ fidei concreditum, velut opulentus quiſpiam Paterfamilias, e divite theſauro proferens nova ac vetera, multum diffidens ab Epiſcopis pleriſque, qui pulcherrimam functionis ſuæ partem in ſordidos quoſdam relegant, nec probatos, nec exploratos. —Duobus horologiis inſcriptum erat, *Feſtina lente*, atque hanc quidem

thanks, and, as it appears afterwards, was very desirous of cultivating a friendship with this illustrious Prelate, who was a favourer [b] of Lutheranism, and highly esteemed by Luther and Melanchthon. A. D. 1519.

Erasmus published at this time the [c] Life of Jerom, and some other books.

His letters of this year are from Louvain, Mechlin, Antwerp, Brussels, and Anderlac, [d] *ex rure Anderlaco.*

A. D.

quidem inscriptionem audit pulviculus ille per minutissimum foramen lente defluens, hæc me scribente: sed magna celeritate vita nostra avolat, et advolat mors nihilo segnius, etiamsi non defluat arenula. In altero superne inscriptum erat, *Festina lente*, et inversum horologium ostendebat Mortis imaginem: quæ utinam tibi, mi Turzo, lenta veniat, digno profecto qui sis immortalis, non tantum longævus, nisi hæc effet fortunæ invidia, ut si quid extiterit in rebus humanis eximium, id quam ocyssime tollat e medio. Quod omen abs te velim quam longissime abesse, quem et ex tuis literis, et ex aliorum prædicatione, tam multis ac raris animi dotibus præditum esse video, ut generis claritudo, ut opes, ut pontificia dignitas, minima portio sit tuorum ornamentorum. Pileum non poterit mihi esse usui, nisi domi: nam et magnificentius est, quam ut conveniat homini tenui, (nisi forte et hic erras, ut putes Erasmum esse aliquid) et alienius a more hujus regionis: tamen servabitur, et in hoc potissimum, ut Turzonis memoriam mihi refricet. Aureum numisma multos exercuit, aliis conjectantibus esse tres Noe filios ex Arca revertentes, et ex altera parte Columbam olivæ ramum deferentem; aliis duces duos, qui medium captum ducerent, et aquilam lauri ramum in coronam deflexum gestantem. Subscriptionem nullus adhuc legere potuit, neque Græcus, neque Latinus, neque Hebræus. Ep. 524.

I think I have seen an account of this medal; but I cannot recollect where.

[b] —— Joannes Thurzo, illustri in Pannonia familia natus, renascenti Evangelii doctrinæ admodum favens. Ad hunc jam lethaliter decumbentem Epistolam Lutheri scriptam refert Scultetus.—Adducit et aliam a Melanchthone scriptam, &c.—*Seckendorf*, L. I. p. 270.

These letters of Luther and Melanchthon were written in 1520: but the good Prelate died before they could come into his hands. See *Von der Hardt* Hist. Lit. Reform. P. V. p. 33.

[c] Maittaire II. 330, 339.

[d] Ecclesia Anderlacensis, haud procul a mœnibus Civitatis Bruxellanæ. *Erasm.* T. V. c. 954.

A. D. MDXX. Ætat. LIII.

A. D. 1520. Eraſmus dedicated his [c] Paraphraſe of the Epiſtles of St. Paul to the Epheſians, &c. to Cardinal Campegius, who was at London. In this dedication he hath drawn up a very pretty, though a compendious account of the hiſtory of Chriſtian Theology, and of the variations which it had undergone; to which he adds ſome reflections upon the ſtate of it at his time, and the controverſies which troubled all Chriſtendom, and upon the proper methods of putting an end to them. He obſerves, that at firſt the Divines applied themſelves only to the ſtudy of Rhetoric, that afterwards they mixed the doctrines of Plato with thoſe of Chriſt, and then the philoſophy of Ariſtotle; which changed Divinity into a ſcience full of controverſial ſubtilties, and cauſed the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures to be entirely neglected. When things were in this ſituation, ſome perſons (by whom he means Luther, and his partiſans) endeavoured, with a very good intention, to ſend Chriſtians back to the ancient and true ſources, and to give them a diſguſt for Scholaſtic Theology: but they proceeded, in his opinion, with too much vehemence. The Monks, on the contrary, pertinaciouſly fond of the Scholaſtic ſyſtem, began to abuſe the ſtudy of the learned languages, and rejected, as ſo many vile hereſies, every thing that they feared and diſliked. Eraſmus exhorts both Campegius, and Wolſey, and the King of England, to promote and procure the peace of Chriſtendom. To accompliſh this deſign, Pope Leo, according to the notions of Eraſmus, ſhould have ordered the Parties to deliver their Confeſſion of faith, without attacking, inſulting, and reviling that of others. If they could not agree, (for it will happen in matters of ſpeculation, as in matters of taſte) they ſhould however diſpute with candor and mildneſs. If the difference were upon capital points, they

[c] Tom. VII. c. 968.

they were to ſelect able and diſintereſted men, who ſhould diſ- A. D. 1520.
cuſs thoſe points in a decent manner, with great moderation, and without ſeditious clamours.

The advice was not bad, conſidered in itſelf; but Eraſmus ſhould alſo have informed the Cardinal, where he ſhould meet with perſons of ſuch abilities and diſcernment, ſo mild, ſo moderate, and ſo diſintereſted and ſincere lovers of truth. Few ſuch were to be found perhaps in either party; and they, who then governed the Church, and to whom Eraſmus recommends this Chriſtian procedure, were of all Chriſtians upon earth the leaſt qualified for it, either in point of ſacred erudition, or in temper of mind, as the event ſufficiently ſhewed. Beſides, if a few perſons of this character could have been found, would the Chriſtian world have accepted their arbitration, and have ſubmitted to their deciſions, without murmuring and reſentment? The difficulties and the inconveniences, which ever attend ſuch attempts, permit us not even to hope for a general re-union and pacification, unleſs the divine Providence ſhould miraculouſly interpoſe. Therefore it is hardly to be imagined, that Eraſmus expected to ſee the accompliſhment of it in thoſe days, any more than we expect to ſee it in theſe. However, he tells Campegius, that he hoped ſhortly to pay a viſit to the City of Rome: but his moderate and pacific counſels would have been coldly received there, and the Monks were too powerful at that Court. He talks of the ſame deſign in another epiſtle. We cannot ſuppoſe that he was in good earneſt; but rather, that he mentioned it, to remove a ſuſpicion, which his enemies were ever ſuggeſting, that he intended to join himſelf to Luther. Ep. 499, 500.

In a letter to Aloiſius Marlianus, who was a Biſhop, he declares, that he did not approve the conduct of Luther, and could as little digeſt that of the Monks; and that, by their indiſcretions on both ſides, they furniſhed each other with juſt objections. Above all, he was much offended at the violent procedure

of

A. D. 1520. of Aleander in Germany, which was calculated only to irritate, and to make bad worſe. For my part, ſays he, [f] I think that any thing is to be endured, rather than to raiſe pernicious diſturbances; and that it may be a part of true piety to conceal the truth, ſo as neither to utter it in every place, nor in every time, nor before every perſon, nor freely and without reſerve, and at all adventures.

We will not deny the truth of theſe maxims in general; but the difficulty conſiſts in applying them to particular caſes. Eraſmus himſelf, with all his caution and prudence, was openly accuſed by the Monks of having violated all theſe general maxims, and of having given occaſion to the [g] Lutherans to declaim againſt the Church of Rome; and thoſe defenders of that Church, who, not troubling themſelves much about the truth or falſhood of her doctrines, acted on worldly and political principles, looked upon Eraſmus as upon a man who had done them more harm than good, by the liberty, or the licentiouſneſs, as they would have called it, that reigned in his writings. And indeed the preſervation of the Monks was a much more important affair, in the eſtimation of the Court of Rome, than the re-eſtabliſhment of literature and ſciences, upon which Eraſmus laid ſo much ſtreſs, and from the proſperity of which that Court had more to fear than to hope.

Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus informs Eraſmus of a comical diſpute, which he had with a Mendicant Monk. This good man, being in a company where Eraſmus was highly commended, ſhewed his diſſatisfaction by his countenance and his geſtures; and being hard puſhed to declare what he had to cenſure in Eraſmus, he ſaid,

[f] Scio quidvis eſſe ferendum, potius quam ut publicus orbis ſtatus turbetur in pejus; ſcio pietatem eſſe nonnumquam celare veritatem, neque eam quovis loco, neque quovis tempore, neque apud quoſvis, neque quovis modo, neque totam ubique promendam. Ep. 501.

[g] It was ſaid by ſome of the more facetious and more learned enemies of Eraſmus:

Ἡ Λυθηρὸς Ἐρασμίζει, ἢ Ἐρασμὸς Λυθηρίζει.

Tom. IX. c. 519.

ſaid, that this man, whom they affected to extol ſo much, was a notorious eater of fowls; and that he knew it to be true, not from the teſtimony of others, but of his own eyes. Did Eraſmus buy them, or ſteal them? ſaid Pirckheimer. He bought them, ſaid the Monk. Why then, quoth Pirckheimer, there is a certain fox, who is a much greater knave; for he comes into my yard frequently, and takes away a fowl, without paying me. But is it then a ſin to eat fowls? Moſt certainly, anſwered the Monk: it is the ſin of gluttony; and it becomes the more heinous, when it is committed and frequently repeated by Church-men. Perhaps, ſaid Pirckheimer, he eats them upon faſt-days. No, ſaid the Monk; but we Eccleſiaſtics ought to abſtain upon all days from ſuch delicacies. Ah, my good Father, ſaid Pirckheimer, it is not by eating dry bread, that you have got that huge paunch of yours; and if all the fowls, which have gone into it, could lift up their voice at once, and cackle in concert, they would make noiſe enough to drown the drums and the trumpets of an army. A. D. 1520.

I hear, ſays he, that [h] Oecolampadius is turned Monk; I wiſh he had thought better upon it.

Eraſmus [i] approved this ſtep of Oecolampadius as little as his friend Bilibaldus; and obſerves, that a man's diſcontented and reſtleſs

[h] Oecolampadius, Eccleſiaſtes Auguſtanus, in Cœnobium Salvatoris, prope Auguſtam, concedit, factus ibi Monachus, cum metueret reipublicæ a Lutheri ſcriptis; ſed imprimis ut otium ei conſervaretur ad ſtudia ſua Theologica. Antequam autem monaſterium ingrederetur, ſtudiis ſuis et fidei libertatem a fratribus ſtipulatus eſt. Subſtitit in eo annum integrum, uſque dum libertas verbi divini interdici cœpta. Hoc graviſſime in eo tulit Eraſmus, et Wolfgangus etiam Fabricius Capito. *Sculteti Annales.* Publiſhed by Von der Hardt. *Hiſt. Liter. Reform.* P. V. p. 35.

[i] Quod ſcribis ab Oecolampadio factum, jam ex illius literis ſubodorabar futurum. Id ſive judicio fecit, ſive animi morbo, quando mutari non poteſt, precandum eſt, ut illi ac nobis quam optime vertat. Video res humanas ſic undique corruptas, ut nullis unquam ſeculis exiſtimem plus licuiſſe impudentiæ, plus licuiſſe ſtoliditati, plus licuiſſe ſceleri. Et nonnunquam libet aliquo profugere,

A. D. 1520. reſtleſs temper will purſue him even into the retirement of a monaſtery. Ep. 504.

In a letter to Beatus Rhenanus, Eraſmus complains, that the [k] publication of his Epiſtles had given him much vexation. As he found that very faulty and incorrect collections had been made of them, even when he was in Italy, he thought it better to give an edition himſelf, than to leave it to others, although he proteſts that it never was his deſign to print them. As he had ſpoken freely in thoſe letters on many important points, he could not avoid giving offence. The Monks eſpecially, as enemies to literature, exclaimed violently againſt them: and then, the Lutheran contentions breaking out, theſe epiſtles were ſtill more cenſured than before, and accuſed of favouring Lutheraniſm, at a time when, as he ſays, [l] it was neither ſafe to ſpeak, nor to keep ſilence. Then he adds, that he would have ſuppreſſed thoſe epiſtles, but that Froben would not conſent. He even deſires Rhenanus to pay Froben his expenſes, and to withdraw the copies. But in this he could hardly ſpeak [m] ſeriouſly, ſince Froben was too much his friend, and his humble ſervant, to print them without his conſent.

He afterwards treats of the different manner in which different epiſtles ought to be written, and of the danger which a man incurs

fugere, ſed vereor ne quocunque me vertero, ſequatur moleſtia. Proinde tutius arbitror mali remedium ab animo petere, potius quam a loco aut vitæ inſtituto. Bene habet, quod Chriſtus in tanta vitiorum caligine nobis Evangelicæ doctrinæ ſcintillas reliquit. Ep. 527.

[k] Excudit Frobenius juſtum Epiſtolarum illuſtrium opus: *Farrago Epiſtolarum Eraſmi*, titulus erit. Vix dici queat, quam elegans opus futurum: quod non ſolum Politiano conferri, ſed vel præferri bona ex parte poſſit. — Res erit gravis et docta jucunditate condita. Diſpeream, ſi non legere geſtias: legiſſe vero tam gaudeas, ut nunquam magis. Vale. Baſileæ, Anno 1519. *Epiſt. anonymi amici ad H. C. Agrippam*, p. 757.

[l] Lutherana tragœdia in tantam exarſit contentionem, ut nec loqui tutum ſit, nec tacere. Ep. 507.

[m] It is to be ſuppoſed, that he conſented,

——ἑκὼν, ἀέκοντι ϑυμῷ.

cuts by publiſhing them in his life-time. This letter ſtood firſt in the Edition of Baſil, 1540, being a kind of preface to the whole collection, in which the Author ſets forth his reaſons for his manner of writing. A. D. 1520.

He replied to a letter of Oecolampadius, who had informed him of his change of life. He wiſheth, that this learned man might find his new ſituation anſwerable to his hopes. [n] If I thought, ſays he, that it would prove ſo, I could be content to bear you company: but I fear that you will find your expectations diſappointed. He was not deceived in his conjecture.

In [o] ſeveral of his letters he beſtows many commendations on Hutten and Eppendorf: but he afterwards had quarrels with them, when their attachment to Lutheraniſm, joined to outrageous violence, had made them odious; and at laſt he ſaid as much againſt them, as he had ever ſaid for them before. It is true, that they gave him great provocation, and in a manner neceſſitated him to act thus: but this is one of the inconveniences, which ſometimes attend the publication of Epiſtles, as he [p] juſtly obſerves.

He frequently complains, that religious conteſts had deprived him of ſome learned friends of the Lutheran party, who once admired and extolled him, as he ſays, more than he deſired or deſerved, and afterwards depreciated him as much.

Warm paſſions and a lively imagination diſpoſe men to panegyric and to ſatire: but, *Nimium nec laudare, nec lædere*, that is, Neither to *Deify*, nor to *Duncify*, ſeems to be no bad rule for thoſe, who would act conſiſtently, and live quietly.

[n] Utinam tibi contingat, quod expetis, optime Oecolampadi. Id ſi ſcirem, haberes me comitem; ſed vereor ne te ſequatur hoc tædium. Sic eſt vita mortalium: ab animo petenda eſt tranquillitas. Ep. 509.

[o] Ep. 510, 512, 514, 517.

[p] Jam et illud eſt incommodi, quod, ut nunc res ſunt mortalium, ex amiciſſimis nonnunquam reddantur inimiciſſimi, et contra; ut et illos laudatos, et hos doleas attactos. Ep. 507.

A. D. 1520. They now began to exclaim furiouſly againſt Eraſmus in England, although he had many friends there, and amongſt them even perſons of the firſt quality, and the King himſelf. He gives a remarkable inſtance of this in the behaviour of [q] Standiſh, who had been a Monk, and was Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and whom Eraſmus ſometimes calls, by way of deriſion, *Epiſcopum a Sancto Aſino*, Biſhop of Saint As. Standiſh had railed at Eraſmus, in a ſermon preached at St. Paul's, for tranſlating the beginning of St. John's Goſpel, *In principio erat* SERMO, and not VERBUM. He alſo accuſed Eraſmus of hereſy before the King and the Queen; but was thoroughly expoſed for it by two learned friends [r] of Eraſmus, who happened to be then preſent. Eraſmus adds a long ſtory of a moſt ignorant Profeſſor of Divinity, with whom he had a conference. But his enemies in Brabant were yet more troubleſome and vexatious. Ep. 516.

" [s] Standiſh was the common hunter of heretics, and twice " faſtened upon Eraſmus, &c. Wood, Goodwin, and others, " ſpeak more favourably of him than Eraſmus. He was Guardian " of the Franciſcan Convent in London, and Provincial of his " Order, and in 1519 was made Biſhop of St. Aſaph. In 1526, " he and Sir John Baker were ſent ambaſſadors to Denmark. In " 1530, he was one of the Biſhops that aſſiſted and directed " Queen Catharine in the affair of the Divorce. He was eſteemed " a learned man in his time, and a moſt zealous favourer and " aſſertor of the Catholic religion; for which, if he had lived " longer, he would have ſuffered much. He wrote ſeveral ſer- " mons, a treatiſe againſt Eraſmus, &c. He died in 1535."

" [t] Attempts were begun in England to reſtrain Eccleſiaſtical " immunities, which were become a nuiſance paſt all bearing, " and

[q] Knight, p. 267, &c. See the Apology of Eraſmus, T. IX. c. 111, 434.

[r] I take them to have been Pace and More. *Knight*, p. 273.

[s] Knight.

[t] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. I. 12.

" and to make the Clergy ſubject to the Common laws of the A. D. 1520.
" realm. This gave infinite offence to the Clergy. There was
" an hearing about it before the King; and Standiſh, being
" Counſel for the King, pleaded very ſtrongly againſt theſe im-
" munities. The Convocation then fell upon Standiſh with great
" fury, and he appealed to the King, who protected him."

In this affair Standiſh appears to better advantage, than in his quarrels with Eraſmus.

More gives Eraſmus a [w] terrible account of the ſweating ſickneſs.

" Ep. 551 is to [x] Bedell, who was Secretary to Warham, and
" afterwards an Archdeacon, and appointed one of the Com-
" miſſioners to viſit Religious Houſes, in order to their diſſolution.
" In it Eraſmus ſends his compliments to Dr. Wells, who had
" been Fellow of New College, and was domeſtic Chaplain to
" the Archbiſhop."

Beatus Rhenanus having publiſhed an edition of Tertullian, Eraſmus paſſeth a learned, juſt, and candid judgment upon this Father. He proceeds to mention ſome ancient hereſies, which ſoon were extinguiſhed on account of their monſtrous abſurdity.

But

[w] —— Si unquam alias, nunc maxime in mœrore et periculo verſamur, multis undique morientibus, omnibus fere, qui Oxoniæ, qui Cantabrigiæ, qui Londini ſunt, intra paucos dies decumbentibus, amiſſis plurimis, optimis, atque honeſtiſſimis amicis: atque in his, quod tibi quoque dolori eſſe doleo, Andrea noſtro Ammonio, in quo et literæ, et omnes boni magnam fecere jacturam. Is valde ſibi videbatur adverſus contagionem, victus moderatione munitus: qua factum putavit, ut quum in nullum pene incideret, cujus non tota familia laboraverat, neminem adhuc e ſuis id malum attigerit; id quod et mihi, et multis præterea jactavit non admodum multis horis antequam exſtinctus eſt: nam hoc ſudore nemo niſi primo die perit. Ego, uxorque, ac liberi adhuc intacti, reliqua familia tota revaluit. Hoc tibi affirmo, minus periculi in acie, quam in urbe eſſe. Nunc, ut audio, ſævire Caleti incipit, quum nos eo extrudimur, legatione functuri, tanquam parum ſit in contagione vixiſſe, niſi ſequamur etiam. Sed quid facias? quod ſors feret, ferendum eſt. Ego animum mihi in omnem eventum compoſui. Ep. 522.

[x] Knight, p. 231.

A. D. 1520. But [y] Arianiſm, which did not maintain ſuch groſs follies, which was adopted by learned men, and which ſeemed to defend itſelf by the teſtimonies of the holy Scriptures, was much longer-lived: and, as to Pelagianiſm, Eraſmus thought that ſome remains of it were to be found in the doctrines concerning Free-will, which were received by many.

A good portion of hereſy, ſays he, ſeems to have come from the ſentiments of the Philoſophers; which makes me wonder at a common ſaying, that there is no confuting of heretics without the aſſiſtance of the Ariſtotelic philoſophy. Surely, either that ſame philoſophy muſt be a very holy thing, or they, who can make ſo excellent an uſe of it, muſt be men of an incomparable genius [z]. This ſhews, that he, who ſaid that [a] *if it had not been for Ariſtotle's philoſophy, we ſhould have gone without many an Article of faith*, was not ſingular in his opinion.

Eraſmus ſays alſo, that there were ſome Scholaſtic hereſies, which it were better to connive at, than to raiſe a clamour againſt them, becauſe they were not calculated to do any great miſchief. [b] But one hereſy there is, which perhaps deſerves not that name. (He

[y] Sed nulla (hæreſis) majores excitavit in orbe tumultus quam Arianorum, quod ea nec portenta palam abſurda proferret, et ut erant docti, Scripturarum teſtimoniis niti viderentur. Pelagianorum, quod ad liberum attinet arbitrium, etiam hodie licet veſtigia quædam deprehendere. Ep. 525.

[z] Nimirum aut ea philoſophia multum habet ſanctimoniæ, aut præclari ſunt artifices, qui illa ſic norunt uti.

[a] See Bayle ARISTOTE.

[b] Sed eſt hæreſis quædam, quæ quanquam hæreſis vocabulum non mereatur, tamen maximam perniciem adfert vitæ mortalium, ac plurimum officit Evangelicæ auctoritati, quum ii, qui profitentur philoſophiam Chriſti, qui ſe gerunt pro ſummis ducibus ac præceptoribus totius populi Chriſtiani, palam tota vita, totis ſtudiis, totis conatibus, nihil aliud doceant, quam ambitionem pluſquam theatricam, avaritiam inſatiabilem, voluptatum aviditatem inexplebilem, bellorum furias, cæteraque, quæ ſacræ Literæ deteſtantur, quæ ab Ethnicis etiam philoſophis improbantur. Non iſta loquuntur quidem; ſed efficacius eſt iſta vivere quam loqui.

(He means, that * bad actions are worſe than erroneous opinions) A. D. 1520.
and yet is very pernicious to men, and greatly weakens the authority of the Goſpel; and that is, when they, who are Profeſſors of Divinity, and pretend to be heads of the Chriſtian people, teach nothing elſe, during their whole lives, and with all their endeavour, than pompous ambition, inſatiable avarice, an unextinguiſhed luſt of pleaſure, cruel wars, and other things, which the holy Scriptures abhor, and which even Pagan Moraliſts condemn. It is true, they teach not this deteſtable doctrine by words; but they teach it by actions, and by their examples, which are ſtill more infectious, and more deſtructive. Ep. 525.

As Leo had publiſhed this year a furious Bull againſt Luther, Eraſmus began to be in pain for the Reformer, although John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, had taken him under his protection. I fear, ſays he to Noviomagus, for the unfortunate Luther: ſo violent is the conſpiracy, and ſo ſtrongly have the Pope and the Princes been inſtigated againſt him. Would to God he had followed my counſel, and had abſtained from odious and ſeditious proceedings! he would then have done more good, and have incurred leſs hatred. It would be no great matter that one man ſhould periſh; but if theſe people (the Monks) get the better, they will never reſt, till they have ruined literature. They begin again to attack Reuchlin, only becauſe they hate Luther, who, contrary to my advice, by meddling in the affair of Reuchlin, hath brought an odium upon that learned man, and yet done himſelf no ſervice.

But if Luther had followed the advice of Eraſmus, and conducted the affair with all imaginable moderation and reſerve, he would have had ſtill leſſer ſucceſs; becauſe his ſyſtem paſſed, in the opinion of the Divines, for a moſt peſtilent hereſy, tending to

* Deluded people! that do not conſider, that the greateſt hereſy in the world is a wicked life; and that God will ſooner forgive a man an hundred defects of his underſtanding, than one fault of his will. *Tillotſon*, Vol. I. Serm. 34.

A. D. 1520. to overſet the authority of the Pope and the Monks, and to deſtroy the credit of certain opinions and doctrines, from which they drew an immenſe profit. If Luther, after he had been publicly cenſured at Rome, had yielded and recanted, all the benefit that his doctrine was capable of producing would have been totally loſt: and if he reſiſted and ſtood his ground, that could not be done without ſedition, as it was called, and a ſeparation from thoſe who had excommunicated him. It was abſurd to imagine, that the Court of Rome would have yielded in the ſmalleſt point to a little Monk, whom ſhe conſidered as a rebel and an innovator; or would have ſacrificed her temporal intereſts to the cauſe of Truth and Peace. Had ſhe acted ſo, it would have been for the firſt time. She choſe rather to adhere to the Oracular Maxim, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.

As to the tyranny of the Monks, it is true enough that it was become intolerable, and that it retarded not a little the progreſs of polite and uſeful learning. But in the religious diviſions which enſued, ſocieties were formed, where letters flouriſhed in an eminent manner; and, in ſubſequent times, the Monks alſo in ſeveral places began to apply themſelves cloſely to ſtudy, through ſhame and emulation, and for their own honour and intereſt, and many excellent ſcholars aroſe amongſt them. Yet Eraſmus was excuſable for his fears, that literature would be depreſſed and expelled, as he could not poſſibly foreſee what Time would bring forth.

He was earneſtly ſolicitous to have the cauſe of literature, which the Monks oppoſed ſo violently, ſeparated from the cauſe of Lutheraniſm; and therefore he often obſerves, that they had no kind of connection. But, if we may ſay the truth, the ſtudy of the *Belles lettres* is a poor occupation, if they are to be confined to a knowledge of languages and of antiquities, and not employed to the ſervice of religion, and of other ſciences. To what purpoſe doth a man fill his head with Latin and Greek words,

words, with proſe and verſe, with hiſtories, opinions, and cuſtoms, if it doth not contribute to make him more rational, more prudent, more civil, more virtuous and religious? Such occupations are to be conſidered as introductory, and ornamental, and ſerviceable to ſtudies of higher importance, ſuch as Philoſophy, Law, Ethics, Politics, and Divinity. To abandon theſe ſciences, in order to ſupport Philology, is like burning a city, to ſave the gates. Be this obſerved once for all, becauſe Eraſmus often returns to the ſubject, and dearly loves to dwell upon it. A. D. 1520.

If he would have employed his learned abilities to palliate the defects of the Church of Rome, and to plead the cauſe of the Popes and of the Monks, and to ſupport their pretenſions, as his friend More did afterwards, he might have regained their eſteem.

But although he affected from this time forwards to cenſure the proceedings of Luther, he did not therefore approve the conduct of Luther's adverſaries, as he teſtified frequently and openly enough; and yet he would not ſeparate himſelf from their communion, in which he thought he might live, without applauding their behaviour, and adopting all their ſentiments.

They have cauſed to be printed, ſays he, a moſt formidable Bull; but the Pope hath not yet permitted the publication of it. I am afraid that ſome terrible tumult will enſue. They, who exhort the Pope to proceed thus, give him, in my opinion, an advice, concerning the piety of which I know not what may be ſaid; but the danger of it is evident. This whole affair ſprings from bad cauſes, and hath been puſhed on by as bad methods. The Tragedy aroſe firſt from the ſtupidity of the Monks, and their hatred for literature. By violent provocations and malicious conſpiracies they have raiſed it to that height of fury, which they aimed at. After having ſuppreſſed the learning which they abhor, they hope to reign triumphant, they and their Barbarity. I make not myſelf a party, and will be no actor in the tragedy: elſe a Biſhoprick would be at my ſervice, if I would but write

A. D. 1520. againſt Luther. [d] I am grieved to ſee the Evangelical doctrine thus oppreſſed, to ſee that we are to be compelled, and not taught, or elſe taught things contrary to the holy Scriptures, and to common ſenſe.

Thus he opened himſelf in confidence to a friend.

He wrote alſo to the Pope upon the following occaſion: He had ſent a letter to Luther the year before, exhorting him to moderation, and commending him at the ſame time. This letter had been ſhewed to the Pope; and Eraſmus had been cenſured for not exhorting Luther to recant, and for not declaring roundly that he would break with him, if he did not comply with the Pope. In anſwer to this accuſation, Eraſmus pretends, that he had only commended in Luther what was commendable, and had treated him civilly with a view to reclaim him the more eaſily. He proteſts, that he had only read a few pages of his books, (which, by the way, ſeems hardly credible) and that he had hindered Froben from printing them. One paſſage was particularly cenſured in his letter, wherein, after having exhorted Luther to moderation, he adds, [e] I write this to admoniſh you, not what you ought to do, but that you would continue to act as you do. Eraſmus ſays, that he ſpake thus, only upon the ſuppoſition that Luther did of his own accord what he could wiſh him to do. This was ſurely a cold defence, and not calculated to ſatisfy perſons ſo thoroughly heated, as the partiſans of the Romiſh Court were at that time. Theſe men were undoubtedly inferior beyond meaſure to Eraſmus, either in ſolid erudition, or in a love of truth, or in a deſire to have vices and errors corrected; but as to worldly intereſts, they underſtood them far better than he, and were not to be ſo duped in ſuch matters.

He

[d] Mihi dolet ſic obrui doctrinam Evangelicam, noſque cogi tantum, non doceri, et doceri ea a quibus abhorrent et Sacræ Literæ, et ſenſus communis. Ep. 528.

[e] Hæc ſcribo, non ut admoneam quid facias, ſed ut quod facis perpetuo facias.

He had declined the taſk of refuting Luther, becauſe, ſaid he, A. D. 1520.
1. They who would undertake it ought to read his writings with attention, and more than once; for which I have no leiſure, being occupied in other ſtudies: 2. Becauſe it is a work above my abilities: 3. Becauſe I will not deprive the Univerſities, which have undertaken to confute him, of their honour and glory: 4. Becauſe I have no mind to draw upon myſelf the reſentment of many powerful perſons, eſpecially as I am not appointed to this office.

He proteſts, however, that he was very far from oppoſing himſelf to the ſupreme Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt; only he wiſhed, that Luther had been ſolidly confuted, before they had burnt his books. He adds, that he had reſolved with himſelf to paſs the winter at Rome, for the ſake of conſulting the Pope's library; but that the Aſſemblies of the Princes had retarded his journey. Charles V, it ſeems, returning from Spain, had been crowned at Aix La Chapelle, and had been at Cologn, where he had called together the Electors. [f] Some Lutheran writers have ſaid, that Eraſmus was preſent there, and gave a favourable teſtimony to Luther; and he ſays himſelf, that at Cologn he had given an advice to the Princes, who were there aſſembled, [g] by which the Pope might have been extolled for his clemency, and Luther for his obedience. But his advice, whatſoever it was, came to nothing, and his ſojourning at Cologn was quite uſeleſs, as to any pacification. However, it is not probable that he felt even the ſmalleſt temptation to repair to Rome, and to the Pope's library, whatever he might ſay about it. Ep. 529.

In a letter to Franciſcus Chiregatus, he complains again of the malice of the Monks, who in their Theological Lectures, and in their Sermons, affected to couple him with Luther. He ſays,

[f] Chytræus, apud S. Calviſium, ad hunc annum.

[g] Ut et Pontifex auferret laudem clementiæ, et Lutherus obedientiæ. Ep. 570.

A. D. 1720. that a certain Monk, who was no leſs than Coadjutor to the Biſhop of Tournay, had declaimed at Bruges againſt Luther and him; and that being aſked by a Magiſtrate, what hereſies there were in the books of Eraſmus, he replied, I have not read them; once I attempted to read his Paraphraſes, but I found the Latinity too exalted. I am afraid that he may have fallen into ſome hereſy, becauſe of his exalted Latinity. Ep. 530.

Eraſmus teſtifies his ſincere attachment to the See of Rome, and adviſes that Court to be as ſincerely favourable to the cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt, and to ſeek no other ornaments than thoſe wherein Chriſt himſelf excelled.

At the ſame time he ſent to Henry VIII his [h] reply to Edward Lee, who had attacked him at the inſtigation of the Monks, and of his own vanity. Writing to Albertus, Cardinal of Mentz, he declares how much he was vexed, that a letter, which he had ſent to this Prelate, and which contained ſome favourable expreſſions concerning Luther, had been intercepted and printed, even before it had reached the Cardinal's hands. Ep. 536.

Eraſmus did not believe, as he tells a Carthuſian Monk, that ſince the days of Jeſus Chriſt there had been an age ſo abounding in malice, as that wherein he had the misfortune to live. Therefore, ſays he, repent not of having embraced that retired ſtate of yours. As for me, my hard Deſtiny hath thrown me into a tempeſtuous world. [i] I can neither hold my peace, nor ſpeak the things which become the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. His conſcience would not permit him to be a deſerter from that wholeſome doctrine, of which he had ſowed the good ſeed throughout his works, or to retract it, as the Monks required of him: and yet theſe men were ſo formidable, and ſo ſupported by the Eccleſiaſtical Powers, that he dared not to ſpeak his whole mind; and

[h] It is in Tom. IX. c. 123, without any date.

[i] Nec tacere mihi licet, nec digna Chriſto loqui.

and utter all that he judged to be conformable to the Goſpel. A. D. 1520.
Jeſus Chriſt, ſays he, cries out, Be of good courage, I have overcome the world. But the World will ſoon cry out, Be of good courage, I have overcome Jeſus Chriſt. And indeed, inſtead of Evangelical gifts and graces, ambition, voluptuouſneſs, avarice, audaciouſneſs, vanity, impudence, envy and malice reign triumphant, even amongſt thoſe who pretend to be the light and the ſalt of the world. Ep. 531, 538.

He makes heavy complaints to Roſemund, Moderator of the Univerſity of Louvain, as he had before, that Egmond the Carmelite had railed at him, not like a Divine, but like a Drunkard from a dung-cart, and had accuſed him from the Pulpit of favouring Luther. Eraſmus ſays, that having curſorily run over ſome pages of Luther, he had loved the talents which he had obſerved in him; and had collected thence, that the man might do no ſmall ſervice to the cauſe of Religion, if he employed his abilities to the glory of his Saviour. As many atrocious crimes were charged upon him, and ſome of them manifeſt lies, I wiſhed, ſays he, that, if he were in ſome meaſure faulty, he might rather be amended than deſtroyed. If this is favouring Luther, I frankly own that I favour him; and ſo doth the Pope, and ſo you do all, if you be true Divines, and indeed if you be Chriſtians.

This was ſpeaking like an honeſt man; and no friend to the Church of Rome, who pretended to any ſhare of equity, could condemn this language. But it was not the language of the Inquiſition; it was not the language of the Monks, who breathed nothing beſides revenge, and the deſtruction of heretics: and therefore, after all his complaints againſt Egmond, he could procure no ſatisfaction. He ought to have cried out, that Luther deſerved to be hanged for what he had already done, whether he ſubmitted or not; he ought to have inſulted and abuſed him upon all occaſions, if he hoped to pleaſe the men, who accounted

moderation.

A. D. 1520. moderation and equity to be capital crimes, when extended to a man accounted by them the Leader of the heretical armies. Ep. 539.

In an epiſtle to Reuchlin, after mentioning the Lutheran Tragedy, as he calls it, he adds, that he choſe rather to be a ſpectator than an actor; not that he would refuſe to run ſome riſque for an affair that regarded Chriſtianity, but becauſe it was above his weakneſs. He alſo complains of the Monks, ſworn foes to learning, who always joined [k] Erudition and Lutheraniſm together, which he deſired might always be ſeparated; and of the Germans, who embraced Luther's ſide with too much vehemence. But how could ſome vehemence be avoided? and how could the Lutherans pay compliments and ſhew reverence to perſons, who required nothing leſs than a blind and unlimited obedience, under pain of excommunication, impriſonment, fire and fagot? In vain honeſt Eraſmus acted the Pacifier, and exhorted on one hand the Court of Rome to proceed with more mildneſs, and the Lutherans on the other to behave with more ſubmiſſion and modeſty. The pretenſions of the former were ſo exorbitant, that nothing beſides capital puniſhments could ſupport them; and the Reformers were ſo ſhocked and provoked, and ſo convinced that no compliance would be made to any of their requeſts, that they accounted it a betraying the cauſe of Truth to ſpeak humbly and ſubmiſſively to ſuch incorrigible rulers. It was, as they thought, like exhorting a Caligula and a Nero to clemency, and adviſing the poor ſubjects to compliment ſuch tyrants, to remind them gently of their defects, and humbly to intreat them, that they would be ſo good and gracious as to condeſcend to alter their conduct. Ep. 541.

Oecolampadius

[k] Lovanii quidam non ſemel publicitus dixit apud populum, Linguas ac politiores literas eſſe fontem omnium hæreſeôn, et ob id earum profeſſores fuſtibus ejiciendos ex Academia. T. IX. c. 531.

Oecolampadius ſuſpected, that Eraſmus diſapproved his entering into a Monaſtic life. Eraſmus tells him, that it was not ſo; and that when he treated the Monks as Phariſees, he only meant his own perſecutors, and thoſe who under a pretence of religion were real foes to it. He was willing to ſuppoſe, that Oecolampadius had choſen a ſociety leſs infected than ſome others. Ep. 544. A. D. 1520.

He addreſſed a long and a very accurate and elaborate letter to his friend Campegius, wherein he ſets himſelf principally to defend thoſe which he had written to Luther, and to the Cardinal of Mentz, becauſe they had been printed and tranſmitted to the Pope, to ſet him againſt Eraſmus. He begins with declaring, that he would have gone to Rome, to paſs the winter there, if he had not been hindered by a Congreſs of the Princes of the Empire about that time, at which he had reaſons to be preſent; and that therefore he had deferred his intended journey to the next year. He had a mind, as he ſays, to paſs the remainder of his days at Rome, where learned ſtudies might be purſued, not only with leiſure and tranquillity, but with reputation and honour. This was true enough: but ſuch conditions were to be complied with, as Eraſmus could never have endured; namely, that theſe learned ſtudies ſhould give no ſhadow of offence to the Theology which was taught there; that men of letters ſhould appear zealous friends to that Court, and implacable enemies to its adverſaries; and, laſtly, that they and their writings ſhould be entirely ſubmitted to the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſors and Examiners of books. Theſe politicians, or bigots, who in fact have only permitted the reading of Eraſmus, with a *Donec corrigatur*, that is to ſay, When the beſt things that he had compoſed were eraſed, would never have ſuffered him to print at Rome what he ſet forth at Baſil. So that, as one of the Kings of Macedonia got the nick-name of Δώσων, or, *He who is to give*, becauſe he always promiſed, but never performed; in like manner Eraſmus ſhould have been called at Rome, (as the expected Meſſias of the Jews)

A. D. 1520. Jews) ὁ Ἐλευσόμενος, *He that is to come*; becauſe he always talked of ſetting forth on his journey to Rome, but never accompliſhed it.

He complains, that the Profeſſors of Literature themſelves were too violent in their invectives againſt their illiterate foes; and that, on the other ſide, the Monks, headed by ſome Dominicans and Carmelites, ſtirred heaven and earth to ruin the former, railing againſt them, and blackening them in their Sermons to the populace, as deteſtable heretics. As for himſelf, he would gladly have been a mediator of peace between both; and if he cenſured the latter, he meant only the vitious part of them, and had taken no greater liberties of that kind than St. Jerom had taken before him, who yet was a Monk himſelf. But the worſt of it was, that the number of thoſe, to whom the cenſures of Eraſmus might be applicable, was exceeding great, and that whole bodies of Religious Orders acted according to all the principles which he condemned. It is no wonder then that they were ſo incenſed againſt him, and againſt all thoſe who derided their groſs ignorance, and their ſtubborn attachment to Scholaſtic barbarity.

As to his letter to Luther, he had treated him as one Divine ought to treat another, and had given him ſuch advice as he ſeemed to ſtand in need of. Here, as in many other letters, he begins to ſpeak of Luther with the equity and forbearance of an honeſt man; but in a manner by no means agreeable at Rome, where a zeal was required, which nothing could ſatisfy, except the deſtruction of heretics.

Of all Luther's writings, ſays he, I have hardly read twelve pages, here and there, in a curſory manner; and yet by this little, which I have rather run over than examined, I thought that I could diſcern in him natural talents, and a genius very proper to explain the holy Scriptures according to the manner of the Fathers, and to kindle thoſe ſparks of Evangelical doctrine, from which common cuſtom, and the doctrines of the Schools upon ſpeculations

ſpeculations more ſubtil than uſeful, had departed too far. I heard men of great merit, equally reſpectable for learning and piety, congratulate themſelves for having been acquainted with his books. I ſaw that the more unblameable their behaviour was, and the more approaching to Evangelical purity, the leſs they were irritated againſt him. His moral character was recommended even by ſome, who could not endure his doctrine. As to the ſpirit with which he was animated, and of which God alone can judge with certainty, I choſe rather, as it became me, to think too favourably, than too hardly of it. And, to ſay the plain truth, the Chriſtian world hath been long weary of thoſe teachers, who inſiſt too rigidly upon trifling inventions and human conſtitutions, and begins to thirſt after the pure and living water drawn from the ſources of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles. For this undertaking Luther ſeemed to me fitted by nature, and inflamed with an active zeal to proſecute it. Thus it is that I have favoured Luther; I have favoured the good which I ſaw, or imagined that I ſaw, in him. A. D. 1520.

It is plain enough, that theſe expreſſions ſet Luther in no diſadvantageous light; and that Eraſmus ſpake thus, to ſhew that they did not do juſtice at Rome to this Reformer, and that it would become them to give him at leaſt a fair hearing. Then he mentions the good advice which he had offered alſo to Luther, and this he ſets off and exaggerates as much as ever he can; though in reality this advice amounted to no more, than to warn him that he ſhould act with more caution and moderation; and was not an exhortation to recant, as Leo's Bull commanded him.

As for his letter to the Archbiſhop of Mentz, the only purpoſe of it was, as he ſays, to ſhew, that Luther ought to be confuted by reaſoning, and not overborne by violence. It is the duty of Divines to perſuade, as it is the practice of tyrants to compel. Then he ſhews what pains he had taken to induce the Divines

A. D. 1520. to refute Luther by ſolid arguments, and to employ methods proper to gain him, and not to harden him and ruin him.

All the world, ſays he, have accounted Leo's Bull too ſevere, and not reconcileable with the mild temper of that Pontif, and have obſerved, that they who were commiſſioned to put it in execution have made it ſtill more rigorous. He hath in view Hieronymus Aleander, who went about committing Luther's books to the flames, before a proper anſwer to them had been publiſhed. Now Eraſmus thought that this was a prepoſterous method, and that they ſhould have been firſt refuted, and then burned, if they were ſo fond of burning. Silveſter Prieras had indeed written an anſwer to Luther; but ſo poor an anſwer, that even Luther's warmeſt enemies did not like it. A Minor Frier, called Auguſtin, had ſucceeded ſtill worſe. Some other antagoniſt had alſo entered the liſts to as little purpoſe: but Joannes Turenholt [1] had diſputed publicly at Louvain againſt Luther's ſentiments, avoiding all perſonal ſcurrilities; and Eraſmus commends him as a man of temper, and of abilities.

He declares, that he was determined to adhere to the See of Rome. What connections, ſays he, have I with Luther, or what recompence have I to expect from him, that I ſhould join with him to oppoſe the Church of Rome, which I take to be a true part of the Church Catholic; or to oppoſe the Roman Pontif, who is the Head of the Catholic Church; I, who ſhould be loth to reſiſt the Biſhop of my Dioceſe? I am not ſo impious as to diſſent from the Church, or ſo ungrateful as to diſſent from Leo, of whom I have received uncommon favour and indulgence. Thus Eraſmus endeavoured to ſoften the Romiſh Court, and to diſpoſe it to receive with patience the good advice, which he obliquely and cautiouſly offered. To this he adds, with

[1] His name was Driedo, under which he ſtands in Bayle's Dict. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 479. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 24. Eraſmus mentions, with approbation, ſome work of his upon the Scriptures, T. V. c. 1054.

with ſimplicity and ſincerity enough, If the corrupted manners of that Court call for a powerful and for a ſpeedy cure, it is not for me, or one like me, to adminiſter the harſh remedy. I had rather content myſelf with the preſent ſtate of human affairs, ſuch as it is, than to ſee new tumults and commotions excited, which often produce other effects than we can foreſee. A. D. 1520.

Eraſmus was afraid that Luther's attempted reformation would have ill ſucceſs, and thought it not proper to engage himſelf in it: and yet, though he had ſome reſpect for the Romiſh party, he could not diſſemble his ſentiments, that the Church ſtood much in need of amendment. If he had lived long enough to ſee a Reformation eſtabliſhed in Germany, France, England, Scotland, and the United Provinces, he would not have talked in that deſponding way.

I never taught any erroneous doctrines, ſays he, that I know of, and never will. Nor will I be an aſſociate or a leader in any tumults. [m] Let others affect martyrdom; for my part, I hold myſelf unworthy of that honour.

He concludes with diſapproving the vehemence of the German Reformers, and the exceſſive rigour of Leo X; and in the whole letter he talks rather like a neutral man, than like a friend to the Court of Rome, though he was reſolved to hold communion with it. By this conduct and theſe reflections he afterwards gave great offence to the Lutherans: and though his ſentiments were as little approved of at Rome as theirs, yet, of the two, the Rulers of that Church choſe rather that he ſhould cenſure their proceedings as he thought fit, than that he ſhould throw himſelf into the arms of the Lutherans; and they uſed him the more tenderly, for fear leſt he ſhould take up ſuch a reſolution.

As for the Monks, they would have been glad at heart to have ſeen him a Deſerter, and lodged in the Enemy's Quarters,

[m] Affectent alii martyrium; ego me non arbitror hoc honore dignum.

A. D. 1520. becauſe he would have leſs incommoded them as a Lutheran, than as a Catholic. I know, ſays he, that ſome perſons hate me, not becauſe they take me for a Lutheran, but becauſe they are vexed that I am not one: but theſe men are acceptable only to ſilly women, to bigots, and to blockheads. Eraſmus is abhorred by none, thoſe excepted who abhor uſeful learning and true religion, and who are pampered and enriched by the ſtupidity of the populace. It is not needful to ſay, who theſe men were; but whoſoever they were, they did more ſervice to the Court of Rome, than all the Scholars of Europe put together, and therefore were far more dear to that Court.

They in their turn exclaimed againſt Eraſmus in all times and places, and particularly in their Sermons. They required of him to write againſt Luther, and declared, that till then they would hold him for a Lutheran: but he thanked them, and transferred the taſk over to them; it being highly reaſonable, that they, who were eternally talking againſt Luther, ſhould alſo ſometimes write againſt him. But they only wanted to plague Eraſmus, whom they could not endure for his invectives and railleries againſt their ſuperſtitious devotions. If he had encountered Luther, that would not have ſatisfied them, unleſs at the ſame time he had retracted every thing that he had ſaid, which gave offence to the Monks: and when at laſt he attacked Luther, not one of them ever thanked him, or thought the better of him for it. Ep. 547, 550.

Eraſmus gives More a [n] ludicrous and burleſque deſcription of a diſpute, which he had with Nicolas Egmond, at the houſe of [o] Roſemundus, the Rector of Louvain. The iſſue of the conference was, that they parted as ill friends as they met; and the Monk remained under a ſettled perſuaſion, that Eraſmus was a ſad fellow, and a favourer of Luther. Ep. 554.

Afterwards

[n] Appendix.

[o] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 330. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 26.

Afterwards he publiſhed a long letter addreſſed to *his moſt inveterate Detractor*. This man was, it ſeems, a Dominican, one Vincentius. A. D. 1520.

In it he defends himſelf extremely well againſt their little cavils, and banters them agreeably, and cenſures with much vivacity and vehemence their bad conduct, and their frantic zeal. By way of inſult and contempt, they called Eraſmus *Poet* and *Orator*. I deſerve not that honour, ſays he; but they, who know the true merit of a Poet, and of an Orator, look upon you as upon ſwine rather than men, for raving at this ſtupid rate. Deſpiſe [p] poetry as much as you pleaſe, which is ſo little known to you, that you cannot even ſpell its name; but let me tell you, that out of a log of wood it would be eaſier to cut two excellent *Thomiſts*, than one tolerable *Poet* or *Orator*. But, after having publiſhed this ſmart and witty letter, Eraſmus could no more hope to reconcile himſelf to the Monks, than Luther to Pope Leo, after having called him Whore of Babylon, and Antichriſt, and publickly burned his Bull. Ep. 562.

Eraſmus ſent a very good letter to Germanus [q] Brixius, one of his French friends, who had written an abuſive thing againſt More, called [r] *Anti-Morus*, and who was a very child compared to

[p] Eraſmus calls it *poëtriam*, to imitate the barbarous Latin of the Monks, who called it ſo.

[q] Baillet III. 42. Rooper's Life of More, p. 175, 176. P. Jovius Elog. p. 215. Sammarthan. Elog. L. I. p. 7.

[r] Brixius a Thoma Moro Britannorum doctiſſimo, in deſcribenda unius navis Gallicæ cum duabus Anglicis pugna, verſibus virulentis atrociter et improbe laceſſitus, ex illo certamine doctorum omnium judicio facile victor evaſit. Non illuſtri quidem triumpho, cum ad Poëtarum gloriam, qui tempeſtate illa paſſim in Italia florebant, neuter adhuc ſatis accederet. *Sammarthanus.*

It is very true, that neither More nor Brixius were to be compared with the Italian poets of that age. The reſt of his remark is partial to the laſt degree.

The ſtate and merits of this controverſy may be ſeen in an elegant and ſpirited Epiſtle of More to Eraſmus, which, as it is not in the Edition of Leyden, we will inſert in the Appendix.

A. D. 1520. to More, as Eraſmus civilly, though freely, inſinuates to him, and launches out into the [s] praiſes of his Engliſh friend.

" Baillet [t] confeſſes, that he knew nothing concerning the *Anti-*
" *Morus* of Brixius, except what he had learned from Scævola
" Sammarthanus, who, in his Elogium of Brixius, ſays, that he
" had manifeſtly the advantage over More, who in ſome ſpiteful
" verſes had cruelly and maliciouſly attacked his Deſcription of a
" naval fight between the French and the Engliſh.

" This is a very ſuperficial account: the fact ſtands thus;
" Brixius, in 1513, compoſed a poem called *Chordigera*, where,
" in three hundred hexameter verſes, he deſcribed a battle fought
" that year, on the day of St. Laurence, by a French ſhip called
" *La Cordeliére*, and an Engliſh ſhip called *The Regent*. More,
" who at that time was not in the high ſtation to which he
" aſcended afterwards, compoſed ſeveral Epigrams in deriſion of
" this poem. Brixius, piqued at this affront, revenged himſelf by
" the *Anti-Morus*, an Elegy of about 400 verſes, in which he
" ſeverely cenſured all the faults which he thought he had found in
" the poems of More. Yet he kept this piece of Satire by him
" for

[s] Ingenium eſt prorſus incomparabile, memoria feliciſſima, dicendi facultas promptiſſima. A puero feliciter imbibit Latinas literas, Græcas juvenis, idque ſub doctiſſimis præceptoribus, cum aliis, tum præcipue Thoma Linacro, et Gulielmo Grocino. In ſacris Literis eo progreſſus eſt, ut nec magnis Theologis ſit contemnendus. Liberales diſciplinas non infeliciter attigit. In Philoſophia ultra mediocritatem progreſſus eſt. Ne quid interim dicam de profeſſione Juris, præſertim Britannici, in qua ille vix ulli cedit. Prudentia rara et inaudita: ob quas res Rex cordatiſſimus non conquievit, donec hominem ad penitiſſima ſua conſilia pertraxerit. Itaque, mi Brixi, plane friget cavillum illud tuum, quod ſubinde repetis, in *Morus*. Nullus eſt illi tam inimicus, quin prudentiæ laudem affatim tribuat. Nam quod ubique videri vis Morum ex alto deſpicere, ac velut pro delectamento habere, vereor ne parum probaturi ſint graves et eruditi viri. Nam ut te numero inter eximios, ita non video qua parte Morus ſit tibi contemnendus, ſive fortunam ſpectes, ſive naturæ dotes, ſive ingenium, ſive mores, ſive quodcunque doctrinæ genus, &c. Ep. 511.

[t] La Monnoye, Menagian. III. 115.

" for a good while, declaring, that if he ſhould conſent to the A. D. 1520.
" publication, it would be purely to comply with his friends,
" who remonſtrated to him, that compoſitions of this kind loſt
" much of their bloom by coming out too late. There are three
" Editions of the *Anti-Morus*. The two firſt are of Paris; one
" publiſhed by the Author himſelf in 1520; the other in 1560,
" in the ſecond Tome of the *Flores Epigrammatum*, collected by
" *Leodegarius a Quercu*, in French, *Léger du Chêne*. The third
" is of Francfort, in the *Corpus* of Latin Poems compoſed by
" Frenchmen, and collected by *Ranutius Gerus*, the anagram of
" *Janus Gruterus*. To theſe might be added a fourth, if the
" report had been true, which is mentioned by Eraſmus, that
" More deſpiſed this poem ſo exceſſively, that he intended to
" print it himſelf. I fancy that he did not proceed ſo far, though
" in a long and moſt ſevere letter againſt Brixius, he tells Eraſ-
" mus that he had ſuch a deſign. Claude du Verdier, in his
" *Cenſio in Auctores*, ſpeaks largely of this quarrel of More and
" Brixius. The latter, all things conſidered, was certainly the
" [t] aggreſſor, as More manifeſtly ſhewed in a long and a ſmart
" letter which he wrote to him.

" The name of Brixius, in French, was neither *Briſſe* nor
" *Brice*, but *de Brie*. So Rabelais, his contemporary, and his
" familiar acquaintance, calls him. They, who date his death
" in 1550, or 1540, or 1546, are all miſtaken. He [u] died, to
" put it at the lateſt, in 1538, &c."

See More's letter to Eraſmus. Ep. 555.

Bilibaldus

[t] He was ſo; for he gave a falſe account of this ſea fight, and inſulted and calumniated the whole Engliſh nation.

[u] Seneſcentem, ſed adhuc plane robuſtum, invaſit atræ bilis morbus, ob quium ex accumulato multo auro dimidiam fere partem furto ſibi ſubtractam miſer ſenſiſſet, ut credi par eſt, a domeſticis, quibus nec vitam quidem poſtea credidit, ſic ut in itinere juxta Ligerim apud Carnutes expirarit. *Jovius*.

A. D. 1520. Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus exhorts Eraſmus never to write any more anſwers to Lee, and to ſuch inſignificant ſcribblers as Lee, who only wanted to vent their malice, or get a name, by contending with him. The advice was good, and I would always both give it and follow it, upon the like occaſions. Pirckheimerus ſpeaks of the Monks with diſdain, and of Luther with civility.

It appears, that moſt of the German *Literati* ſided with their Countryman Eraſmus, and abhorred Lee, and made it in ſome ſort a national quarrel, and a party affair. Ep. 504, 518, 521, 561.

In an Epiſtle to Georgius Spalatinus, Eraſmus commends George Duke of Saxony, who preſented him with two medals; and wiſhes, according to cuſtom, that Luther had ſhewed more moderation. He alſo wrote a letter of thanks to this Prince, who had ſent him a piece of ſilver, as it was taken out of the mine, Ep. 512, 517.

The 526th Ep. of Eraſmus is to his good friend Burbank.

" [x] William Burbank was of Cambridge, and Secretary to " Cardinal Wolſey, and promoted to the Prebend of South " Grantham, in the Church of Sarum. Eraſmus knew him at " Rome, and gratefully owns that he had received many favours " from him."

Ep. 552 is to Cnoph, an Eccleſiaſtic, who lived in the neighbourhood of Ruſſia, and is inſcribed *Andreæ [y] Cnophæ, Sacerdoti optimo.*

In

[x] Knight, p. 46.

[y] Eraſmus laudat in eo mentem piam et avidum Chriſtianæ doctrinæ ſtudium.—— Subjungit acrem in Clerum cenſuram, his verbis: *Atque adeo demiror*, &c. *Noſtri mores partim in cauſa ſunt, quo minus multi ſe conferant ad factionem noſtram*, &c. Si tres Cnophii literæ, quarum Eraſmus in ſuis mentionem fecit, extarent, conſtare liquidius ex illis poſſet de conſilio ejus, quod tantopere Eraſmus probavit. Certum tamen eſt, Cnophium, Anno 1521, cum Luthero conſenſiſſe; unde colligi poſſet, factionem quam Eraſmus profitetur, eandem fuiſſe. Sed is duplicem habbat, prout commodum erat profitendar uſ alibi notatum eſt. *Seckendorf.* L. I. p. 183.

In a letter to More he earneſtly recommends [z] Goclenius to his favour and friendſhip, as one of the moſt deſerving perſons in the world. Ep. 556. A. D. 1520.

" In the year 1520, Hieronymus Aleander, the Pope's Nuncio, " ſolicited the Emperor, and Frederic Elector of Saxony, to " puniſh Luther. Frederic was then at Cologn, and Eraſmus " came there, and was conſulted by Frederic upon this occaſion. " He replied to the Elector in a ludicrous manner: [a] Luther, " ſaid he, hath committed two unpardonable crimes; he hath " touched the Pope upon the crown, and the Monks upon the " belly. He then added, in a ſerious manner, that the doctrine " of Luther was unexceptionable. He cenſured the Pope's Bull " as cruel and tyrannical, and accuſed [b] Aleander of having forged " it, and of going beyond his commiſſion in executing it; upon " which Aleander renounced all friendſhip with him, and held " him in abhorrence. He ſolicited the Miniſters of the Em- " peror to favour the cauſe of Luther, and to perſuade him not " to begin the exerciſe of his Imperial Dignity with an act of " violence. To Frederic he preſented the following [c] Axioms " for his conſideration:

" That the ſource of all theſe diſſenſions was the hatred " which ſome perſons entertained for the *Belles Lettres*:

" That only two Univerſities had pretended to condemn " Luther:

" That Luther made very reaſonable demands, by offering to " diſpute publicly once more:

[z] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 203. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 123.

[a] Seckendorf Hiſt. Luth. Pallav. L. I. c. 23. Melanchthon Vit. Luth. Literæ Aleand. ad Card. Med.

[b] That Eraſmus accuſed Aleander of forgery, depends upon the report of Aleander; and Eraſmus ſays of him, that he was *homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non ſuperſtitioſe verax.* Ep. 971.

[c] Axiomata Eraſmi inter Opera Luth.

2

A. D. 1520. " That being a man void of ambition, he was the leſs to be " ſuſpected of hereſy:

" That they, who condemned him, deſerved to be condemned " themſelves, for advancing propoſitions offenſive to pious ears:

" That the Pope's unmerciful Bull was diſapproved by all " honeſt men.

" The Pope's agents, finding Eraſmus ſo obſtinately bent to " defend Luther, endeavoured to win him over by the offer " of Abbeys, or Biſhopricks: but he anſwered them; [d] Luther " is a man of too great abilities, for me to encounter; and I learn " more from one page of his, than from all the works of Tho- " mas Aquinas.

" The Diet of Worms aſſembled A. D. 1521, and Aleander " made an eloquent harangue of three hours, in behalf of the " Pope, and againſt Luther. The reſolution of the aſſembly " was, that the books of Luther ſhould be burnt, and himſelf " proſcribed as an Heretic. Upon this Eraſmus was greatly " diſſatisfied, and publiſhed his complaints to all the world.

" And yet at the ſame time he wrote very reſpectful letters to " the Pope, and received from him very obliging anſwers. " Aleander, who accounted him an inveterate foe to the See of " Rome, was amazed at this epiſtolary correſpondence, and " teſtified his ſurpriſe to the Pope; who thanked him for his in- " formations, and told him, that he was well appriſed of the " inſincerity of Eraſmus, but thought it beſt to diſſemble with " him, and comply with the times.

" The Lutherans acknowledged their obligations to Eraſmus " for theſe favours, by a picture, in which Luther and Hutten " were repreſented carrying the Ark of God, and Eraſmus, like " another David, dancing before them with all his might. Alean- " der was hung up by the heels, and the Pope and his Cardinals " were ſpectators of the ſhew." *Critique de l'Apol. d'Eraſme.*

This

[d] Melch. Adam. Vit. Luth.

This argument of Lutheran gratitude towards Eraſmus is none of the ſtrongeſt: for who knows not that ſuch ſort of Prints are often made and publiſhed, not ſo much out of affection or hatred, as to get drink, and turn the peny? A. D. 1520.

Seckendorf hath given us a more exact and circumſtantial account of this remarkable tranſaction, from [e] Spalatinus, who was preſent there, and from other authors, and of the behaviour of Eraſmus on that important occaſion; which was indeed a behaviour very favourable to Luther, and to his cauſe.

" Pallavicini (ſays Seckendorf) highly extols the induſtry and " activity of Hieronymus Aleander, the Pope's Nuncio to the " Emperor, by which he cauſed the edifying ſpectacle of burn- " ing the books of Luther to be exhibited to the public, and " with abundance of arguments defends this wholſome ſeverity. " He treats Eraſmus in particular, and in general all thoſe who " cenſured ſuch proceedings, and ſaid, that falſe doctrines could " not be ſuppreſſed that way, as favourers of Luther, that is to " ſay, as heretics. Sleidan hath given us a good account of " theſe tranſactions in his ſecond book. The two Nuncios were " Marinus Caracciolus, and Hieronymus Aleander; the firſt a " Neapolitan, the other a native of [f] Carnia, according to Palla- " vicini; but Eraſmus calls him [g] *Mottanum*. They were both " afterwards made Cardinals, and are exceſſively praiſed by Palla- " vicini. Aleander had belonged to the Court of Alexander VI, " and had been Secretary to the famous Cæſar Borgia; a ſervant " fit for ſuch a maſter: afterwards he became Chancellor of " Liege. Luther hath thus deſcribed him:

[e] Melchior Adam. See above, p. 109.

[f] *Carni* are a people of Italy, belonging to the Republic of Venice. *Baudrand.*

[g] Nachtgallus, of Stratſburg, calls him, *clariſſimum virum, Aleandrum Mottenſem, præceptorem meum.* Maittaire II. 118. Aldus Manutius alſo calls him *Motenſem.* Ib. 163. Natus eſt Aleander Mottæ, in Carnia. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Sabini.*

A. D. 1520. " [h] At this time came Aleander, the greateſt man upon earth, " in his own opinion; not only for his ſkill in languages, (for " the [i] Hebrew is his native tongue, the Greek he acquired be- " times, and the Latin he hath taught as a Profeſſor) but for the " antiquity of his race. He is born a Jew; and the Jews, we " know, boaſt immoderately of deſcending from old father Abra- " ham. Whether he is baptized, is uncertain: but aſſuredly he " is not a Phariſee, for he believeth not the reſurrection, and " lives like one, who is perſuaded that ſoul and body periſh to- " gether, indulging himſelf in every looſe inclination. He is " ſoon provoked, and paſſionate even to frenzy; inſatiably covetous, " and equally luſtful; arrogant to the laſt degree, and eaten up " with pride and vanity; yet too effeminate to acquire reputation " by any accurate and laboured compoſition, and too wicked to " chuſe an honeſt and uſeful ſubject to write upon. His pre- " tended profeſſion of Chriſtianity hath been ſucceſsful to him, " and gives him an opportunity to try if he can ſet up his Moſes, " and obſcure the glory of Jeſus Chriſt, which in this age be- " gins to ſhine forth again, whilſt ſuperſtition droops, and the " ſenſeleſs and peſtilent traditions of men grow in diſgrace. " Armed with the Pope's Inſtructions, this wretch is now lately " come forth, to deſtroy, if he can, every thing that is good.

" [k] Hutten alſo attacked Aleander with fierce invectives.

" Pallavicini, paſſing over, I know not why, theſe cenſures of " Luther, takes notice of ſome other reproaches which were caſt " on Aleander.

" Aleander then, whatſoever character be due to him, was " ſingled out to carry on the proſecution againſt Luther, and " joined

[h] This may ſerve as a ſpecimen of Luther's polemic ſtyle.

[i] That reproach was often caſt in his teeth by his enemies; but it ſeems not to have been true. See Bayle.

[k] Hutten threatened Aleander, that he would cut his throat, if he ever had a fair opportunity; and would probably have been as good as his word, if he had met with him.

" joined for that purpoſe to Marinus Caracciolus; and at an A. D. 1520.
" Aſſembly held in the Church of the Minorites at Cologn, in
" November [1], addreſſed himſelf to Frideric Elector of Saxony,
" and exhibited the Pope's Letters; and in a long ſpeech, con-
" firming the things which had been ſaid by his Collegue, in-
" ſiſted, that the books of Luther ſhould be burned, and himſelf
" either put to death, or ſeized and ſent to the Pope. The
" Elector, by the mouth of Bernard, Biſhop of Trent, who was
" preſent, deſired a delay for a few days; and then by his Coun-
" ſellors gave an anſwer, the ſum of which is:

" That the Elector, and his brother John of Saxony, paid
" all due reverence to the Papal dignity; that he had nothing to
" do with the cauſe of Luther; that he had ſent Luther to Augſ-
" burg, to Cardinal Cajetan; that he had afterwards given a
" reply to the Cardinal, in which nothing could be cenſured;
" that he once was about to diſmiſs Luther from his Academy
" at Wittenberg, if Miltitius, the Pope's Nuncio, had not oppo-
" ſed it himſelf; that when the Pope had committed the cauſe
" to the Elector of Treves, Luther was ready to preſent himſelf
" before him, but could not obtain a ſafe conduct; that many
" virtuous and learned men judged favourably of Luther; and
" that he, the Elector, was not convinced that his books deſerved
" to be burned; that therefore he deſired there might be a pre-
" vious hearing, and the cauſe committed to equitable, learned,
" pious, and unſuſpected judges; that Luther, if he taught falſe
" doctrines, ought to be confuted by ſolid arguments taken
" from the holy Scriptures; and that then the Elector would act
" as it became an obedient ſon to our moſt holy Mother, the
" Church.

" To this the Nuncios ſaid many things in reply; and Alean-
" der particularly obſerved, that the Commiſſion, given to the
" Elector of Treves, expired as ſoon as the Pontif had taken the

" affair

[1] Melchior Adam. Vit. Luth. p. 54.

A. D. 1520. " affair into his own hands, who was now the ſole judge and " decider; that it would be as unreaſonable to deſire the Pope to " give up the cauſe, and transfer it to others, as it would be to " deſire of the Elector of Saxony, that he ſhould ſuffer a cauſe " between himſelf, and one of his own ſubjects, to be referred " to the King of France.

" But the Elector ſtill perſiſting in his declaration, the Nuncios " ſaid at laſt, that they would proceed, according to their In- " ſtructions, to burn Luther's works: and Aleander, finding that " he could not carry his point, choſe to eat his words, and to " contradict what he had declared before; and putting on the " Fox, that he might not ſeem to have received a repulſe, he " ſaid, that the Pope had no deſign to attack the perſon of Luther, " and to ſtain his hands with Luther's blood.

" Spalatinus, who was preſent, hath related many things con- " cerning this conference, and alſo concerning Eraſmus, who at " that time was at Cologn. He ſays;

" When Charles V had been juſt made Emperor, and was at " Cologn, Frideric Elector of Saxony, who was there alſo, ſent " to Eraſmus, deſiring that he would come to his lodgings. " Eraſmus accordingly waited upon him. It was in December; " and he, and the Prince, and Spalatinus, converſed together, " ſtanding by the fire-ſide. The Elector propoſed to Eraſmus, " that he ſhould ſpeak in the Dutch, which was his native lan- " guage; but Eraſmus choſe rather to ſpeak Latin: and the " Elector underſtood Latin, though he anſwered him by Spala- " tinus. The Elector then deſired Eraſmus freely to give him " his opinion concerning Luther. Eraſmus, ſays Spalatinus, " preſſing his lips cloſe together, ſtood muſing, and delaying to " give an anſwer; whilſt Frideric, as it was his way when he " was diſcourſing earneſtly with any one, fixed his eyes ſteddily " upon him, and ſtared him full in the face. At laſt Eraſmus

" brake

" brake out into theſe words: [m] Luther hath been guilty of two A. D. 1520.
" crimes; he hath touched the Pope upon the crown, and the
" Monks upon the belly. Spalatinus adds, in another place,
" that the Elector ſmiled at the expreſſion, and that he called it
" afterwards to remembrance, a little before his death. He ſays,
" that Eraſmus at that time judged ſo favourably of Luther's
" doctrine, that when he had taken leave of the Elector, and
" Spalatinus had conducted him back to the houſe where he
" then lodged, he immediately ſat down, and wrote ſome Axioms,
" as he called them, and gave them to Spalatinus. But ſoon
" after he ſent a letter to Spalatinus, intreating him earneſtly to
" return him the manuſcript, leſt Aleander ſhould get a ſight of
" it, and do him an ill office. The ſubſtance of theſe Axioms
" was:

" That good men, and lovers of the Goſpel, were thoſe who
" had taken the leaſt offence at Luther; that they were much
" diſpleaſed at the cruelty of the Bull, ſo unworthy of the mild
" and merciful Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt; that two Univerſities had
" indeed condemned Luther, but had not confuted him; that his
" requeſt was very reaſonable, to be tried by unſuſpected Judges;
" that he could not be ſuſpected of evil deſigns, ſince he ſought
" for no profit and advantage to himſelf; that the Pope was more
" ſolicitous about his own glory, than about the honour of Jeſus
" Chriſt; that the treatiſes hitherto written againſt Luther were
" diſapproved even by thoſe who diſſented from Luther; that
" the world was now inflamed with a vehement love and long-
" ing for Evangelical Truth, and that ſuch a general diſpoſition
" was not to be odiouſly checked and oppreſſed; and, laſtly, that
" it was very improper for Charles to begin the exerciſe of his
" Imperial power with inauſpicious acts of ſeverity and violence.

" The

[m] Lutherus peccavit in duobus; nempe, quod tetigit coronam Pontificis, et ventres Monachorum.

A. D. 1520. " The remarks of Melanchthon upon theſe tranſactions, and " upon the conduct of Frideric, are judicious and important.

" So far, ſays he, was Luther from being ſuborned and inſti- " gated by the Courtiers and Princes, as the Duke of Brunſwick " affirmed, that, on the contrary, that moſt excellent Prince, " the Elector of Saxony, was much concerned at the foreſight " of the conteſts and diſorders which would enſue, though the " firſt attacks made by Luther were upon very plauſible grounds. " By his own ſagacity and judiciouſneſs, and by long experience " in the art of reigning, he knew well how dangerous all changes " were to the government. But, being truly religious, and one " who feared God, he conſulted not the dictates of mere worldly " and political wiſdom, and was determined to prefer the Glory " of God to all other conſiderations, and at the hazard of any " public or private detriment. He knew that it was a moſt hor- " rible profaneneſs to oppoſe the Truth plainly ſeen and known. " He had ſtudiouſly examined Luther's works, and accurately " weighed his proofs and teſtimonies, and would not ſuffer " doctrines to be ſmothered and oppreſſed, which he thought " to be the word of God; and the holy Spirit of God ſupported " and aſſiſted him in theſe noble reſolutions, ſo that though the " Emperors Maximilian and Charles, and the Roman Pontifs, " urged him, not without menaces, to hinder Luther from " preaching and writing in his dominions, he was not in the " leaſt ſhaken and intimidated. Yet he preſumed not to rely " entirely upon his own judgment concerning an affair of ſo " great importance, but took the advice of other Princes, and " of men venerable for age, experience, learning, and probity. " Amongſt others, he conſulted Eraſmus, at the congreſs of " Cologn, which Charles had appointed after his coronation. " He ſent for Eraſmus, and converſed with him very affably and " familiarly. I had rather, ſaid he to Eraſmus, that the earth " ſhould open and ſwallow me up, than be found to have been

" the

" the favourer and the patron of hereſies: but if Luther hath A. D. 1520.
" pointed out to us groſs and dangerous errors, which ought to
" be corrected, and hath ſhewed us the true doctrine of Jeſus
" Chriſt, I will not be an oppoſer of the truth, whatſoever miſ-
" chief my conduct may draw upon me or mine. I am not
" willing to truſt entirely to my own judgment in points of ſuch
" moment, but deſirous to hear the opinion of the ſkilful and
" the learned. Therefore I intreat and adjure you, that you
" would freely and impartially communicate to me your ſenti-
" ments upon the whole affair. Eraſmus, beginning his reply
" in an ironical way, flung out a jeſt upon the Pope's crown,
" and the Monks bellies; and then told the Elector ſeriouſly,
" that Luther had juſtly cenſured many abuſes and errors, and
" that the welfare of the Church required a reformation of them;
" that Luther's doctrine was right in the main; but that it had
" not been delivered by him with a proper temper, and with due
" moderation. Laurentius, Biſhop of Wurtſburg, wrote a letter
" to the Elector containing the ſame ſentiments with thoſe of
" Eraſmus; and the Biſhop added, that ſuch was the opinion of
" many learned men, whom he had conſulted upon this occaſion.

" It is ſaid, in the Relations of Spalatinus, that the Pope's Agents
" made an offer to Eraſmus of one of the beſt Biſhopricks, if he
" would write againſt Luther; and that he replied, Luther is ſo
" profound a Divine, that I do not pretend even to comprehend
" him thoroughly; and ſo great a man, that I learn more from
" one page in his books, than from all Thomas Aquinas.

" But it ſhould be obſerved, that Eraſmus in none of his
" writings hath ſaid thus much. He only ſaid, that he might
" have obtained a Biſhopriek, if he would have encountered Lu-
" ther. In a letter to his friend Bombaſius, who lived at Rome,
" he aſſigns other cauſes for which he declined the controverſy.
" As to his ſayings at Cologn, he kept them ſecret, or never
" acknowledged them: and it appears from one of Luther's

A. D. 1520. " letters, that both Luther and Eraſmus were diſpleaſed, when " theſe ſentiments of the latter were made public at Leipſic, " with a deſign to render them both odious.

" What Pallavicini hath related concerning Eraſmus is worthy " of notice, namely, that he held the Pope's Bull to be a forgery, " and would not be convinced of the contrary, till Aleander gave " him the Bull to look at and examine; and that he went about, " like a Nicodemus, by night to the Princes, and to their friends, " to alienate their affections from the Pope and from Aleander, " telling them that the Bull had been extorted, contrary to the " Pope's inclinations, by the artifices of malevolent perſons; and " that, in a converſation with Aleander, he was very preſſing " that the reſolution to burn Luther's books might be dropped, " or at leaſt retarded. It is probable, that theſe accounts were " collected from the reports given out by Aleander. In the letters " of Eraſmus, it only appears that he thought that Leo had been " induced by others to publiſh his Bull with too much precipi- " tation. We have a letter of his to Conrad Peutinger, the Em- " peror's Counſellor, written at this very time from Cologn, in " which he recommends to him Joannes Faber, the Dominican, " and applauds his ſcheme: and from this Epiſtle we can judge " of his ſentiments with more certainty, than from his obliging " converſation with the Elector of Saxony, or from the jealous " ſurmiſes of Aleander.

" The truth is, that Eraſmus ſought a middle way to put ſome " end to theſe conteſts, as he [n] declares in the above-mentioned " letter.

[n] Ex levioribus initiis ſæpe nata ſunt horrenda mundi diſſidia. Ac mea ſententia, hic quoque verum eſt, quod ſcripſit Marcus Tullius, Pacem vel iniquam bello æquiſſimo potiorem eſſe. Ac jam nunc fabula longius progreſſa eſt, quam velim; et tamen adhuc opinor malum eſſe medicabile, certe ſanabilius eſt, quam ſi quibus cœpit auctibus longius etiam provehatur. Sic autem ſanari cupiam, ne malum ad tempus ſuppreſſum, poſt majore cum diſcrimine recrudeſcat: quod ſolet uſu venire medicis, qui potione propellunt febrem, non ante purgatis venis,

" letter. He exclaims againſt thoſe, who, in his opinion, at- A. D. 1520.
" tacked Luther principally with a view to deſtroy all literature
" along with him. He complains, that Luther wrote with too
" much aſperity and acrimony; and expreſſeth his fears, that
" truth will ſuffer by being defended in ſo indecent a manner.
" He adds, that the Roman Court was held in execration in
" many countries; and that no good was to be expected, if this
" affair were put into the hands of men, who had nothing leſs
" in view, and at heart, than the glory of our Saviour. Then
" he * breaks out into words, which look like a prophecy, and
" declares, that the Counſel of God ſhould ſtand faſt for ever,
" and that the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhould proſper, and prevail over

venis, unde febris ſcatet; aut qui cicatrice obducunt vulnus, nondum ſatis educto pure. Quibuſdam videtur optimum factu, ut res omnis ſævitia coërceatur, a quibus nec Faber admodum diſſentit, niſi metueret ne parum feliciter cedat auſteritas. Ait, non ſatis eſſe fortiter huc tendere, quo vocat animi voluntas; plurima circumſpicienda ſunt. Primum ut ſic conſulatur dignitati et auctoritati Romani Pontificis, cui merito favent omnes, ut Chriſti Vicario ſummo, qui Chriſtum ex animo diligunt, ne quid jacturæ patiatur Evangelica veritas. Neque dubito, quin hoc animo ſit Leo noſter, ut tum demum ſe glorioſum eſſe putet, ſi doctrinam Principis ſui viderit ubique florere. Negat hoc tantum eſſe ſpectandum, quid mereatur Lutherus, aut ſi qui Luthero favent, ſed quid conducat publicæ orbis tranquillitati. Magni refert, qui manum admoveant huic malo, et quibus remediis curetur.

* Saxum illud hinc atque hinc tundi poteſt, loco moveri non poteſt, cui inſcriptum eſt illud myſticum elogium: NOVIT DOMINUS, QUI SUNT IPSIUS. Quicquid a ſpiritu Chriſti proficiſcitur, non poteſt humanis præſidiis opprimi, quantumvis prematur: quicquid humanis conſiliis tentatur, temporarium eſt, quantumvis ardentibus ſtudiis agatur, quantumvis operoſo molimine ad perpetuitatem communiatur. Mei ſimilium non eſt, de Pontificum diplomatis judicare. Erant tamen, qui in Bulla, quam attulit Nuncius Pontificius, manſuetudinem iſtam deſiderarent, dignam eo qui mitiſſimi Chriſti vices primarias gerit in terris, dignam hujus Leonis ingenio, multo hactenus placidiſſimo; quod tamen ipſi non imputant, ſed inſtigatoribus. Jam ut hac, inquit, ſævitia maxime aboleantur libri Lutherani, ut ipſe etiam tollatur e medio; metuendum eſt, ne malum exaſperetur magis, quam finiatur, et pro uno ſublato exoriantur plures, donec res ad certamen et ſchiſma deducatur.

A. D. 1520. " all human devices, and all the efforts of its worldly-wiſe
" enemies.

" Laſtly, He gives an [p] account of the ſcheme for a pacifi-
" cation projected by Faber.

" In the *Acta Lovanienſium*, there are many paſſages concern-
" ing Aleander, Eraſmus, Leo's Bull, and the Divines of Lou-
" vain, which agree in the main with the things contained in
" the Epiſtles of Eraſmus.

" At the time of the Diet of Worms was publiſhed a ſmall
" Treatiſe, now very ſcarce, in which are the following parti-
" culars:

" The Count of Naſſau, Governor of Flanders, Brabant, and
" Holland, ſaid to the Divines at the Hague, Go, and preach
" the Goſpel in ſincerity and truth, like Luther. — The Acade-
" mics of Louvain complained to Margaret, the Emperor's
" ſiſter, Governeſs of the Netherlands, that Luther by his wri-
" tings was ſubverting Chriſtianity. Who is this Luther? ſaid
" ſhe. They replied, He is an illiterate Monk. Is he ſo? ſaid
" ſhe: Then you, who are very learned and numerous, write
" againſt this illiterate Monk; and ſurely the world will pay more
" regard to many ſcholars, than to one blockhead.—At the Em-
" peror's table, mention being made of Luther, Ravenſtein ſaid,
" Here is one Chriſtian ariſen amongſt us, at laſt, after four
" hundred years; and the Pope wants to kill him. Our teachers
" at Louvain by dint of money obtained the burning of Luther's
" books. The pile was kindled, and great was the concourſe
" round about it, and the Students and others came, bringing
" their

[p] Cenſet igitur Faber noſter rei ſummam arbitris doctis, integris, et ab omni ſuſpicione alienis delegandam, non quod Romanus Pontifex ſit cogendus in ordinem, et alieno ſubjiciendus arbitrio, ſed quod exiſtimet illius pietatem hoc ſponte volentemque facturum, ſi cognorit ad publicam Chriſtianæ religionis tranquillitatem conducere. Sed hujus conſilii viam ipſe tibi copioſius exponet coram: quæ ſi probabitur, adjunges tuæ prudentiæ conſilium, ut in Wormatiæ Conventu ſtatuatur aliquid, quod omnibus bonis approbetur. Ep. 542.

" their books to be burned. And what books, think ye? Not A. D. 1520.
" thoſe of Martin, but *Sermones Diſcipuli*, *Tartaretus*, *Dormi*
" *Secure*, and ſuch ſort of Monkiſh traſh: ſo that more of their
" own good friends, and fewer of Martin's works were committed
" to the flames, than they imagined.—Julius Pflug, writing from
" Italy to Moſellanus, told him, that the diſciples of Martin,
" even in Rome and Bononia, were more numerous, than thoſe
" of Scotus and of the School-men.

" Spalatinus, in the above-mentioned relation, informs us, that
" one of the Eccleſiaſtic Electors ſaid to him at Cologn, Would
" to God that Luther had written in Latin, and not in German!"
Seckendorf L. I. p. 125—128.

The Lutherans ſeem not to have been ſufficiently grateful to Eraſmus. The conſiderable ſervice which they received from him, at this critical juncture, ſhould have reſtrained them from inſulting him afterwards. Certain it is, that the zealous Romaniſts never forgave him his behaviour at Cologn.

[q] Joannes Faber, the Dominican, who at this time agreed with Eraſmus in the ſame pacific ſcheme, and in favouring Luther, was

[r] Confundendus hic Joannes Faber, Monachus Dominicanus, non eſt cum Joanne Fabro, Leutkirchenſi Canonico, et Suffraganeo Conſtantienſi, poſtea Epiſcopo Viennenſi. Hic acerrimus Lutheri et Lutheranorum inſectator et hoſtis ſemper fuit, manſitque: at ille ad concordiam, ſi non ſemper, aliquamdiu tamen inclinavit. De eo loquitur Eraſmus, ejuſque moderatum judicium refert. Huttenus mutatum eum eſſe ſcripſit, et Eraſmo propterea inſultavit, quod eum laudaverit. Sed bis in *Spongia* ſua, de mutatione illa nihil ſibi compertum eſſe ſcribit Eraſmus, neque ſe præſtare potuiſſe ut non mutaretur. " Is, ait, " qualis nunc ſit, neſcio. Certe mihi " Lovanii perſuaſit, quod inſtituerit Au- " guſtæ Collegium tradendis linguis et " bonis literis. Oſtendit diploma Cæ- " ſaris Maximiliani. De capitalibus " quibuſdam Lutheri hoſtibus atque de " ipſa Romana Curia pluſquam hoſtili- " ter loquebatur. Arridebat morum " commoditas, et in ſua Theologia vi- " debatur non vulgariter eruditus. His " rebus extorſit a me commendationes " aliquot. Quin et Coloniæ, cum illic " eſſet Cæſar, et colebat nos. De Lu- " thero reliquit æquiſſimum judicium " ſua

A. D. 1520. was a different perſon from Faber Biſhop of Vienna, who was a great enemy to the Reformation. Melanchthon hath related a ſtory concerning this Biſhop, from which it appears that he was no ſmall knave. In a religious conference, in private, with Simon Grynæus, the Prelate behaved himſelf with great affability and complaiſance, and propoſed a ſecond meeting; and in the mean time ſent officers to ſeize upon him at Melanchthon's houſe, and to carry him to jail. But Grynæus eſcaped their hands, being warned of his danger by a venerable old man. Melanchthon, who had never ſeen this old man before, and never ſaw him afterwards, ſuſpected that he was an Angel. *Seckendorf* Suppleni. xxiv. Camerarius Vit. Melanch. p. 114. Melch. Adam ſays of this ſtory, *Aliis fictum, aliis etiam nugatorium videtur.* Vit. Grynæi.

Luther, being cenſured by the Divines of Louvain, [s] comforted himſelf with the conſideration, that the moſt learned and eminent men had been uſed in the ſame manner, amongſt whom he placeth Eraſmus.

Ep. 542 is to Conrad [t] Peutinger, Counſellor to the Emperor.

In Ep. 543 Eraſmus ſends his compliments to his friend [u] Draco, with whom he correſponded. He is the ſame perſon, I think, who is called Joannes Draconites by Melch. Adam *Vit. Draconitæ.*

This year died [x] Sebaſtian Brand, a man eſteemed by Eraſmus, who had written a copy of verſes in praiſe of him.

Eraſmus

" manu deſcriptum, tum apud Cardi- " nalem Moguntinum, tum apud me."

Hæc Eraſmus. —— Meminit ibidem Jo. Fabri Canonici Conſtantienſis, et libri ejus contra Lutherum editi. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 145.

[s] Solatium quoddam ſumit a communi cum aliis viris doctiſſimis ſorte, quorum recentes libri præcipitanti conſilio damnati, poſtmodum magni habiti fuerint, inter quos laudat Occamum, Picum, Vallam, dein etiam Weſſelum, Fabrum Stapulenſem, ipſumque Eraſmum. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 102.

[t] Melchior Adam.

[u] See above, p. 138.

[x] Melch. Adam Vit. Brandi.

Eraſmus was often at Louvain. [y] He and Vives once dwelt together there, and promoted literature as much as they could, though not without great oppoſition from ſome of the Divines. A. D. 1520.

The letters of this year are from Louvain, Antwerp, Bruges, Anderlac, Cologn, and Baſil.

A. D. MDXXI. Ætat. LIV.

This year Eraſmus wrote an elegant letter to a Bohemian nobleman, who had, as it ſeems, embraced the Lutheran party, and who exhorted Eraſmus to do the ſame. Eraſmus inveighs againſt the Monks, according to cuſtom, and accuſes them of having attacked Luther moſt injudiciouſly, and of being the true authors of all the diſorders which enſued. But, to unite the Bohemian Separatiſts to the Church of Rome, he judged it expedient that the Pope ſhould appoint able and moderate men, to bring them back by gentle methods, and by no means employ Monks, who would ſurely make bad worſe, who ſought only their own intereſts, and who had no idea of moderation. He alſo blames thoſe, who condemned the Pope, ſince his dignity ought to have commanded more reſpect: and then he adds; Who have given him this authority, I inquire not at preſent: but, to ſay the leaſt, as they formerly choſe from amongſt many coëqual Preſbyters one ſingle Biſhop, to guard againſt ſchiſms; ſo it is uſeful at preſent from the whole Body of Biſhops to chuſe one Pope, not only to prevent private diſſenſions, but to moderate the tyranny A. D. 1521.

[y] Celebrabantur ibi (Lovanii) duo velut principes ſtudiorum, Eraſmus, et Ludovicus Vives, Hiſpanus, qui Inquiſitionis rabiem fugiens, voluntario exſilio ſolum verterat, et cum Eraſmo, fremente Sophiſtarum turba, probiorem doctrinarum culturam, magno juventutis concurſu et cunctorum ordinum gratia excitabat. Horum in notitiam commendatione indolis ſuæ celeriter pervenit Gabriel Mudæus, uſus etiam convictu et familiaritate Eraſmi interiore, in Collegio quod vocant Lilianum, ubi rationes ille vitæ, quoties in Belgico verſaretur, habebat pridem conſtitutas. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Mudæi.

A. D. 1521. ranny of other Biſhops, and of ſecular Princes, when they attempt to oppreſs their ſubjects. I am not ignorant of the complaints, which are commonly made of the See of Rome; but it is raſhneſs to credit all ſuch popular rumours, and it is injuſtice to attribute to the Pope all that is done at Rome. Many things are there tranſacted without his knowledge, and many things againſt his advice and his inclination: and I believe that, in the preſent ſtate of human affairs, if St. Peter himſelf preſided at Rome, he would be conſtrained to connive at ſeveral things which he could not approve.

Thus Eraſmus excuſeth the Pope upon political principles; but the worſt of it is, that he takes for granted what was not true, and that the ſame counſel might be given under the moſt vexatious and abominable tyranny. Is it not excellent advice, to ſay that, for fear of religious altercations, the deciſion of all Theological diſputes ought to be referred to one man; and to a man who uſually is leſs ſkilled in thoſe things than ten thouſand other perſons, who hath a temporal and a moſt conſiderable intereſt to biaſs him, and who, with his predeceſſors, hath for a long ſeries of ages laboured inceſſantly to deceive the world, and to eſtabliſh his own ſecular and carnal empire! Were theſe contentions only about worldly advantages, or even about private property, one might be content to refer it to ſuch an arbitration, and to ſit down with Chriſtian patience under an unfair determination: but to ſacrifice Chriſtian knowledge and Chriſtian liberty to a man, ſuch as we have deſcribed, is a ſubmiſſion to which no one can ſtoop with a good conſcience, unleſs he be ſtrangely and ſtrongly prejudiced. Were it only an act of injuſtice done to one, or to a few particulars, that might perhaps be borne: but here are doctrines propoſed, concerning which the Pope decides; whoſe deciſions no one can admit, who is perſuaded that they are falſe and dangerous. It is a ſtory fit only to be told to children and to ſavages, that ſuch tranſactions, as the Reformers cenſured,

cenſured, were often carried on without the Pope's knowledge, A. D. 1521.
or in oppoſition to his will; or that the Pope is more enlightened, and better diſpoſed, than the Doctors and the Courtiers, whom he conſults, and out of whom he himſelf is choſen, and raiſed to the Pontifical throne, where he certainly doth not increaſe in virtue, in learning, and in religious knowledge. If St. Peter were to return to us again, and to go to Rome, he would ſoon retire thence, when he ſhould find that he could change and mend nothing there; and that it would be expected from him, that he ſhould diveſt himſelf of his Apoſtolical character, and act the part of the Politician and the temporal Prince. Theſe things were ſo extremely viſible, that one can hardly conceive how Eraſmus could tell the Lutherans, that they ought to be contented with making moſt humble remonſtrances and ſupplications.

He ſays to this Bohemian Lord, who exhorted him to join with Luther, that he would with all his heart, if he ſaw that Luther was with the Catholic Church. Not that I mean, ſays he, to pronounce him excluded from it; for it is no buſineſs of mine to condemn any one. To our Saviour it belongs to condemn him, or to acquit him. If things come to extremities, and the Church totters on both ſides, I will fix myſelf upon the ſolid rock, until a calm ſucceeds, and it be apparent which is the Church. Whereſoever Evangelical peace ſhall be found, there ſhall Eraſmus be found likewiſe. The meaning of all this ſeems to be, that he intended to wait for the event, before he declared himſelf, and that he much feared that the event would not be favourable to Luther. This inclined him to pay his [z] court a little to the defenders of the See of Rome, as it appears from ſome following letters. Ep. 563, 568, 569, 570.

[z] Amlingus ſæpe dixit, Idem de me mihi licet dicere, quod Eraſmus de Monachis conquerentibus, quaſi nimis rigide ageret, dixit, Accuſant me, quod nimium fecerim; verum conſcientia mea me accuſat, quod minus fecerim, quodque lentior fuerim. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Amlingi.

A. D. 1521. The celebrated [a] Diet of Worms was held this year, where Luther, who had as much courage as Alexander and Julius Cæſar put together, made his [b] appearance, and maintained his opinions, in the preſence of Charles V, and of other Princes. After this, his friend the Elector of Saxony carried him off ſecretly, and conveyed him to the fortreſs of Wartburg, where he remained [c] concealed for [d] ſome time, being [e] proſcribed by the Emperor, and excommunicated by the Pope. Hereupon Eraſmus wrote a long letter to his friend Jodocus [f] Jonas, a Lutheran, in which he deplores the fate of Luther, and of thoſe who had declared themſelves his aſſociates; and blames them much for want of moderation, as if this had brought their diſtreſſes upon them. Moderation, doubtleſs, is a virtue: but ſo far was the oppoſite party from allowing Luther to be in the right, as to the main points, that it was his doctrine which gave the chief offence to the Court of Rome; and he would have gained as little upon them by propoſing

[a] Sleidan L. III. Seckendorf L. I. p. 156—158. Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 56, 57. Fiddes's *Life of Wolſey*; who cenſures Luther for not ſubmitting himſelf and his cauſe to the Pope and his Deputies, p. 240.

[b] Being told, that if he put himſelf into the hands of his enemies, he would have the ſame fate with John Huſs, he anſwered, that, ſince the Emperor had invited him to Worms, he would go thither, if there were as many Devils combined againſt him in that city, as tiles upon the houſes.

[c] All the magicians of Italy, being conſulted by the Pope, (if we may believe ſome Divines of the Confeſſion of Augſburg) could not diſcover the place where Luther was concealed. *Bibl. Univ.* VII. 347.

[d] About ten months. *Sculteti Annal.*

[e] Aleander was in hopes, that, at leaſt, this procedure would cauſe a civil war in the Empire, and excite the Germans to cut one another's throats: but he was miſtaken, and his pious wiſhes were diſappointed at that time.

Falſus fuit Hieronymus Aleander, qui ad Marinum Caracciolam, Legatum Pontificium, fertur dixiſſe: Eia, mi Caracciola, ſi nihil adeo præclari his Comitiis effecimus; tamen certum eſt, nos magnam hoc Edicto in Germania lanienam concitare, qua Alemanni ipſi in viſcera ſua ſævientes, propediem in proprio ſanguine ſuffocabuntur. *See* Von der Hardt. *Hiſt. Liter. Reform.* P. V. p. 37.

[f] Beza Icon. Melch. Adam.

propoſing it in the moſt ſubmiſſive and ſofteſt manner, as he gained by maintaining it in his rough way. Eraſmus himſelf experienced the truth of this; and the Monks were not induced to change any thing that was reprehenſible in their notions and in their manners, by his gentler and more artful remonſtrances, and abhorred his ironies no leſs than the bold invectives of Luther. However, Eraſmus may ſtand excuſed in ſome meaſure in the ſight of candid and favourable judges, becauſe he talked thus, partly out of timidity, and partly out of love and friendſhip towards him to whom he addreſſeth himſelf. You will tell me, ſays he, my dear Jonas, To what purpoſe theſe complaints, eſpecially when it is too late? Why, in the firſt place, that (although things have been carried almoſt to extremities) one may ſtill try, whether ſome method can be found to compoſe theſe terrible diſſenſions. We have a Pope, who in his temper is much diſpoſed to clemency; and an Emperor, who is alſo mild and placable. Honeſt Eraſmus judged very wrong of both theſe perſons. Leo was a vain, a voluptuous and debauched man, who had no religion, and no compaſſion for thoſe, who would not ſubmit entirely to his pleaſure, as he ſhewed by the haughty manner in which he treated Luther, without admitting the leaſt relaxation in any of the diſputed points. Such is the character which Hiſtory hath beſtowed upon him: and as to [g] Charles V, he was a moſt ambitious and reſtleſs Prince, who made a conſcience [h] of nothing, to accompliſh any of his projects, as it appears from the bloody wars which he waged under religious pretences, and A. D. 1521.

[g] At this time he was little more than a boy, being born in 1500.

[h] He ſaid ſo of himſelf; and we may take his word for it. See Bayle CIPIERRE, Not. D.

In Belgio Carolus Cæſar, A. 1521, dira edicta contra ſectas, quas ſic vocant, omnes et ſingulas edit, et quotannis fere renovat, quorum vi, imperante Carolo, in ſolo Belgio capite truncata, ſubmerſa, ſuſpenſa, defoſſa, exuſta, aliiſque mortis generibus exſtincta ultra quinquaginta hominum millia ſcribuntur. *Meteranus.* See Von der Hardt. P. V. p. 39.

A. D. 1521. indeed from his whole conduct. The Lutherans would have been fools and mad, to have truſted themſelves and their cauſe to ſuch a Pontif, and to ſuch an Emperor.

If this cannot be accompliſhed, continues Eraſmus, I would not have you interfere in theſe affairs any longer. I always loved in you thoſe excellent gifts, which Jeſus Chriſt hath beſtowed upon you; and I beg you would preſerve yourſelf, that you may hereafter labour for the cauſe of the Goſpel. The more I have loved the genius and the talents of Hutten, the more concerned I am to loſe him by theſe troubles; and what a deplorable thing would it be, that Philip Melanchthon, an amiable youth of ſuch extraordinary abilities, ſhould be loſt to the learned world upon the ſame account! If the behaviour of thoſe, who govern human affairs, ſhocks us and grieves us, I believe we muſt leave them to the Lord. If they command things reaſonable, it is juſt to obey them; if they require things unreaſonable, it is an act of piety to ſuffer it, leſt ſomething worſe enſue. If the preſent age is not capable of receiving the whole Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, yet it is ſomething to preach it in part, and as far as we can.—Above all things we ſhould avoid a ſchiſm, which is of pernicious conſequence to all good men. [1] There is a certain pious craft, and an innocent time-ſerving, which however we muſt ſo uſe, as not to betray the cauſe of religion, &c.

Such is the Goſpel which Eraſmus preached up to the Lutherans, imagining that they and their cauſe would go to ruin, and that a worſe condition of things would enſue. But, if they had complied with his propoſal, we ſhould have been at this day involved in all the darkneſs, which had overſpread the Chriſtian world in the fifteenth century, and for many ages before it. So far would the Popes and the Eccleſiaſtics have been from abandoning their beloved intereſts, founded upon ignorance

[1] Ita ſancta quadam vafricie tempori ſerviendum, ne tamen prodatur Theſaurus Evangelicæ Veritatis, unde corrupti mores publici poſſint reſtitui.

rance and ſuperſtition, that a bloody Inquiſition would have been A. D. 1521.
eſtabliſhed, not only in Italy and Spain, but in all Chriſtian countries, which would have ſmothered and extinguiſhed for ever thoſe lights which then began to ſparkle. Lutheraniſm, gaining more ſtrength and ſtability than Eraſmus expected, prevented the tyranny of an Inquiſition in Germany, and the Reformation of Calvin ſecured the liberty of other countries. If all Germany had yielded and ſubmitted to Leo and to Charles, in compliance with the timorous counſels of Eraſmus, he himſelf would undoubtedly have been one of the firſt ſufferers; and the Court of Rome, no longer apprehenſive leſt he ſhould join himſelf to the heretics, would have offered him up a ſacrifice of a ſweet-ſmelling ſavour to the Monks, who did a thouſand times more ſervice to that Court than a thouſand ſuch Scholars as Eraſmus. Ep. 572.

If Eraſmus had lived to the year 1552, he would have ſeen an amazing change in the affairs of Charles, and in the religious ſtate of Germany.

" [k] Maurice of Saxony took Augſburg with many other Impe-
" rial cities — and marched on to Inſpruch, where the Emperor
" lay; and ſurpriſed a paſs to which he had truſted, ſo that he
" was within two miles of him, before he was aware of it.
" Upon this the Emperor roſe from ſupper in great haſte, and
" by torch-light fled away, to make his eſcape into Italy. Thus
" all that deſign, which the Emperor had been laying ſo many
" years, was now broken off on a ſudden: he loſt all the advan-
" tages he had of his former victories, and was forced to ſet the
" priſoners at liberty, and to call in the Proſcriptions; and in
" concluſion the Edict of Paſſaw was made, by which the ſeve-
" ral Princes and Towns were ſecured in the free exerciſe of
" their religion.—I thought it not improper to give account of the
" extreme danger in which religion was in Germany, and how
" ſtrangely

[k] Burnet II. 213, 330. See alſo QUINT. Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 52. Sleidan L. 23, 24; and Bayle CHARLES- Thuanus L. X. & L. XXI. p. 642.

A.D. 1521. " ſtrangely it was recovered; in which he, who had been the " chief Inſtrument of the miſeries it had groaned under, was " now become its unlooked-for deliverer. —The Emperor's miſ- " fortunes redoubled upon him — and he began to reflect on the " vanity of the world. —It was one of the notableſt turns of for- " tune that had been in many ages; and gave a great demon- " ſtration both of an overruling Providence, that diſpoſes of all " human affairs at pleaſure, and of a particular care that God " had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it, when it ſeemed " gone without hope in Germany.

" Theſe reflections made deep impreſſions on his mind, and " were believed to have firſt poſſeſſed him with the deſign, which " not long after he put in execution, of laying down his crowns, " and retiring to a private courſe of life. In his retirement, " having time to conſider things more impartially, he was ſo " much changed in his opinion of the Proteſtant Religion, that " he, who hitherto had been a moſt violent oppoſer of it, was " ſuſpected of being turned to it before he died.—He at firſt " gave himſelf much to mechanical curioſities; but could never " bring his clocks to ſtrike in the ſame minute; and he uſed upon " that to ſay, he ſaw the folly of endeavouring to bring all men " to be of the ſame mind in religion, ſince he could not bring " machines to agree exactly."

" [1] According to the account given by Dr. Geddes, there is " great reaſon to believe, that Charles applied himſelf to ſerious " reflections on religion. No Prince knew better than he did " both the corruptions and the practices of the Court of Rome, " and the artifices and methods by which two Seſſions of the " Council of Trent had been conducted. He muſt likewiſe " have underſtood the grounds upon which both the Lutherans " and the Reformed in Germany built their perſuaſions. He " had heard them often ſet out: but the hurry of buſineſs, the " prepoſſeſſion

[1] Burnet III. 253.

" prepoſſeſſion of education, and the views of intereſt, had pre- A. D. 1521.
" judiced him ſo far againſt them, that he continued in a moſt
" violent enmity to them. But now that he was at full leiſure
" to bring all his obſervations together, and that paſſion and in-
" tereſt had no more power over him, there are great preſump-
" tions to believe, that he died perſuaded of the doctrines of
" the Reformed Religion. Auguſtin Caſal, a Canon of the Church
" of Salamanca, was his preacher, and was eſteemed the moſt
" eloquent preacher that Spain ever produced. He was taken up
" in the year 1558, and with thirteen more was publicly burned
" at Vallidolid, in the year 1559; the unfortunate Prince Charles,
" and his aunt Donna Juana, then Governeſs, looking on that bar-
" barous [m] execution. [n] Conſtantine Pontius, a Canon of Sevil,
" who was his Confeſſor, eſteemed a man of great learning and
" piety, was likewiſe taken up by the Inquiſition for being a
" Proteſtant; he died in priſon, probably enough by the torture
" the Inquiſitors put him to: but his bones, with his effigies,
" were burnt at Sevil. So were the bones of the learned Egidius,
" whom the Emperor had named to the Biſhoprick of Tortoſa,
" one of the richeſt in Spain. At the ſame time eighteen were
" burnt alive for being Proteſtants; of which the Hiſtory of the
" Inquiſition gives this Account, that had not the holy Tribunal
" put a ſtop to thoſe Reformers, the Proteſtant religion had run
" through Spain like wild-fire; people of all degrees, and of
" both ſexes, being wonderfully diſpoſed at that time to have
" embraced it: and the writer of the Pontifical Hiſtory, who was
" preſent at ſome of thoſe executions, ſays, that had thoſe
" learned men been let alone but three months longer, all Spain
" would have been put into a flame by them.

" The moſt eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza,
" a Dominican, who had been Confeſſor to King Philip and to
" Queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the Arch-
" biſhoprick

[m] Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 77. [n] See Bayle PONCE.

A. D. 1521. " biſhoprick of Toledo. He had aſſiſted Charles in the laſt " minutes of his life. He was within a few months after his " death, upon ſuſpicion of his being a Proteſtant, firſt confined " by the Inquiſition to his own Palace at Tordelaguna: and after " he had been for ſeven years kept within that confinement, " he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a priſoner in the " Caſtle of St. Angelo; and was at laſt condemned as one " ſuſpected of hereſy. That great man had been ſent by Charles " as one of his Divines to the Council of Trent, where he " preached, and wrote a treatiſe of the perſonal reſidence of " Biſhops. Theſe things put together make it highly probable, " that Charles himſelf was poſſeſſed with that doctrine, that was " ſo much ſpread amongſt thoſe who were then moſt about him. " Mezeray tells us, that, at Philip's arrival in Spain, he cauſed a " great many to be burned for heretics in his own preſence, both " at Sevil, and at Vallidolid, both Seculars and Eccleſiaſtics, " men and women, and in particular the effigies of his father's " Confeſſor: and, if reports may be believed, he intended to " have made his father's proceſs, and to have had his bones " burnt for hereſy; being only hindered from doing it by this " conſideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had for- " feited all his dominions, and by conſequence he had no right " to reſign them to his ſon °."

Bayle

° Creditur autem a quibuſdam Carolus in extremis rectius de Proteſtantium doctrina ſenſiſſe. Hoc certum, quod vix integro anno poſt, cum Philippus in Hiſpaniam tantum quod rediſſet, et multi hæreſeos damnati, atque ignis ſupplicio afficiendi, in ejus adventum fuiſſent reſervati, ut ſua præſentia variis in locis illam ſupplicii diritatem quaſi comprobaret, quod, inquam, inter hos miſeros damnati quoque fuerint, et quia prius animam efflaverant, oſtentati et cremati in effigie ſua, non modo Joannes Ægidius, a Carolo ob eximiam pietatis et eruditionis laudem Epiſcopus Droſſenſis deſignatus, ſed et Conſtantinus Pontius, qui illius ſacras confeſſiones acceperat, atque ei in ſolitudine ſua adfuerat. Animam tamen agenti etiamdum inſerviiſſe, quod Thuanus quoque et Sarpius affirmant, negat Pallavicinus, qui vivo Carolo jam in carcerem Hiſpali conjectum,

Bayle hath called ſome of theſe things in queſtion, and thinks that there is no ſatisfactory evidence for the diſpoſitions of Charles towards Proteſtantiſm, and that it muſt remain an ambiguous point. See his Dict. CARRANZA, and CHARLES-QUINT. A. D. 1521.

" This Emperor, diſcourſing of paſt events with the Prior and " the Monks of St. Juſtus, told them, that he repented of " having fulfilled the promiſe of ſafe-conduct which he gave to " Luther. Sandoval aſcribes this regret to his pious zeal for the " cauſe of God: but the examples of Gregory the Great, who " kept his faith given to heretics; of Joſhua, who kept it to the " idolatrous Gibeonites; and of Saul, whom God puniſhed for " doing the contrary, might have quieted his royal conſcience; " and if he had any cauſe to repent, it ſhould have been for " plighting his faith to a heretic, and not for keeping it." *La Motthe Le Vayer* Diſc. de l'hiſtoire, Tom. II. Ed. 12mo.

Sandoval wrote the hiſtory, or rather the romance of Charles V: and La Motthe, in the treatiſe above-mentioned, hath fully confuted this wretched Scribbler, who alſo, like Sepulveda, defended the wicked conqueſts of Peru, &c.

The Edict of Worms againſt Luther was drawn up with all poſſible [p] rancour and malice, being penned by Aleander. However, whilſt Luther attended there, and pleaded his cauſe, he was treated with much affability and [q] civility by that illuſtrious aſſembly.

conjectum, neque vero a confeſſionibus illi, ſed a concionibus fuiſſe, ait. Verum in hac circumſtantiarum diſcrepantia non multum ſane eſt ſitum ad invidiam rei vel minuendam vel augendam. Quin immo aſſeverant nonnulli, ſed maxime Galli, de ipſo patre deliberaſſe Philippum comburendo poſt ſuam mortem, ut qui hæreſin extremo vitæ tempore fuiſſet ſecutus: ſed cohibitum una hac ratione, quod, ſi id feciſſet, in controverſiam vocari poſſet tranſlatio tot regnorum et civitatum ab hæretico patre in ſe facta. Sed tamen vix putem Carolum ulla hæreſi, ſeu damnata ab Romanis doctrina, jam ante illam tranſlationem, fuiſſe imbutum aut ſuſpectum. *Perizonius*, p. 625.

[p] Seckendorf L. I. p. 158.

[q] Quicquid autem malevoli de geſtis Wormatiæ, a Luthero et cum eo, muginentur, illuſtre in omne ævum exemplum,

A. D. 1521. bly. He ſhewed a ſufficient preſence of mind, and a noble intrepidity, in the opinion of every one beſides himſelf; for he afterwards lamented, that he had not been ſtill bolder in the cauſe of God.

[r] In the above-mentioned epiſtle to Jodocus Jonas, Eraſmus talks more coldly againſt Monaſtic vows than he had been accuſtomed;

plum, cui par nullum memorari poteſt, Imperator, Principes, Procereſque, et Lutherus utrinque ediderunt: illi quidem, quod privatum et Monachum, tum, quod maximum erat, damnatum jam ſolenniter a Pontifice, in conſeſſum ſuum ſplendidiſſimum admiſſum benigne et patienter audiverint, ſecuritatem promiſſam, ſpretis multorum, qui tollendum homuncionem dicerent, ſuggeſtionibus ſervaverint, amice et humaniter in colloquiis tractaverint.—— Celeberrimus Eques, Georgius Fronſbergius, Lutheri euntis in conſeſſum humerum manu feriens dixiſſe fertur; *O Fratercule, tu gradum nunc facis, qualem ego multique belli duces in periculoſiſſima acie vix fecimus. Si tamen recte ſentis, et tuæ cauſæ certus es, pergas in nomine Domini, et confidas, non deſeret te Deus.*—— Quapropter admiranda merito eſt, nec humanis viribus, ſed ardentiſſimis precibus Lutheri tribui debet, quæ in eo eminuit præſentia animi et invincibilis in veritate profitenda conſtantia, ad conſpectum et minas tremendarum Poteſtatum ſervata, nec non dexteritas in refutandis adverſariis, quam negare tandem poſt tot extenuationes non plane auſus Palavicinus, lateribus, id eſt clamori et corporis robori Lutheri tribuit. Ipſe vero vir admirandus, ut mos eſt optimo cuique, ſibi non ſatisfecit, et hoc anno, quanquam deſperatis pene rebus ſuis, exſul et ſemicaptivus, tum corpore peſſime valens, in literis ad Spalatinum datis conqueritur: *Ego timeo valde et vexor conſcientia, quod tuo et amicorum conſilio cedens, Wormatiæ remiſi ſpiritum meum, et Idolis non exhibuerim Eliam quendam: alia audirent, ſi denuo ſiſterer coram eis*, &c.

Spalatinus Luthero ait tantum, imo majorem honorem habitum fuiſſe, quam ulli Principi, quotidie ad eum magnam copiam concurriſſe, &c. Fridericum Electorem Spalatino dixiſſe, *O quam bene Pater Martinus Germanice et Latine coram Cæſare et Ordinibus locutus eſt! ſatis, aut nimium animoſus fuit.*

[r] Eraſmus libertatem votorum, ſive jus ex Monaſteriis diſcedendi, et conjugia Clericorum, laudat, aut non improbat pluribus locis, ita ut in longa illa, qua ſuæ juventutis caſus ſub nomine Florentii deſcripſit, Epiſtola, notanter dicat; *Si vere piorum et ſpiritualium ſententia plus valeret, quam craſſorum judicia, nullum poſthac eſſet votum inſolubile, præter vota baptiſmi, præſertim ut nunc habet mortalium vel malitia vel imbecillitas.* Quia tamen invidia Lutheraniſmi (ut queritur in literis ad Jod. Jonam) ob hanc quoque ſententiam gravabatur, oppoſitionem fecit ſuæ et Lutheri ſententiæ. *Moneo*, ait, *juvenes non eſſe pelliciendos*

ad

cuſtomed: but he was frightened at the then preſent ſituation of affairs. A. D. 1521.

Oecolampadius now began to go over to the Reformers.

Eraſmus expreſſeth his fears to his beſt-beloved patron Warham. Luther, ſays he, hath excited great troubles, of which I ſee no end, unleſs Jeſus Chriſt ſhould proſper our raſhneſs, as it uſed to be ſaid that Minerva turned all the fooliſh counſels of the Athenians to their good. I wiſh that Luther had held his peace upon ſome points, or had diſcuſſed them with a different ſpirit. At preſent I fear that we ſhall eſcape Scylla by falling into a more dangerous Charybdis. [t] If the men who ſacrifice all things to

ad vincula religionis, priuſquam ſibi noti ſunt, et norint quid ſit religio. Lutherus, ut aiunt, in totum damnat omnia vota. Sed falſus eſt Eraſmus, illud, *ut aiunt*, aliter pronunciaturus, ſi tractatum Lutheri *de votis Monaſticis* legere voluiſſet. Anno 1531, purgans ſe apud Georgium Saxoniæ Ducem, in literis ad Simonem Piſtoris, hæc habet de conjugio Sacerdotum: *Ego nec Sacerdotibus permitto conjugium, nec Monachis relaxo vota, ni id fiat ex auctoritate Pontificum, et ad ædificationem Eccleſiæ, non ad deſtructionem. Eo perpellere pueros ac puellas inhumanum arbitror; et pium, eximere fraude captos. Imprimis optandum eſſet ſacerdotes caſtitatem et cœleſtem vitam amplecti. Nunc rebus adeo contaminatis, fortaſſe levius malum eſſet eligendum. Hæc opinio ſi non placet Eccleſiæ præfectis, pro ſomnio ducatur.* Ita attemperare dicta ſua ad genium eorum, quibus ſcribebat, noverat Eraſmus. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 173. See *Scultet. Annal.* in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 40.

[s] Oecolampadius quid in Cœnobio deliteſcens de Luthero ſenſerit, judicium ejus ad amicum loquitur: *Jam de Martino liberè loquor, ut ſæpe antehac; quod Evangelicæ veritati propius accedat, quam adverſarii ſui, &c. Pleraque ab eo dicta tam certa ſunt apud me, ut ſi etiam cœleſtes Angeli contradicant, non me ſint a ſententia mea depulſuri.* —Idem Oecolampadius ſcripſit etiam de Confeſſione librum, quo magis pium, hoc minus ceremoniarum nundinatoribus ferendum. Hujus enim occaſione Glapio Franciſcanus, qui tum Cæſari Carolo a Concionibus, ingens viro periculum creavit. Qua de cauſa ſollicitantibus amicis, et conſentientibus fratribus in Cœnobio, tuto diſceſſit. *Capito* in Vita Oecolamp. See Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 39.

[t] Si iſtis, qui ventris et tyrannidis ſuæ cauſa nihil non audent, res ſuccedit, nihil ſupereſt, niſi ut ſcribam Epitaphium Chriſto nunquam revicturo. Actum eſt de ſcintilla charitatis Evangelicæ, actum eſt de ſtellula lucis Evangelicæ,

A. D. 1521. to their belly and to their inſolence, ſhould prevail, what remains but to write the Epitaph of Jeſus Chriſt, who is dead and buried to riſe no more? There is an end of all that is good and true, whilſt theſe wretches baſely flatter the Great and the Powerful, at the expenſe of Chriſtianity. Thus it hath happened in Italy, and Spain, and Portugal, and in all places where Monks and Inquiſitors bear rule.

Amongſt theſe ſerious and affecting reflections, we find alſo complaints of a more private nature, that the money remitted to him from England had been truſted to the hands of a knaviſh Italian, who had defrauded him of no ſmall part of it. Eraſmus begged the Archbiſhop to take heed for the future what agents he employed in this affair. The good Prelate had been in pain leſt Eraſmus ſhould want money, and promiſed to procure him another Prebend. How uncommon is it for perſons in high ſtations to have any regard at all for the Learned! and much more, to preſerve ſo conſtant an affection for a man of merit, eſpecially when he is at a diſtance, and not able to make his court to them in perſon! Eraſmus was not inſenſible of theſe ſingular favours, and thanks the Archbiſhop moſt affectionately, and upon all occaſions extols his friendly liberality; particularly in his Preface to St. Jerom. He tells his Patron however, that, as he was contented with a little, ſo at that time he wanted for nothing. At preſent, ſays he, I think myſelf a ſort of Nobleman; for I maintain two horſes, who are better fed, and two ſervants, who are better clad, than their Maſter. Living in this manner, it was impoſſible that he ſhould lay up much: for he wanted

actum de vena cœleſtis doctrinæ. Adeo turpiter iſti adulantur Principibus et iis unde ſpes eſt commodi, cum ſumma injuria Chriſtianæ veritatis.

[u] Magnates autem adeo non adjuvant ſua benignitate rem literariam, ut exiſtiment nullam pecuniam perire perditius, quam quæ in tales uſus conſumitur; neque quicquam omnino placet illis, unde non *vectigal* aliquod tollitur. *Eraſmus.* Adag. c. 405.

wanted *amanuenses* to transcribe his works, and horses to travel himself, and to send messengers to collect his pensions, since at that time stage-coaches and post-horses were not to be found. Ep. 574, 590. A. D. 1521.

This year he quitted Louvain, and took up his abode at Anderlac, a country village, for the sake of his health, and to be rid of those whom he calls πτωχοτυράννους, *Mendicant-tyrants*, who were not so numerous and so troublesome there as at Louvain. There he occupied himself in revising his New Testament for a third Edition, and in correcting the works of St. Augustin, whom he intended to publish. Ep. 577, 578.

Here he received the book which [x] Jacobus Lopes Stunica, a Spaniard, had written against his first edition of the New Testament. In a letter to a friend, he speaks with some esteem of Stunica's erudition, and professes his joy to see the *Belles Lettres* reviving in Spain: but he complains much of the insolence and disingenuity of his antagonist, who put the worst construction upon every thing, and even imputed to him the faults of the press, and of the Corrector, (Oecolampadius) and loaded him with insults and injuries. Erasmus wrote an [y] answer: and the Editors of the *Critici Sacri* have inserted Stunica's book in their eighth volume, and prefixed it to the Apology of Erasmus. Stunica endeavours principally to defend the Vulgate, and even every blunder and barbarism that was to be found in it. Sometimes indeed he censures Erasmus not without cause: but he seasons his remarks with so much vanity, so much scurrility, so much malignity, so much calumny, and so much gross flattery to those from whom he hoped to get preferment, that it must raise the indignation of every honest man. Such a manner of writing gives too much cause to suspect, that such persons have at the bottom no religion at all. Ep. 582.

" Stunica.

[x] Baillet II. 287. Erasmus T. IX. c. 283. [y] Tom. IX. c. 283. Maittaire II. 129.

A. D. 1521. "Stunica began to write againſt Eraſmus, whilſt Cardinal "Ximenes[z] (who died in 1517) was living. The Cardinal ad- "viſed him to ſend his remarks firſt in manuſcript to Eraſmus, "that he might ſuppreſs them, if Eraſmus gave him ſatisfactory "anſwers. But Stunica was too vain and prejudiced, to act in "this manner; and[a] happening one day to find ſome perſon "reading the New Teſtament of Eraſmus, he ſaid to him, in the "preſence of the Cardinal, that he wondered how he could "throw away his time upon ſuch traſh, and that the book was "full of monſtrous faults. The Cardinal immediately replied; "*Would to God that all authors wrote ſuch traſh! Either produce "ſomething better of your own, or give over prating againſt the "labours of others.* This rough anſwer made Stunica ſuppreſs "his work till the Cardinal was dead; and then he publiſhed a "book againſt the Annotations of Eraſmus, who replied to it. "Afterwards Stunica drew up another work, which he called, "*The blaſphemies and impieties of Eraſmus.* ——[b] Leo X forbad "him to publiſh any thing defamatory and ſcurrilous againſt his "antagoniſt; and, after the death of Leo, the Cardinals, and "Adrian VI, laid the ſame commands upon him. Yet the book "was ſecretly printed, and then publiſhed; and this alſo was "anſwered by Eraſmus. Some time after, Stunica attacked him "again; and Eraſmus replied in 1529; and in 1530, Stunica "died." *Du Pin* XIV. 75.

Alciat, in his Epiſtles publiſhed by Burman, hath given his judgment[c] of Stunica, and allows him to be a man of erudition, but

[z] Gallæi Imagines. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Append. V. II. p. 243. Maittaire II. 128. Fiddes Life of Wolſey, p. 110. Pope Blount, p. 369. Flechier, and Marſollier's Hiſtoire de Ximenes.

[a] Eraſmus relates this ſtory in his Apology againſt Stunica, T. IX. c. 284.

[b] See Eraſmus, T. IX. c. 357, 384.

[c] Quæ de Jacobo Lopis Stunica ſcribis, accepi omnia. Ejus librum nondum vidi, ſed ſuſpicor Pſeudo-Chriſtianum eſſe: ejus enim familiæ plures Avenione Judæi erant, quorum aliqui ſacro ſe lavacro abluerunt: et ex eis quidam

but ſuſpects him to be a Jew, who wore the maſk of a Chriſtian. A. D. 1521.
Eraſmus throws out [d] ſuſpicions of the ſame kind, in his anſwers to Stunica.

[e] As

dàm mediçus, mediocriter doctus, familiaris meus eſt. Ejus librum libenter legerem; ſi ad Andream fratrem tuum venalem miſeris, forte comparabo; nam ſi malus erit, mittam, ut una cum Alcorano veneat. *Doct. Viror. Epiſt.* p. 90.

Legi Stunicæ annotationes: vir eſt doctus, ingenioſus, cautus; punctim ferit; ſeſe colligit; a ſignis non aberrat. Facile Hiſpanum hominem agnoſcas, qui ut ab Eraſmo ſtumine illo et ubertate dicendi ſuperatur, ita ipſe in Hebraicarum literarum cognitione viciſſim eum ſuperat. Nam quæ ad Græca attinent, meræ videntur minutiæ, et quod dicitur ἀστρολογήματα ſunt. *Ibid.* p. 94.

[d] Neſcio quid ſuſpicionis mihi parit, quod Stunica tam impenſe favet Hebræis, ut his omnia velit deberi, cum res nihil tale poſtulet. Tom. IX. c. 297.

Debebat e Jureconſultorum veterum literis, atque e probatis linguæ Latinæ auctoribus exemplum adducere potius quam e Ruffino Joſephi interprete. Quod tamen arbitror ignoſcendum homini, qui videtur in nullis Romanæ linguæ ſcriptoribus fuiſſe verſatus, ſed Hæbræorum voluminibus magis fuiſſe delectatus. c. 307.

Aliis Judæorum amicis excutiendum relinquo. c. 309.

Verecundius vertimus, — *ne adſciſcat præputium.* Stunica in hoc rerum genere me peritior, docet nos, &c. c. 330.

Porro ſi ceremoniæ Judaicæ placent Stunicæ, per me quidem fruatur licebit. c. 363.

Primum animadvertenda eſt hominis in dicendo prudentia. Primo loco ponit *impia*, deinde *blaſphema*, mox *inſana*, deinde *temeraria*, poſtremo loco, *non ea reverentia dicta qua oportuit.* Sic ſolet Rhetoribus increſcere per gradus oratio, niſi forte Stunica ſervat ordinem Hebræorum, qui ſcribunt præpoſtere. c. 372.

Poſſet in literis Hebraicis, quas a teneris unguiculis imbibit, non pœnitendam operam locare—c. 340.

——nec Stunica mihi erit Chriſtianus, niſi ſcripſerit accuratiſſimos commentarios in Epiſtolam ad Hebræos. c. 380.

Nobis perſuaſum eſt (Chriſtum eſſe Deum.) Utinam æque perſuaſum eſſet Judæis omnibus! c. 413.

Stunica et Sanctius adoriantur diverſum hæreticorum genus, quod jam ſe nimium miſcuit ſegeti Dominicæ. Magis enim ac magis invaleſcunt Judæi quidam, ſeſqui-Judæi, et ſemi-Judæi, qui mixti nobis, titulum habent Chriſti, cum Moſem totum habeant in pectore.

Mutemus (inquiunt) *clypeos, Danaumque*
inſignia nobis
Aptemus.

Hac via gravius lædunt rem Chriſtianam, et plus eſt quæſtus ex calumnia quam ex uſuris. Hos nemo melius profligabit, quam Lopis et Sanctius. c. 424.

Nec

A. D. 1521. [e] As to Luther, Alciat there declares, that he did not concern himſelf at all about him and his cauſe; but he intimates, that the Court of Rome well deſerved to be roughly handled by him.

As he was an Italian, he [f] blames Froben for inſulting the Italians with a ſymbolical frontiſpiece prefixed to the New Teſtament of Eraſmus.

In a letter to the Biſhop of Tournay, Eraſmus commends [g] Jodocus Clichthovæus. Ep. 578.

We have, in this year, a remarkable letter of Eraſmus, addreſſed to his friend Pace, Dean of St. Paul's, which had not appeared in the preceding Editions of the Epiſtles of Eraſmus. Van Meel firſt publiſhed it at the end of the Epiſtles of the *Hotomanni*: but in the Leyden Edition of Eraſmus, it is printed more correctly, and from a better copy. Here Eraſmus complains equally of the violence of Luther, and of the rage of the Dominicans, as alſo of the baſe malice of Aleander, who aſcribed to him ſome writings of Luther, of which he had not even heard. It was affirmed, that Eraſmus had written a treatiſe called *The captivity of Babylon*, although Luther openly acknowledged it for his own. Others would have it, that Luther had taken many of his ſentiments from Eraſmus. I ſee now, ſays Eraſmus, that the Germans (the German Lutherans) are reſolved, at all adventures, to

Nec me latet, qui ſubornent hiſtriones hujus fabulæ. Phariſaicum genus eſt, et Ebionitarum reliquiæ. Satis ſit Judæis, quod ſemel occiderint Chriſtum. ——c. 427.

[e] Quid toties mihi Lutherium inculcas? quem ego bene vel male faciat, nihil æſtimo: et quoniam id ad me non pertinet, ſuſque deque fero. Et forte publice intereſt eſſe aliquem, qui tantam licentiam coërceat, et qui etiam injuſta defendat, ut ſaltem juſta obtineantur.

[f] Arminii mentionem feci, ut Erobenii temeritati obviam irem, qui in ſecunda Eraſmi Editione in Teſtamentum Novum, liminarem pagellam pictura inſignivit, qua Quintilium Varum Arminius ſuperat, victoque inſultat hoc dicterio; *Tandem Vipera ſibilare deſiſte*: ut minime dubitem vera eſſe quæ ſcribis de Germanis. Sed hoc morbo laborant omnes Barbari. Quid mirum? cum et inter nos Italos forte gravius agatur. —— Dii invidos omnes perdant.

[g] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 458. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 38.

to engage me in the affair of Luther, whether I will or not. In this they have acted fooliſhly, and have taken the ſureſt method to alienate me from them and their party. Wherein could I have aſſiſted Luther, if I had declared myſelf for him, and ſhared the danger along with him? Only thus far, that, inſtead of one man, two would have periſhed. I cannot conceive what he means by writing with ſuch a ſpirit: one thing I know too well, that he hath brought a great odium upon the lovers of literature. It is true, that he hath given us many a wholeſome doctrine, and many a good counſel; and I wiſh he had not defeated the effect of them by his intolerable faults. [h] BUT *if he had written every thing in the moſt unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the ſake of Truth. Every man hath not the courage requiſite to make a Martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I ſhould imitate St. Peter.* A. D. 1521.

It was proper to give theſe extraordinary words at length, becauſe though he hath elſewhere dropped ſome expreſſions amounting nearly to the ſame thing, yet perhaps he hath nowhere ſo frankly opened his mind, and ſo ingenuouſly owned his timidity. The apprehenſion of loſing his revenues, the reputation which he ſtill enjoyed in the Court of Rome, and was loth to give up entirely, and poſſibly the fear of being excommunicated and proſcribed, and perhaps poiſoned or aſſaſſinated, might work together upon him, and reſtrain him from ſpeaking

[h] Nunc demum ſentio hoc conſilium fuiſſe Germanorum, ut me volentem nolentem pertraherent in Lutheri negotium. Ineonſultum mehercule conſilium: qua re me potius abalienaſſent. Aut quid ego potuiſſem opitulari Luthero, ſi me periculi comitem feciſſem, niſi ut pro uno perirent duo? Quo ſpiritu ille ſcripſerit non queo ſatis demirari, certe bonarum literarum cultores ingenti gravat invidia. Multa quidem præclare et docuit et monuit. Atque utinam ſua bona malis intolerabilibus non vitiaſſet. QUOD ſi omnia pie ſcripſiſſet, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium ſatis habent roboris: vereor autem, ne, ſi quid inciderit tumultus, Petrum ſim imitaturus.

A. D. 1521. freely concerning the controverſies then agitated. However, to do him juſtice, he ſtill maintained the truth, though cautiouſly and obliquely. Although he frequently cenſured Luther, yet he heartily wiſhed that he might carry his point, and extort from his enemies ſome reformation both of doctrines and manners; but, as he could not imagine that Luther would ſucceed, he choſe to adhere outwardly to the ſtronger party. [1] I follow, ſays he, the deciſions of the Pope and the Emperor when they are right, which is acting religiouſly; I ſubmit to them when they are wrong, which is acting prudently: and I think that it is lawful for good men to behave themſelves thus, when there is no hope of obtaining any more.

After this, when Eraſmus teſtifies his diſapprobation of the Lutheran meaſures, it is needleſs to ſeek other reaſons for it than thoſe which have been here mentioned. Ep. 583.

Le Clerc often cenſures Eraſmus for his luke-warmneſs, timidity, and unfairneſs, in the matter of the Reformation; and I, as a tranſlator, have adopted theſe cenſures, only ſoftening them a little here and there: for I am, in the main, of the ſame opinion with Le Clerc as to this point. As Proteſtants, we are certainly much obliged to Eraſmus; yet we are more obliged to the authors of the Reformation, to Luther, Melanchthon, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Cranmer, Bucer, &c. But here I would obſerve, ONCE FOR ALL, that many arguments may be plauſibly urged on the other ſide, either to excuſe, or at leaſt to extenuate very much that conduct of Eraſmus, which offended the Proteſtant party. Eraſmus, as you may ſee in this account of his Life, was not entirely free from prejudices of education, and had ſome indiſtinct and confuſed notions about the authority of the Church Catholic. He talks much of ſubmitting his own opinions and his

[1] Pontificis ac Cæſaris bene decernentis ſequor (decreta) quod pium eſt; male ſtatuentis fero, quod tutum eſt. Id opinor etiam bonis viris licere, ſi nulla ſpes ſit profectus.

his own judgment to her, by an act of implicit faith and unlimited obedience. He thought it not lawful to depart from the Church of Rome, corrupted as ſhe was. He was afterwards ſhocked alſo at the violent [k] quarrels, which aroſe about the Lord's Supper amongſt the Reformers, the Zuinglians and the Lutherans; for, in thoſe days, Zuinglius and his adherents were the only men, who talked reaſonably upon that ſubject. He was no leſs ſhocked at the peſtilent tumults and rebellions of the Ruſtics, the Fanatics, and Anabaptiſts. I cannot believe, that the fear of loſing his penſions, and of coming to want, made him ſay and do things which he thought to be unlawful: but it may be fairly ſuppoſed, that he was afraid of diſobliging ſeveral of his oldeſt and beſt friends, who were againſt the Lutheran Reformation; of offending not only Henry VIII, and Charles V, and the Popes, and George of Saxony, and Wolſey, &c. but even his Patron Warham, Montjoy, More, Tonſtal, Fiſher, Campegius, Bembus, Sadolet, and many others, whom he loved entirely, and to ſome of whom he was much obliged. Theſe things might influence his [l] judgment, though he himſelf was not at all aware of it. There is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that he acted againſt his conſcience in adhering to the Church of Rome. No: he perſuaded himſelf that he did as much as piety and prudence required from him, in freely cenſuring her defects. In his conduct there might be ſome weakneſs, and ſome paſſion againſt the perſons of the Reformers; but which of us can be ſure, that he might not have acted nearly the ſame part under the ſame circumſtances? *Judge not, that ye be not judged.* This worthy man ſpent a long and laborious life in an uniform purſuit of two points; in oppoſing barbarous ignorance, and blind A. D. 1521.

N n 2 ſuperſtition;

[k] Concerning the faults of the Reformers, and their intolerant ſpirit, ſee Voſſii Epiſt. XXIII. ad Grotium, Bibl. Univ. XVI. 324, and Colomeſius Theol. Preſb. Icon.

[l] In caſes like this, *Beneficium accipere, eſt libertatem vendere.*

A. D. 1521. ſuperſtition; and in promoting uſeful literature, and true piety. Theſe glorious projects he endeavoured to accompliſh in a mild and gentle manner, never attacking the perſons of men, but only the faults of the age, till hard neceſſity conſtrained him to reply to thoſe, who aſſaulted him with the utmoſt diſingenuity and malice. How could a learned man of a peaceable diſpoſition be better employed? He knew his own temper and talents, and conſcious that he was not fitted for the rough and bold work of Reformation, he would not attempt what was beyond his ſtrength. But, in one ſenſe, he was a Reformer, and the moſt eminent of all the Reformers. Le Clerc himſelf hath drawn up an handſome apology for this conduct of Eraſmus, in a Preface prefixed to the Edition of Leyden, which we ſhall inſert in the next Volume. Thus, if on ſome occaſions we bear a little hard upon Eraſmus, at other times we are willing to make him amends. Our cenſures are, *Amantium iræ.*

" [m] Calvin, Beza, and many others perſuaded themſelves, " that all thoſe, who at the firſt had favoured the Reformation, " either by endeavouring to ſoften the ſpirit of Perſecutors, or " by teſtifying an extreme deſire to have ſome end put to the " calamities of the Church, were ſo many apoſtates, and be- " trayers of their own conſcience, if they remained in the Ro- " miſh Communion, or altered their behaviour towards the Pro- " teſtants. I ſay, that this is judging too haſtily. To believe " that the Church ſtands in need of a reformation, and to ap- " prove this or that manner of reforming it, are two very diffe- " rent things. Again; To blame the conduct of thoſe who " oppoſe all reformation, and to diſapprove the ſteps of thoſe " who undertake to reform the Church, are things quite com- " patible. A man may act as Eraſmus did, without being a " perfidious perſon, and an Apoſtate, without ſinning againſt the " Holy Ghoſt, and doing violence to his conſcience; and this is " what

[m] Bayle CASTELLAN, Not. Q.

" what Beza ſeems never to have comprehended. He fancied, A. D. 1521.
" that all they, who agreed that Luther and Calvin ſaid right in
" many things, were therefore fully convinced that they ought
" to break with the Church of Rome, to erect altar againſt
" altar, to deſtroy images, and not to heſitate at the foreſight of
" thoſe torrents of blood, which would infallibly be ſhed. This
" is a mere illuſion. There were doubtleſs many perſons, who
" thought that, ſince the Reformation met with ſuch violent
" obſtacles, as threw all Europe into the utmoſt miſery, it was a
" Divine indication, that the happy time for a reformation was
" not yet come. Many perſons will adhere to this axiom, that
" it is a leſſer evil to bear with abuſes in Church and State, than
" to cure them by remedies, which will overturn the Conſtitution
" and the Government: and all unprejudiced judges will allow
" thus much, that a man ſhould be extremely reſerved in accu-
" ſing and condemning others, as acting againſt the dictates of
" their own conſcience."

Eraſmus ſhews at large, that whatſoever pains he had taken to keep upon good terms with the Divines of Louvain, it had been impoſſible to gain their friendſhip; and that ſome of them had cruelly deceived him, particularly Joannes Atenſis, who was one of the moſt able and conſiderable perſons amongſt them. Then he makes a tranſition to Luther, and cenſures his violent proceedings; as if Luther could have brought the Chriſtian world to meaſures of Reformation, in ſpite of the Romiſh Court, without plain-dealing and animated expreſſions! He declares his hatred of diſcord to be ſuch, that he diſliked even truth itſelf, if it was [n] ſeditious. But Luther, who was of another humour, would have replied, that ſuch was his hatred for falſhood and oppreſſion of conſcience, that he thought it better to ſuffer perſecution, if it aroſe, and to break looſe from ſuch a tyranny at all adventures, than to ſtoop down, and live and die under it, and hear a thouſand lies.

[n] Mihi adeo eſt inviſa diſcordia, ut veritas etiam diſpliceat ſeditioſa.

A. D. 1521. lies vented and obtruded under the venerable name of Chriſtian doctrines. They who are bold and reſolute will approve theſe maxims of Luther, and they who are cautious and diſpirited will cloſe in with thoſe of Eraſmus. It muſt be acknowledged, that in this Luther acted rather more like an Apoſtle, or a Primitive Chriſtian, than Eraſmus. If the firſt Chriſtians had been afraid of raiſing diſturbances, they would have choſen to comply with the Sanhedrim, and to live at peace with their countrymen, rather than to draw upon themſelves ſo much hatred. Some of the Great, ſays Eraſmus, meaning the King of Denmark, are of an opinion, to which I cannot aſſent, that the malady is too inveterate to be cured by gentle methods, and that the whole body muſt be violently ſhaken, before it can recover its health. If it be true, I had rather that others ſhould adminiſter this ſtrong phyſic, than myſelf. Very well: but then, at leaſt, we ought to reſpect and commend, and not to cenſure thoſe, who have the courage and the conſtancy to do, what we dare not practiſe. Ep. 587, 590.

From the ſame political principles, Eraſmus extols the [o] book of Henry VIII againſt Luther, even before he had ſeen it: and he began now to throw out intimations, that he alſo would one day enter the liſts, and take Luther to taſk; which gave great offence to the Lutherans. Ep. 589, 590.

He imagined, that at length, by training up youth in learning and uſeful knowledge, thoſe religious improvements would gradually be brought about, which the Princes, the Prelates, and the Divines of his days could not be perſuaded to admit, or tolerate. But they made it their buſineſs to ſuppreſs ſuch liberal education: and ſoon afterwards a Religious Order aroſe, founded by a Fanatic, and conſiſting of men, who mortally [p] hated the name

[o] Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, p. 246, 250. Maittaire II. 609.

[p] Diximus nonnulla de Jeſuitarum in cremandis hæreticorum, quos nuncupant, libris

the name and the memory of Eraſmus, who ſeized upon the office of inſtructing youth, and did indeed take laudable pains to teach them Claſſical learning; but, as to religion, were ſtill more careful to train them them up in ſuch principles and ſentiments, as beſt ſerved the views and purpoſes of the Teachers. Ep. 592. A. D. 1521.

Afterwards, being importuned to write againſt Luther, he applied to Aleander, the Pope's Nuncio, for a permiſſion to read the books of this peſtilent Diſturber of the public peace. But Aleander flatly refuſed, pretending that he could not do it without expreſs licence from the Pope. How ſtupid and ridiculous was this, to refuſe a permiſſion of this kind to ſuch a man as Eraſmus; and above all, whilſt they were ſoliciting him to enter into the controverſy! He therefore prayed his friend Bombaſio to obtain a Brief from the Pope for this important purpoſe; and it is a very ſtrange thing, that they did not take him directly at his word, and engage him in point of honour to enter without delay into the battle. Ep. 594.

Although Eraſmus was not now at Louvain, yet he did not neglect to do all the ſervice in his power to that Univerſity, and to commend the Profeſſors to the Public, thoſe particularly who taught polite literature. Ep. 595.

He received a letter from Capito, which is full of chaſms, becauſe ſome Prince was mentioned in it, whom it was not ſafe to offend. Capito inveighs againſt the violence and the ſatirical libels of the Lutherans which then flew about, though in his heart

libris induſtria: nunc quædam ejus e literis illorum annuis documenta exhibebimus. Ita autem ad ſui Ordinis Generalem, A. 1584, Colonienſe Collegium, cum alia de ſuis proſelytis prædicaſſet: *Multo major laus videri debet, eos, qui in tanta hæreſium colluvione ſunt alti, contra hæreticos tamen tanta concipere odia, ut ea non modo in illos, ſed in eorum quoque libros effundant. Quotquot enim hujus generis nacti ſunt libros, eos ad nos afferunt exurendos. Adoleſcens complura Lutheri* Eraſmique *volumina, quæ poſtea nobis traderet concremanda, ab hæreticorum Miniſtro coëmit*, &c. Amœn. Liter. T. IX. p. 760.

A. D. 1521. heart, like Eraſmus, he longed for a Reformation; and afterwards he openly embraced it. Ep. 596.

From Baſil, Eraſmus wrote to the Biſhop of Olmutz, and deplores the death of that Prelate's brother, the Biſhop of Breſlaw.

In his letter to Polydore [q] Virgil, he demonſtrates to that learned Italian, how much he was miſtaken in fancying that he had publiſhed his Book of Proverbs before Eraſmus. Though he had juſt cauſe to be offended at Polydore, who falſely accuſed him of plagiariſm, yet he perſuaded Froben to [r] print his Book for him, and expoſtulates with great candour and good-nature; ſo remote was he from the peeviſhneſs of thoſe perſons, who fly into indecencies for much ſmaller matters, for a bare difference of opinion, and are incapable of being taught better manners. Ep. 602.

" [s] Eraſmus was not willing to quarrel with Polydore Virgil; " and I wiſh we had no cauſe neither to be offended at him, " for deſtroying the many manuſcripts out of which he compiled " his Hiſtory; a charge which, I fear, ſtill lies heavy upon his " memory.

" Eraſmus reſpected him, as a man of merit and abilities. As " Polydore abounded in money, being Collector of the Pope's " *Annates*, ſo we find him generous to Eraſmus, and ſending " him [t] money to purchaſe an horſe. After he had lived forty " years in England, he was diſmiſſed with a gift of three hun- " dred crowns from the King, and with liberty of enjoying the " Archdeaconry of Wells, and the Prebend of Nunnington in " the Church of Hereford. He preſented the Church of Wells " with

[q] P. Jovius Elog. p. 213. Bayle VIRGILE (POLYDORE) which is an Article well drawn up. Pope Blount, p. 451.

[r] Maittaire II. 619.

[s] Knight, p. 169.

[t] Dediſti quo paretur equus; utinam dare poſſis quo reparetur eques.

" with Hangings for the Quire, upon which were wrought a A. D. 1521.
" Laurel-tree, and theſe words,

" *Sunt Polydori Munera Vergilii.*"

In other letters of this year, Eraſmus makes his uſual complaints of the Monks and of Luther, and declares that he had no hand in his books. His patron Montjoy having exhorted him to write againſt Luther, he replies, with a frankneſs which muſt pleaſe every reader; *Nothing is more eaſy than to call Luther a blockhead: nothing is leſs eaſy than to prove him one; at leaſt, ſo it ſeems to me.*

Ludovicus Vives, who had been in France, ſends Eraſmus a pretty letter, full of commendations of the Learned at Paris, and eſpecially of Budæus. Eraſmus, in his reply, lets him know, that literary matters went on much worſe at Louvain, where the Monks oppoſed the progreſs of erudition, and the eſtabliſhment of the [t] *Collegium Trilingue*, with all their might and malice. He alſo juſtly cenſures the [u] Paganiſm of the Italian Poets and Philologers, and gives us a remarkable account, how learning ſtood at that time in various parts, and ſpeaks favourably of Oxford, and of Cambridge ſtill more favourably.

[x] Rutgerus

[t] Bayle BUSLEIDEN. Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 63.

[u] ——Neque enim ſolis bonis literis vacandum, quod quidam apud Italos nimis Ethnice faciunt, qui poſteaquam Jovem, Bacchum, Neptunum, Cynthium, Cyllenium, verſibus aliquot inſulſerunt, abſolute docti ſibi videntur. —Narravit mihi ante annos tres Joannes Epiſcopus Roffenſis, vir unus vere Epiſcopus, vere Theologus, in Academia Cantabrigienſi, cui Cancellarius eſt perpetuus (ſic enim illi vocant ſummum ac perpetuum ſcholæ antiſtitem) pro ſophiſticis argutationibus, nunc ſobrias ac ſanas inter Theologos diſputationes agitari, unde diſcedunt non ſolum doctiores, verum etiam meliores. Oxonienſis Academia, Monachorum quorundam opera, nonnihil obluctata eſt initio; ſed Cardinalis ac Regis auctoritate coerciti ſunt, qui tantum bonum clariſſimæ ac vetuſtiſſimæ ſcholæ invidebant. De Italia quid attinet commemorare, in qua ſemper regnarunt hæc ſtudia, ſed pene ſola, ſi medicinam et juris peritiam excipias? Academia Complutenſis non aliunde celebritatem nominis auſpicata

A. D. 1521. [x] Rutgerus Reſcius, a friend of Eraſmus, was the firſt Greek Profeſſor in the above-mentioned College of Buſlidius; and afterwards ſet up a Preſs at Louvain. He was ill uſed by the Academics of that place, and ſoon involved in quarrels: upon which Eraſmus [y] comforts him, and banters him at the ſame time.

He returns his thanks to Livinus, an Abbot, whom he calls *Præſulem egregium*, and who had ſent him ſome handſome and valuable preſent. It is proper, as we proceed, to take ſome notice of the favours, which were formerly beſtowed upon men of letters. Ep. 580.

To

eſt, quam a complectendo linguas, ac bonas literas. Cujus præcipuum ornamentum eſt egregius ille ſenex, planeque dignus qui multos vincat Neſtoras, *Antonius Nebriſſenſis*. In Germania tot fere ſunt Academiæ, quot oppida. Harum nulla pene eſt, quæ non magnis ſalariis accerſat linguarum Profeſſores. Coloniæ, neſcio quo fato, nunquam in pretio fuerunt manſuetiora ſtudia, quod illic, ut audio, regnant examina Dominicalium ac Franciſcanorum. Certe ſemper liberum fuit cui liberet profiteri, vel mercede. Lovanii quibus tumultibus obſtitere Proceres, ne quis quamlibet honeſtam diſciplinam profiteretur, vel gratis? — &c. Lutetiæ licuit Fauſto profiteri quoſlibet Poetas, uſque ad hænias Priapeas, idque more, ne quid aliud dicam, Fauſtino. Lovanii non licuit Neſeno enarrare Geographiam Pomponii Melæ. Roma ipſa, Mediolanum, ut de cæteris taceam gymnaſiis, ingentibus præmiis ambit et evocat eos qui linguas doceant. Nos trilingue Collegium — ſic machinis omnibus oppugnavimus, ut majore ſtudio fieri non potuerit. Et tamen haud ſcio an uſquam gentium magis invaleſcant literæ politiores quam hic; ut plane mihi videre videar illud Horatianum,

Duris ut ilex, &c.

Ep. 611.

In his anſwer to Stunica, he hath greatly commended this *Antonius Nebriſſenſis*.

[x] Maittaire Ann. Typ. II. 63.

[y] Ni tam atrox eſſet contumelia, mi Reſci doctiſſime, prorſus auctor tibi futurus ſim, ut vel iniquis conditionibus pacem admitteres.—Mira vero tyrannis! Ipſi quum ne voculæ quidem ullius injuriam ferant, poſtulant ut tu tam inſignem contumeliam muſſes, ac propemodum etiam ultro veniam poſtules, né quid ſcilicet illorum decedat dignitati. — Fac ita litiges, quemadmodum hactenus eſt a vobis litigatum. Nam quum proxime eſſem Lovanii, ſic obeſulus, rubicundulus, et alacer eras, ut mihi lite non macerari, ſed ſaginari videaris. Et habes te dignum adverſarium Joannem Calabrum, qui te pallore macieque refert; excepta ætate, adeo tui non diſſimilis, ut periculum ſit, ne cui videaris litigare cum patre. Ep. 607.

To his friend Barbirius he accuſes himſelf [z] of indiſcretion, A. D. 1521. and ſpeaks of his open, and jocoſe, and unreſerved temper.

He obſerves, that none exclaim louder againſt Luther's errors, than a ſet of [a] Epicurean Atheiſts. He means, I ſuppoſe, ſome Cardinals, and Italian Eccleſiaſtics of high rank. This Farce hath been often acted: complaints have been made of the licentiouſneſs of this or that age, and of the increaſe of hereſy, ſchiſm, Socinianiſm, by ſome perſons, who had a much ſhorter Creed than any of thoſe whom they reviled and oppreſſed.

— — — *Felicia tempora, quæ* Vos
Moribus oppoſuere!

The [b] Engliſh, ſays Eraſmus, are commonly thought to be heretical: but they are not ſo in point of friendſhip, and I have the greateſt reaſon to love them. Ep. 587.

He ſends his compliments to Staniſlaus Turzo, Biſhop of Olmutz, and thanks for a preſent. Ep. 595.

At this time he ſeems to have contracted a friendſhip with the learned [c] Alciat. Ep. 600.

[z] Et ut ingenue, quod verum eſt, fatear, ſum natura propenſior ad jocos, quam fortaſſe deceat, et linguæ liberioris, quam nonnunquam expediat. Melior enim aliorum animos ex meo. Nec toties falſus, poſſum ab ingenio meo recedere.——

[a] Sed vereor, ne complures ſint, qui magnis conviciis inſectantur in Lutheranis levia quædam: — cum ipſi non credant, id quod eſt totius fidei noſtræ baſis, videlicet animum ſupereſſe a morte corporis.—

Quos nos vocamus Turcas, magna ex parte ſemichriſtiani ſunt, et fortaſſis propiores vero Chriſtianiſmo, quam plerique noſtrum ſunt. Quot enim ſunt apud nos, qui nec reſurrectionem corporum credunt, nec animam credunt corpori ſuperſtitem? Et interim per iſtos ſævitur in hæreticulos, qui dubitant an Romanus Pontifex habeat juſ in animas igne purgatorio cruciatas. *Adag.* c. 967.

[b] Britannia vulgo male audit, quoties de fide agitur. At illic tales amicos, tam fidos, tam conſtantes, tam prudenter faventes reperi, ut meliores ne optare quidem potuiſſem.

[c] Boiſſard Icon. p. 135. Baillet IV. 388. VI. 69. Bayle ALCIAT. Scaligeran, p. 13. Pope Blount, p. 414.

A. D. 1521. [d] Alciat had the ſame notions with Eraſmus, concerning the Religious Orders in the Church; and of this he gave a [e] remarkable inſtance in a long and laboured letter, which he ſent to a particular friend, deſiring him to keep it ſecret.

This friend was a learned, modeſt, ingenious, and virtuous man; but all on a ſudden, forſaking his domeſtics, his friends, and his aged mother, who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance, he turned Monk in his fortieth year, to the infinite grief of Alciat, who drew up an excellent dehortation from entering into that ſtate, omitting no argument that could be urged to ſhew the folly and the danger of making ſuch a choice, and of mixing with ſuch aſſociates. He concludes with exhorting his friend moſt earneſtly, ſince the time of his probation was not yet elapſed, to return to his ſenſes, and to his duty towards God and man. Whether Alciat ſucceeded in this attempt or not, we cannot tell.

The 605th Epiſtle to Budæus is very [f] entertaining, and contains an account of More, and of his manner of living, and managing his family, and of the excellent diſpoſition and uncommon erudition of his daughters.

In a familiar letter to Nicolas Everard, Preſident of Holland, he [g] opens his heart, and cenſures the Pope's proceedings againſt the

[d] Alciat a eſté le premier, qui a fait imprimer *Notitia Imperii*, & il y a fait une belle preface. *Scaligeran.*

Alciatus primus purioris literaturæ et antiquitatis cognitionem ad juris ſcientiam attulit. *Thuanus* L. VIII. p. 264.

[e] Andreæ Alciati contra vitam Monaſticam ad Bernardum Mattium Epiſtolæ, &c.

See Act. Erudit. XVII. 290.

[f] Appendix.

[g] Quin et illud demiror, Pontificem tale negotium per tales homines agere, partim indoctos, certe impotentis arrogantiæ omnes. Quid Cajetano Cardinale ſuperbius aut furioſius? quid Carolo a Miltieis? quid Marino? quid Aleandro? —Aleander plane maniacus eſt. — Res, ut audio, nunc agitur venenis. Pariſiis ſublati ſunt aliquot, qui Lutherum manifeſte defendebant. Fortaſſis hoc in mandatis eſt, ut quoniam aliter vinci non poſſunt hoſtes Sedis Romanæ (ſic enim illi vocant, qui harpyis illis non per omnia obſequantur) veneno tollantur, cum benedictione Pontificis.

Hae

the Lutherans, and gives Aleander a moſt deteſtable character, A. D. 1521.
repreſenting him, and other Eccleſiaſtical Tools of the Roman Court, as the vileſt of mankind, as capable of the fouleſt crimes, even of aſſaſſinating or poiſoning any perſons whom they did not like. For that reaſon he thought it not ſafe to *eat* and *drink* with Aleander. As to Cardinal Cajetan, Eraſmus deſcribes him as a furious, imperious, and inſolent Eccleſiaſtic. See Seckendorf concerning this Cardinal, and concerning Miltitius, another of the Pope's agents. L. I. 45, &c. 60, &c.

[h] Pope Leo died, of poiſon, as it was commonly ſuppoſed: As he had remarkably favoured literature, and ſhewed ſome kindneſs to-

Hac arte valet Aleander. Is me Colonaiæ impenſiſſime rogabat ad prandium; ego, quo magis ille inſtabat, hoc pertinacius excuſavi. — Hæc liberius apud te effudi. Cavebis ne hæc epiſtola aberret in manus multorum. Ep. 317. c. 1697.

Succeſſit Aleander, et ante Lutheri nomen hoc faciens Eraſmo, quod figulus figulo, natura excelſus, ferox, irritabilis, cui nihil neque lucri, neque gloriæ ſatis eſt. Hunc quidam implerunt falſiſſimis mendaciis, et ſic inſtigarunt hominem, ut nihil haberet penſi, quid de me prædicaret, etiam apud ſummos viros, modo perderet. Et tamen apud me dejerabat, non vivere quenquam amiciorem Eraſmo, quam eſſet ipſe. Ep. 618.

Cum datum eſt venenum, aut intentata calumnia capitalis, allegatur zelus, et hoſtis Eccleſiæ proſcribitur, quiſquis parum favet his, qui nutantem Eccleſiam humeris ſuis ſulciunt. Et habent (Monachi) arcana dogmata, quæ non communicant niſi myſteriis iiſdem initiatis. In his eſt, ut aiunt, fas piumque eſſe veneno clam dato tollere, qui peſtem moliatur Eccleſiæ: certiſſimam autem eſſe peſtem Eccleſiæ, ſi quid decidatur ipſorum commodis vel auctoritati. *Lingua*, c. 720.

Quam non referunt (Apoſtolorum), exemplum quidam, qui non virgam tantum Apoſtolicam, ſed carceres habent, catenas habent, confiſcationes bonorum habent, et brachium ſeculare, denique bombardas habent, et armatum ſatelliti-um, imo et *venena* habent, aliiſque mille terroribus armati ſunt.—T. V. c. 226. F.

De hoc hominum genere ſcripſit Pſalmographus; *Venenum aſpidum ſub lingua eorum*: non dixit, in pixidibus eorum, quanquam nec eo carent quidam; ſed ſub lingua eorum, ubi tutiſſime occultatur, et facillime depromitur. Tom. IX. c. 442.

[h] Multa ad Leonis mores pertinentia Varillaſius nuper in Arcana hiſtoria Florentina prodidit, ex quibus, et ex ſilentio Pallavicini, judicium Pauli Veneti de-

A. D. 1521. to Eraſmus, this learned man hath ſpoken favourably of him in ſome of his writings, and was willing to ſpare his character as much as he could. His encouraging arts and ſciences, his boundleſs liberality to the poor, to wits, and poets, and artiſts, and men of letters, is what his Apologiſts have to oppoſe to abundance of ſcandalous defects and grievous faults in his character.

[i] Wolſey at this time thought it expedient to be very active in ſuppreſſing the books and the doctrines of Luther.

The letters of this year are written from Louvain, Baſil, Antwerp, Anderlac, Bruſſels, and Bruges.

A. D. MDXXII. Ætat. LV.

A. D. 1522. This year Eraſmus publiſhed the works of St. Hilary, and dedicated them to Joannes Carondeletus, Biſhop of Palermo. This [k] Dedication is an excellent compoſition; and the Benedictins of Paris,

de Pontifice hoc confirmatur, quod duobus maximis vitiis laboraverit, ignorantia religionis, et impietate ſive atheiſmo. Ut adeo mitem nimis appareat fuiſſe Lutherum, qui talia ei non objecerit; neque compenſari illa poterunt liberalitatis et magnificentiæ, aliarumque, quæ nec Chriſtianum, nedum Chriſti vicarium faciunt, dotium laude, qua illum Literati ejus ætatis vehementer extollebant, interque eos omnium copioſiſſime Eraſmus, &c. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 190, 191.

Homo literarum amans, ſed ſplendidus, ſumptuoſus, muſicæ, ſcurris, et voluptatibus deditus ſupra modum. *Perizonius*, p. 111.

Sic Leonem decimum, quum omnia perſtreperent triumphis et gratulationibus, ſubito mors exemit rebus humanis, quo tranſtulerit incertum: et in terris quidem a nemine poterat reprehendi, ſed ipſe novit quam bonam cauſam habuerit apud tribunal Chriſti. *Eraſmus*, Tom. V. c. 230.

Leo X bellando conſumſit quatuordecies centena millia aureorum, relicta ingenti vi æris alieni. *Spalatinus* in the *Amœn. Literar.* T. IV. p. 396.

Paul Jovius Vit. Leonis. Remarques de Joli ſur le Dict. de Bayle, *Art.* Leo X. Cave *Hiſt. Lit.* Vol. II. p. 247.

[i] Fiddes, p. 253.

[k] Eraſmus, ſays Du Pin, when he publiſhed his editions of the Fathers, joined to them Prefaces and Notes full of critical diſcernment: and though he may be ſometimes too bold in rejecting ſome of their works as ſpurious; yet muſt it be confeſſed, that he hath opened and ſhewed the way to all thoſe who have followed him. B. E.

Paris, who have refuted ſome parts of it in their Preface to Hilary, would have done much better, if they had inſerted it at full length in their Edition. It is true, they ſpeak of it with contempt, becauſe it ſtood condemned by the holy Inquiſition, and by the Faculty of Theology at Paris; but theſe condemnations are a ſingular recommendation of it to all thoſe, who know upon what grounds ſuch cenſures are founded. Theſe Monks call the Preface of Eraſmus *a Declamation*, and quarrel with him, becauſe he had not always interpreted the diſcourſes and the actions of Hilary in a way to do him credit. But if they had ſhewed one half of the candour and good-will to Eraſmus, which they have beſtowed upon Father Hilary, they would have ſeen that he was much in the right, and would have heartily wiſhed that their Fraternity had been ſtocked with ſuch *Declaimers* as he. But, all things conſidered, it is no wonder, that this Declamatory Preface had the misfortune not to pleaſe them: for, A. D. 1522.

1. Eraſmus ſhews, that the Monks, who had formerly tranſcribed the works of Hilary, had curtailed and interpolated divers places, becauſe they thought them not conformable to the doctrines received in their days.

Hilary ſeems to have fancied, that the body and the ſoul of Jeſus Chriſt never ſuffered any thing, and were of their own nature impaſſible, which doubtleſs is no ſmall error. But the Copiſts had cauſed this error to diſappear, by falſifying the text in many places. I know that the Benedictins endeavour to excuſe Hilary; and his ſtyle, which is very nearly allied to jargon, gives ſome room for ſuch favourable conſtructions. But the ancient Copiſts underſtood him as Eraſmus did, and therefore had recourſe to forgery. Of this proceeding Eraſmus juſtly complains, and ſays, that, inſtead of preſuming to change the words of Hilary, they ought either to have put a favourable ſenſe upon his expreſſions, if they could, or to have honeſtly owned that he was in an error. If, ſays he, you will needs make

alterations

A. D. 1522. alterations and interpolations, to ſave an author's reputation, you ſhould practiſe theſe charitable tricks upon the works of the Moderns, upon your own contemporaries, as they have not the ſanction of Antiquity to ſecure them from cenſure, and as Death hath not removed them beyond the attacks of malice and envy. Inſtead of acting thus, we exerciſe a ſuperſtitious ſort of indulgence towards the Fathers, whilſt in modern Divines we miſrepreſent and cenſure even their juſt and reaſonable remarks, and put the worſt conſtruction upon all that they write: as if by ſuch unfair and diſingenuous criticiſms we could not diſcover even in the Epiſtles of St. Paul ſome propoſitions, which might be repreſented as erroneous, ſcandalous, offenſive to pious ears, irreverend, and ſmelling of hereſy!

2. After having obſerved, that the maſter-piece of Hilary is his Treatiſe on the Trinity, he takes notice, that this Father complains of being under a neceſſity of ſpeaking concerning things incomprehenſible, and moſt difficult to be expreſſed in proper language. Thus the Ancients, ſays Eraſmus, beſpeak our favour and our candour, and it is fit that we ſhould comply with their modeſt requeſt. But with what forehead can we make the ſame petition, we who, upon points far remote from our nature and our conceptions, ſtart ſo many curious, not to ſay impious queſtions? we who decide ſo dogmatically concerning things, of which a man may be either ignorant or doubtful, without riſquing his ſalvation? Shall a Chriſtian be excluded from communion with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe he cannot explain metaphyſically what diſtinguiſheth the Father from the Son, and what the Holy Ghoſt from them both; what difference there is between the generation of the Son, and the proceſſion of the Spirit? If I believe what is taught me, that there are Three of one nature, what occaſion have I for farther diſputes? and if I believe it not, human authority will never perſuade me of it. This dangerous and impertinent curioſity was introduced by the ſtudy of philoſophy. And

And yet, ſays he, I do not entirely condemn the ſtudy of philoſophy, in any of its branches, nor inquiries concerning things ultra-mundane, if a man have a peculiar genius for it, if he decides nothing raſhly, if he is free from ſtubbornneſs, and from a pertinacious luſt of victory, which is the peſt of religious union. Peace and unanimity are the main of religion; and theſe bleſſings cannot be preſerved, unleſs we abſtain from multiplying deciſions and definitions, and leave a freedom for private judgment. Many controverted points are in themſelves extremely difficult and obſcure; and it is a diſtemper incident to the human mind, that when it hath once diſputed and determined, it hath no inclination to yield upon any account. Then every one, thoroughly heated with altercation, imagines that to be true and evident, which he hath raſhly undertaken to maintain. Some have ſo little kept within bounds, that, after having firſt made definitions upon every Theological article, they have proceeded to invent I know not what[1] divine attributes, and have beſtowed them upon men, who are no more than men; and this hath cauſed more diſſenſions, and more violent tumults in the world, than ever were excited by the raſhneſs of the Arians. But there are certain Rabbins, who would think it a diſgrace not to have a ſolution ready for every queſtion that can be ſtarted. And yet, on the contrary, a good Divine ſhould eſtabliſh only what is taught in the Scriptures, and be a faithful diſpenſer of God's holy word. We talk at preſent of referring many points of doubtful diſputation to the next general Council. Would it not be better to refer them to the bleſſed time, when we ſhall ſee God face to face? A. D. 1522.

[1] He ſeems to mean the doctrine of the infallibility and extravagant authority of the Pope, or of Councils; and he thus explains himſelf in Tom. IX. c. 920. Loquor illic de iis, qui Romano Pontifici tribuunt plus ſatis, quorum adulationem ſcio nec Theologis probari. Id ſatis arguebat libellus, quo reſponderunt Cardinali Cajetano.

A. D. 1522. Theſe were good leſſons, but not ſuitable to the taſte of thoſe with whom Eraſmus had to do, and who had no diſpoſition to liſten to the pacific voice of Reaſon.

3. After having taken notice of the perplexed and obſcure ſtyle of Hilary, proceeding either from his own phraſeology, or from the ſubject matter, he paſſeth on to his Book of Synods, and ſays; Although this Father delivers the ſentiments decreed by the Synods, he begs that none would engage him in the perilous adventure of defending them; not, as I ſuppoſe, becauſe he did not approve the doctrines, or becauſe he diſtruſted the favour of thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf, but by a certain ſcrupulous fear of ſpeaking in a ſtrain too dogmatical; a fear which we have now ſo far forgotten, that in this reſpect we have loſt all ſhame. Thus men ſet out with ſome caution and diffidence, and at laſt grow bold and deciſive to the utmoſt degree. Hilary dares not pronounce any thing concerning the holy Spirit, only that he is the Spirit of God; and even this he would not adventure to ſay, if he had not read it in St. Paul. Nor dares he call the Spirit a creature, becauſe he finds it not ſo written in the Scriptures. Such a confeſſion of faith would not ſuffice in our days; for the Fathers, being drawn to it by controverſy, have decided more than this, and have taught us more. But we proceed even farther than they, and that without any neceſſity compelling us. Formerly faith conſiſted more in a good life, than in the profeſſion of [m] articles of religion. Neceſſity engaged Chriſtians to draw up articles, but yet few in number, and with an Apoſtolical moderation and reſerve. Then the perverſeneſs and malice of heretics

[m] Utinam noſtra credulitas (Symbolo Apoſtolorum) fuiſſet contenta! ubi cœpit eſſe minus fidei inter Chriſtianos, mox increvit Symbolorum et modus et numerus. *Rat. Veræ Theol.* Tom. V. c. 92.

Quid multis? Dum colligendi articulos nullus eſt neque modus neque finis, res plane tandem exit in *morbum articularem*. Atqui iſthuc non eſt hæreſes excludere, ſed hæreticos facere. Sic cœpit Arianum incendium, &c. *Ep.* 746.

tics cauſed the holy Scriptures to be more diligently diſcuſſed, A. D. 1522.
and points of doctrine to be determined by Synodal authority. Then Creeds began to be found in mens writings, more than in their hearts; and there were almoſt as many Confeſſions of faith, as there were perſons capable of framing and drawing them up. Articles were multiplied, and ſincerity diminiſhed; diſputes grew hot, and charity grew cold. The doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, which once had nothing to do with verbal wranglings, began to ſtand in need of Philoſophical props; and this was the firſt commencement of the depravation of the Church. Riches flowed in, and augmented the corruption, and then violence began to be employed. The authority of Emperors added much to the power of the Church, and very little to the purity of Chriſtian faith. At laſt Scholaſtic Sophiſtry aroſe, and begat ten thouſand articles of faith; and theſe were ſupported by terror and menaces. Thus, though deſtitute of morality, and of the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and having our faith in our mouths, and not in our hearts, we, forſooth, compel men by boiſterous violence to believe what they believe not, to love what they love not, and to underſtand what they underſtand not. Nothing that is compelled is ſincere; and nothing is agreeable to Jeſus Chriſt that is not voluntary.

To theſe he adds many excellent [n] remarks upon arbitrary deciſions; upon the violent temper of Hilary, and his railing invectives againſt the Arians, whom he treats as ſo many blaſphemers and Devils; upon his ſingular opinions, which ſtand in need of no ſmall indulgence; upon his injudicious expreſſions, which muſt be very candidly interpreted, or elſe he muſt ſtand condemned; upon the errors of the Fathers, &c. The Benedictins have endeavoured to defend Hilary, and it may be that they have pointed out ſome miſtakes of Eraſmus; which is no wonder, conſidering the abundant leiſure, and conveniences, and aſſiſt-

 ances,

[n] Appendix.

A. D. 1522. ances, which they enjoyed, and of which this great man was deſtitute. Let it ſuffice here to obſerve, that the very beſt things ſaid by Eraſmus in this Dedication, were thoſe which moſt [o] offended theſe Fathers. Ep. 613.

Du Pin hath given us an account of this Hilary of Poitiers, a Father of the fourth century. He judges, as Eraſmus did, concerning his ſtyle, and concerning ſome of his errors. His periods, ſays he, are uſually long and embarraſſed, ſo that he is always obſcure, and ſometimes unintelligible. Often he uſeth barbarous terms, and now and then hath paſſages which can be reduced to no conſtruction. He abounds with antitheſes, and ſuch-like figures of ſpeech. He hath ſome errors, and ſome expreſſions not conformable to the doctrine of the Church, &c. B. E. T. II. 96.

Cave alſo hath made much the ſame obſervations upon Hilary, and agrees in the main with Eraſmus, whom he treats with the reſpect due to him. H. L. T. I. 214.

The Monks, who lived in the days of Eraſmus, had as little eſteem for him as many of their ſucceſſors have now. The wiſe and learned and moderate amongſt the Lutherans had more cauſe to be pleaſed with him; but the violent men of that party could not bear to ſee him advance half-way towards them, and then ſtop ſhort. They began therefore now to threaten him that they would write againſt him, as he informs Pirckheimerus, deſcribing the ſituation in which he found himſelf. He would have willingly died in his labours, and have worn himſelf out in writing books of piety, if he could by thoſe efforts have produced any fruits for his Lord and Maſter: but, ſays he, we ſee our weakneſs, or rather our miſery; we ſee an age abounding in [p] monſters and prodigies, ſo that I know not what party to take: only

[o] The Sorboniſts alſo, in their Cenſures, attacked this poor Dedication with great fury.

[p] Eſt genus hominum in hoc natum, ut nulli ſint uſui, tantum in publicam utilitatem aliquid molientibus faceſſant negotium, nec alia re celebres. T. IX. c. 1047.

only this I know, that my conſcience hath confidence before the Lord Jeſus, who is my judge. They, who are the Pope's agents and tools in I know not what affairs, draw the chains of the ancient tyranny ſo tight and cloſe, that they ſeem more diſpoſed to add than to diminiſh. On the other hand, they, who under the name of Luther profeſs the defence of Evangelical liberty, act with a ſpirit which I underſtand not: at leaſt many perſons mix themſelves with them, whom I ſhould not like for coadjutors, if I were concerned in the affair. In the mean time, Chriſtian charity is mortally wounded by theſe cruel diviſions, and the conſciences of men are in uneaſineſs and ſuſpenſe. They who are of a licentious temper, find occaſions to indulge it from the Lutheran writings: they who are more reſerved, find themſelves between the hammer and the anvil; on the one ſide they ſee probable arguments, and the ſentiments of nature; on the other, the authority of the Great, and an innumerable multitude. How this will end, the Lord knoweth; but I ſet a ſmall value upon an extorted faith. The authority of Bulls is weighty, the ordinances of the Emperor ſtill more; and theſe things may perhaps ſtop the tongues of men for a time; but will they alter their hearts? A. D. 1522.

Afterwards, he thus deſcribes his own times: One conſults his private intereſts, another fears to loſe his poſſeſſions, another hates broils and tumults, and lies ſtill. In the mean time the dangerous ſtate of things grows worſe. The malice of ſome people hath brought ſuch an odium upon me, that if I ſhould attempt to ſerve the public, it would be in vain. Certain Divines, having obſerved that the progreſs of literature, wherein I have been inſtrumental, had diminiſhed their authority, did me all the miſchief that they could, even before the world had heard the name of Luther. Luther now hath put a ſword into their hands, to ſlay me: and yet I have kept myſelf clear from that controverſy; only I exhorted Luther moſt earneſtly to write in another manner, if

A. D. 1522. if he hoped to do any good. Then came Aleander, who, before Luther was known, looked upon Eraſmus as one [q] artificer looks upon another of the ſame occupation; a man by nature haughty, fierce, eaſily provoked, inſatiable of glory and of lucre. Some perſons filled his head with ſo many lies, and ſo inſtigated him, that he cared not what evil he ſaid of me, ſo he could but ruin me. At the ſame time this honeſt man uſed to ſwear to me, that he loved me beyond meaſure, and was the warmeſt friend I had in the world. Departing from the Low Countries, he left two of his Tools behind him, well trained and inſtructed for his purpoſe, two Theologers of Louvain, and Caracciola Biſhop of Liege, an eternal prater, and a Spaniard whom I know not, at the Emperor's Court, and whom I ſuſpect to be a Biſhop. At Rome he employs Stunica, whom all the world accounts to be a Lunatic, and who was born with a ſlandering conſtitution. Stunica had preſented a libel to Leo, containing only *ſixty thouſand* hereſies, extracted from my writings; and I was in no ſmall peril, if death had not removed that Pope, who elſe had no bad will to Eraſmus. The Lutherans openly threaten to aſſault me with libels; and the Emperor is almoſt perſuaded that I am the ſource of the Lutheran tumults. Thus I ſtand, deſerving well of all, and ill uſed by both parties. Ep. 618.

He pours forth the ſame complaints to his good friend Vives, who returned him an elegant letter of conſolation. Ep. 619.

Staniſlaus Turzo ſent him a friendly letter, and a preſent of four ancient gold medals. Ep. 620.

Eraſmus returns his thanks to ſome Biſhop, who had taken his part, and done him good offices with the Emperor, and proteſts that he neither is, nor ever will be a Lutheran. Our new Pontif, ſays he, and the Emperor, might redreſs theſe diſorders, without any

[q] Alluding to Heſiod;

Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

any tumult, by only cutting two evils up by the roots: the one A. D. 1522.
is an hatred for the Court of Rome occaſioned by her intolerable avarice and tyranny; the other is the yoke of human Conſtitutions, debarring the people of their Chriſtian liberty. Let the Emperor ſecure to me my ſalary, and defend my reputation from the malice of certain people, and he ſhall never repent of taking Eraſmus for a counſellor. Eraſmus, it ſeems, was in ſome apprehenſion of having his ſtipend withdrawn. Ep. 621.

To the Preſident of the Court at Mechlin he preſents his complaints againſt his old enemy Egmond, who called him a Lutheran, in his ſermons, and over his cups at all public carouſals. I have hindered many perſons, ſays he, both in Germany and in the Low Countries, from liſting themſelves in the Lutheran faction; nor hath any thing more damped the courage of that party, than my public declarations, that I diſapproved their proceedings, and was determined to adhere to the Pope. If I had favoured Luther, as my enemies pretend, I ſhould not have wanted Princes to protect me. This ſpirit, however, is not ſo far diminiſhed as they imagine, and as we wiſh: there are here more than an [r] hundred thouſand, who abhor the See of Rome, and approve of Luther's opinions, at leaſt in a great meaſure. Eraſmus was not miſtaken in this, as the Reformation in Switzerland ſhewed ſoon afterwards.

He had lately publiſhed at Baſil his celebrated [s] Colloquies, dedicated to John Eraſmius Froben, his god-ſon, and ſon to John Froben. He compoſed this work, partly that young perſons might have a book to teach them the Latin language, and religious

[r] He ſays, two hundred thouſand, in Ep. 644.

[s] See Bayle ERASME, Not. Q.

Quoniam autem Colloquiorum meminiſti, ſubit animo mirari, quam omnibus in rebus dominetur fortuna. Quid hoc argumento nugacius? Et tamen vix credas in quot exemplariorum millia propagatum, nondum expleat emptutientium aviditatem. Hoc anno (1524) rurſus prodit aliqua coronide dilatatum. Sic in amicorum gratiam ineptio. *Eraſm.* Ep. ad Viandalum, T. V. c. 234.

A. D. 1522. religious and moral ſentiments at the ſame time; and partly, without queſtion, to cure the bigotted world, if he could, of that ſuperſtitious devotion, which the Monks inculcated more ſedulouſly than true Chriſtian piety. The beſt paſſages and the livelieſt ſtrokes in theſe Dialogues have the Monks and their religion in view; and truly Eraſmus lay under no temptations to honour them, or to ſpare them. Scarcely did this Book make its appearance, when a clamour was raiſed againſt it, as he obſerves in this letter. He was accuſed of laughing at Indulgences, of ſlighting auricular confeſſion, of deriding the eating of fiſh upon faſt-days, &c. And it is true enough, that he did not talk of theſe things in a devout ſtyle, and that he held them at a low rate.

He deſires the Preſident to conſider, how the Monks did all that lay in their power to drive him headlong into the Lutheran party: but he declares, that they never ſhould ſucceed in it; though, if he were ſo diſpoſed, he could raiſe as many commotions in the world as Luther. He intreats him to reſtrain this fury; and he ſpeaks of ſome ſchool-maſters, who had been ſeized and arreſted at Antwerp on account of religion, and greatly commends their learning and their morals. Ep. 629.

" The Colloquies of Eraſmus are too free, and yet they well " deſerve to be read, for the ſake of the many good things which " they contain. In them Eraſmus hath ſhewn the whole extent " of a genius the moſt beautiful and amiable that ever filled the " head of a Grammarian. Varillas ſays, that, of all his Dialogues, " the moſt curious is the *Ciceronianus*: but I can affirm, that " there is not one of them, which hath not ſomething ſingular " and ſtriking, together with abundance of wit and of critical diſ- " cernment.

" Gregorio Leti, in his Life of the Duke of Oſſuna, relates, " that this Nobleman was ſpoiled in his youth, by reading the " Colloquies of Eraſmus, which his tutor had put into his " hands, both to teach him Latin, and to enliven his temper,

" which

" which ſeemed then to be gloomy and melancholy." *Vigneul-Marville.* Melanges, Vol. II. p. 135. A. D. 1522.

" Although many notes have been written by many perſons " upon the Colloquies of Eraſmus, yet there remain ſome paſ- " ſages, which have not been cleared up. For example; when " Eraſmus, towards the end of the Dialogue *Abbatis et Eruditæ*, " mentions ſome learned ladies of England and Germany, whom " he calls *Moricas*, *Bilibaldicas*, and *Blaurericas*, his Commen- " tators have not told us very diſtinctly who they were. Be it " known then, that *Moricæ* are the daughters of Sir Thomas " More, *Margaret*, *Elizabeth*, and *Cicely*. Margaret had a happy " talent at correcting ancient authors; and John Coſterius, in his " notes on Vincentius Lirinenſis, gives us an emendation of hers " on a paſſage of Cyprian, not inferior, in my opinion, to thoſe " of the ableſt Critics, of Scaliger, Turnebus, or Salmaſius. *Bili-* " *baldicæ* are the ſiſters of Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, Counſellor " to the Emperor, one of whom was named *Charity*, and the " other *Clare*, both of them Nuns. Pirckheimerus, whoſe life " is written by the learned and pious Ritterſhuſius, dedicated to " his ſiſter *Charity* a tranſlation of a Treatiſe of Plutarch, and the " works of Fulgentius; and to his ſiſter *Clare* a tranſlation of the " Sentences of Nilus, Biſhop and Martyr. He thus ſpeaks of " his ſiſters in a letter to Eraſmus written from Nuremberg, " A. 1516. *Salutant te geminæ meæ ſorores, Abatiſſa S. Claræ* " *una:* (namely, *Charity* who was the eldeſt) *altera ejuſdem* " *Regulæ ſectatrix; quæ aſſidue tua ſcripta manibus retinent; maxime* " *vero jam novo oblectantur Teſtamento: quo mire afficiuntur muli-* " *eres, multis viris, qui ſibi ſcioli videntur, doctiores. Scriberent* " *ad te Latine, niſi indignas ſuas exiſtimarent literas.*

" There are many letters of [t] *Charity*, amongſt the works of " Pirckheimerus, collected and publiſhed by Goldaſt. As for

[t] This learned Lady made a moſt acceptable preſent to Pellicanus, who was too poor to purchaſe the book. She gave him the Hebrew Pentateuch, with the Chaldean verſion.

A. D. 1522. " *Blaurericæ*, I am of opinion that Eraſmus means *Margaret* " *Blaurer*, whoſe elogy Bullinger hath drawn up in p. 339 of " his Commentaries upon the Epiſtles. Rodolphus Gualterus, " a Divine of Zurich, hath compoſed Latin verſes upon her " death, addreſſed to Ambroſe and to Thomas Blaurer, her " brethren.

" Nor hath any one informed us, who was that *Cephalus, vir* " *trium linguarum gnarus*, whom Eraſmus mentions in the Dia- " logue *De Piſcium Eſu*. He was Wolphgangus Fabricius Ca- " pito, a Divine of Stratſburg, who died in the year 1541, and " was the author of many books.

" The Dialogues of Eraſmus have been very well tranſlated into " Italian by Pietro Lauro of Modena, who alſo tranſlated Joſe- " phus: but the French verſion by Chapuzeau is poorly " performed.

" Concerning theſe Colloquies, ſee what Clenard ſays to a " Biſhop, called John Petit, of Fez, A. 1540. *Scripſit modo ad* " *me Dominus Marchio Granatenſis, Colloquia Eraſmi ignibus deſti-* " *nata eſſe: periclitari etiam Vivem. Quid me futurum cenſes, ubi* " *nomen Alcorani audiverint?*

" Let us end this Section with a pretty diſtich made by Ludo- " vicus Maſius upon the death of Eraſmus:

" *Fatalis ſeries nobis invidit Eraſmum:*
" *Sed Deſiderium tollere non potuit.*"

Colomeſius. Bibl. Choiſie, p. 465, or 146.

" [a] The Faculty of Theology at Paris paſſed a general cenſure, " in 1526, upon the Colloquies of Eraſmus, as upon a work, in " which the Faſts and abſtinences of the Church are ſlighted, " the Suffrages of the holy Virgin and of the Saints are derided, " Virginity is ſet below matrimony, Chriſtians are diſcouraged " from Monkery, and Grammatical is preferred to Theological " erudition.

[a] Du Pin. XIII. 220. Eraſmus, T. IX.

" erudition. Therefore it is decreed, that the peruſal of this A. D. 1522.
" wicked book be forbidden to all, more eſpecially to young
" folks; and that it be entirely ſuppreſſed, if it be poſſible."

[x] Hence it may be judged with what comfort Eraſmus would have lived at Paris, if he had accepted the [y] invitation of Francis I, who either could not or would not have protected him from ſuch perſecutors.

" [z] A Provincial Council alſo held at Cologn, in 1549, con-
" demned the Colloquies, as not fit to be read in ſchools."

In the year 1537, Paul III choſe a ſelect number of learned Cardinals and Prelates, to conſider about reforming the Church. They gave him their anſwer, containing ſome propoſals which were honeſt and reaſonable enough; but they fell upon the Colloquies of poor Eraſmus, and adviſed that young people ſhould not be permitted to learn them at ſchool. So ſays Sleidan [a], who juſtifies this witty and uſeful book againſt their pitiful cenſures.

[x] Clement Marot, the father of French poetry, was tormented about the ſame time, by the ſame Inquiſitors; and laſhes their ignorance, and their malice, in ſome of his poems. See Bayle MAROT, Not. E, who obſerves, that the behaviour of the Sorbonne, in the former part of the ſixteenth century, was moſt ſcandalous and infamous. In like manner they perſecuted Robert Stephen, becauſe he printed good editions of the Bible, till they compelled him to fly for his life to Geneva, ſetting themſelves againſt every undertaking that was learned and uſeful. See Maittaire II. 452, &c. and Thuanus L. XXIII. p. 708.

[y] Quod ampliſſimis promiſſis invitaris in Galliam, ſcis qualia vulgo ferantur *Gallorum promiſſa*; nec ignoras, quid acciderit Æſopico Cani. *Eraſmus*, Ep. 897.

[z] Du Pin XIII. 204.

[a] Porro de Colloquiis Eraſmi quod dicunt, ſic habet. Inter alias complures lucubrationes, quibus literarum ſtudia mirifice promovit Eraſmus, libellum quoque juventuti confecit ex Dialogis, eumque ſubinde locupletavit, cum avidiſſime legeretur. Et ut erat ingenii præſtantis, ſummæque vir eloquentiæ, variis in eo luſit argumentis, ex media rerum natura deſumtis, hominumque vita, et mirabili quadam dexteritate, ſuaviſſimoque dicendi genere, morum ac pietatis præcepta tradit, et ſimul errores inveteratos atque vitia per occaſionem demonſtrat. Hinc illa de ipſo querimonia. L. XII.

A. D. 1522. And yet they had a reaſon for acting as they did, the reaſon of Demetrius, the ſilver-ſmith; *Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth*, &c.

" [b] The *Moriæ Encomium*, and eſpecially the *Familiar Collo-*
" *quies*, contain a treaſure of wit and good ſenſe, and can never
" be enough admired; and though the latter lies under the pre-
" judice of being a ſchool-book, yet it is not unworthy the peru-
" ſal of the moſt advanced in knowledge. The Romiſh Church
" would never have forgiven him, if he had left behind him
" only thoſe two above-mentioned books. It was very artful in
" a bookſeller at Paris, who, upon giving out that his Colloquies
" were prohibited, ſold above twenty-four thouſand of one im-
" preſſion."

This great ſale of the Dialogues is mentioned by the writer of the *Abregé de l' hiſtoire des Sçavans*; who ſays the ſame alſo of the *Encomium Moriæ*. He hath added two other remarks concerning Eraſmus; firſt, that he had a Cardinal's Hat offered to him; and, ſecondly, that, in his books againſt Luther, he ſhewed himſelf little ſkilled in Theology. This man means, I ſuppoſe, Artificial or Scholaſtic Theology. See *Act. Erudit.* XXXVII. 75.

At this time the works of Auguſtin were printing at Baſil, and Ludovicus Vives ſent the remainder of his remarks on the book *De Civitate Dei:* but a complete edition of this Father did not come forth till long afterwards. Froben printed apart ſome copies of the book *De Civitate Dei*, which was the moſt valuable of all the works of Auguſtin, and was illuſtrated by a good commentary of Vives; and yet Eraſmus informs us, that it did not ſell. Ep. 630, 721.

In a letter to Bilibaldus, Eraſmus [c] commends Albert Durer [d];

[b] Knight, p. 203.

[c] Durero noſtro gratulor ex animo. Dignus eſt artifex, qui nunquam moriatur. Cœperat me pingere Bruxellæ: utinam perfeciſſet.—Ep. 631.

[d] Alberto Durero quam gratiam referre queam, cogito: dignus eſt æterna memoria. Si minus reſpondet effigies, mirum non eſt: non enim ſum is, qui fui ante annos quinque. Ep. 827. A. 1526.

rer [d], who at Bruſſels began to draw his picture, and finiſhed it five years afterwards. The print, which Durer gave from this picture, is a fine one; and the countenance of Eraſmus looks like that of a man broken and ſtricken in years. A. D. 1522.

Pirckheimerus highly eſteemed his friend Durer, both for his ſkill, and for his good qualities; and ſo did [e] Melanchthon. It ſhould be obſerved, to his honour, that he never once proſtituted his art, by employing it upon obſcene ſubjects.

Eraſmus, in the ſame letter [f], complains of Hutten's libel, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter.

Sanctius.

[d] Bayle DURER. Maittaire II. 417, 432. Melchior Adam. Burchard Com. de Vit. Hutten. p. 183.

Nullius inter pictores clarius nomen, quam Dureri noſtri, qui, quod Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus in vita ejus commemorat, Italorum invidiam compeſcens, ipſos adegit et ad veritatis confeſſionem, et ad falſi commentum, cum Durero quidem herbam porrigerent, ſed, ut opera ſua facerent vendibiliora, fraudulenta Dureriani nominis inſcriptione ea proponerent. Quin imo conſtat, Michaëlem Angelum Bonarotam Dureri ſive pictas ſive æri inciſas imagines, quotquot nanciſci poterat, cremaſſe, aut comminuiſſe in fruſta. *Wagenſeil.* See the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. IX. p. 770.

The famous painter, Albert Durer, uſed to ſay, he took no delight in ſuch pictures as were painted with many colours, but in thoſe that were made moſt plain. Even ſo I likewiſe take delight in thoſe ſermons, that enter fine and ſimply, ſo that they may well be underſtood of the common man. *Luther's* Colloq. Menſ. p. 510.

[e] De Durero Melanchthon dicere ſolebat, Pictoriam, qua antecelluit citra controverſiam omnibus ſuæ ætatis artificibus, fuiſſe in eo minimam. Tanti fecit prudentiam ejus, et judicii gravitatem in aliis rebus. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Milichii.

Inter Bilibaldum Pirckheimerum et Albertum Durerum ortus eſt ſermo de Euchariſtia. Adſidebat Melanchthon auditor, quædam interdum adſpergens: cum Pirckheimerus, altero argumentis ſuperante, ſarcaſtice, *O Alberte*, erumpit, *hæc pingi ita non poſſunt. Nec ita*, mox ille, *ut dignitas veſtra putat, poſſunt fingi.* Ex his initiis Camerarius amare cœpit Durerum, &c. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Camerarii.

[f] Emoriar, mi Bilibalde, ſi creditu-rus eram in univerſis Germanis eſſe tantum inhumanitatis, impudentiæ, vanitatis, virulentiæ, quantum habet unus libellus Hutteni. Tot teſtimoniis ornatus eſt a me. Toties per me ſuo Cardinali,

A. D. 1522. Sanctius Caranza, a Spaniſh Divine, [g] wrote againſt Eraſmus, in defence of part of Stunica's book: and Eraſmus gave him a ſmart and ſpirited [h] reply. Afterwards they were [i] reconciled, and good friends.

Adrian VI having ſucceeded to Leo, Eraſmus dedicated to him an edition of a Commentary of one [k] Arnobius upon the Pſalms, which he was then publiſhing; and added to it an Epiſtle, wherein he congratulates this new Pope, and intreats him not to pay any regard to the calumnies ſpread againſt his humble Servant, without firſt giving him an hearing.

In this Dedication he makes remarks upon the uncouth and barbarous ſtyle of his Author, whom by miſtake he confounds with that more ancient and more learned Arnobius, who wrote againſt the Gentiles. It is now known and acknowledged, that they were different perſons; and they who ſhall peruſe firſt the Dedication of Eraſmus, and then the Commentary of this Arnobius, will ſoon ſee that Eraſmus hath beſtowed more commendations upon him than he deſerves. Ep. 632, 633.

In

dinali ac cæteris Principibus commendatus eſt. De nullo candidius ſentiebam et loquebar. Nunquam a me verbo læſus eſt. Imo cum hic eſſet, obtuli colloquium, ſi quid eſſet rei ſeriæ: detuli ei officium, ſi quod a me præſtari vellet. Nihil minus exſpectabam, quam hunc aſſultum ab Hutteno. Multis conjecturis adducor ut credam Henricum Epphendorpium hujus fabulæ artificem, &c. Ep. 631.

[g] Dolet quod Stunicam dignatus ſim unquam reſponſo. Et huic ſucceſſit Caranza non edentulus. Ep. 628.

[h] Tom. IX. c. 402.

[i] Sanctius Caranza mihi copioſe prædicatus eſt ab Alphonſo Ulmetano: proinde quum me tam diligenter invitas ad hominis omnibus dotibus ornatiſſimi amicitiam, næ tu plane, quod aiunt, ἐπὶ ἵππον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Sit igitur hæc epiſtola, manu mea deſcripta, pignus ac monumentum fœderis, auſpicio Gratiarum ac Muſarum inter nos initi, quod nullus unquam genius malus, aut hoc etiam nocentior mala lingua, poterit dirimere. — Caranzam meo nomine ſalutabis et amanter et reverenter, blandeque monebis hominem, amet quam volet effuſe, ſed prædicet parcius, ob linguas faſcinatrices. In hoc certamine non cedam. Ep. 812.

This was written A. 1526.

[k] Arnobius Junior. See Du Pin XIV. 51. Cave H. L. I. p. 449.

In a letter to George, Duke of Saxony, he ſpeaks of the Reformers and the Papiſts after his uſual manner. I ſhall only obſerve, that he acted here like a man of honour, and ventured to commend in Luther what he thought to be truly commendable, though he was writing to a Prince, who mortally hated Luther and all his partiſans. He ſays, that Henry VIII was certainly author of the book publiſhed under his own name againſt Luther, and was very capable of writing it. It appears from this letter, that Eraſmus[l] did not underſtand the German language, which is a wonder. Though he had been no ſmall traveller, he ſeems to have known very little of modern languages. Ep. 635. A. D. 1522.

Ep. 636 is to Conradus[m] Hereſbachius, who had given him a kind invitation to his houſe.

He was this year at Conſtance in the ſummer, and commends his friends who there entertained him.

He could have liked Switzerland very well, if it had not been for their ſtoves, and their wine. The former ſuffocated him; and the wine, being too new, diſagreed with him, as he was ſubject to the ſtone and gravel. He was therefore obliged to procure wine from Burgundy, which ſuited his conſtitution better than that which grew near Baſil and Friburg, in which two cities he paſſed the reſt of his days. He thought, as he ſays, to go to France, for the ſake of his health; and he received a paſſport from the King for that purpoſe, of which he ſpeaks in a letter to a French Archbiſhop. He tells him that he had been at Conſtance, with a deſign to proceed thence to Rome, to pay his reſpects to the New Pontif; but that he had fallen ſick at Conſtance,

[l] Duos Lutheri libellos ad me ſane fruſtra miſit tua Celſitudo, rudem ejus linguæ qua ſcripti ſunt.

[m] Fuit vir dignitate præſtans; omni literarum genere abſolutus —— et quanquam in Pontificatu vixerit —— æquatam laudem apud Evangelicos Pontificioſque ipſos poſt ſe reliquit; longe felicior hac in parte Eraſmo amico ſuo; qui tametſi ſummam in ſcribendo ingenii et literarum gloriam invenerit, tamen neutri parti ſatisfecit. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Hereſbachii.

A. D. 1522. ſtance, and that the rumours of war had put off his intended journey. He probably had no ſerious deſign to repair to Rome, for good reaſons already mentioned; and perhaps he as little intended to go to France. He complains, that his penſion from the Emperor had not been paid to him that year. Ep. 636, 637.

Yet he had lately dedicated to the Emperor his Paraphraſe on St. Matthew; and, in a letter to the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, he promiſed to dedicate to this Prince his Paraphraſe of St. John. The Emperor received his Dedication very courteouſly, and gave him thanks, but nothing elſe, as Eraſmus informs us in a letter to Botzem, prefixed to the firſt Tome. I do not find that Charles had any taſte for literature, or any remarkable diſpoſition to patronize arts and ſciences. His head was full of political and military ſchemes. Ep. 638.

[n] Guindano, an Italian, compoſed an Heroic Poem on the atchievements of Charles V, and offered the manuſcript to this Prince, who would not give the poor man one ſtiver for his zeal and his pains. So he went away in deſpair, and flung, not himſelf indeed, but his poem into the fire.

The Pope, having received Arnobius, ſent Eraſmus a very elegant and artful letter of thanks, exhorting him ſtrongly to write againſt Luther, and inviting him to Rome. Eraſmus wrote a ſecond time, and ſent a ſecond copy of his book, for fear leſt the firſt had miſcarried. He alſo offered to communicate to Adrian his opinion concerning the propereſt methods of ſuppreſſing Lutheraniſm, in a letter which none ſhould ſee beſides the Pope, and which the Pope might ſuppreſs and deſtroy, if he thought proper. Ep. 639, 641.

Jacobus Landavus, a Bavarian, wrote a piece againſt Stunica, and ſent it to Eraſmus, who acknowledgeth himſelf much obliged to him. Eraſmus tells his friend Barbirius, that the Cardinals had

[n] Bayle GUINDANO.

had forbidden the printing of Stunica's book, entitled, *The blaſphemies of Eraſmus*; and that Stunica having printed it in defiance of their prohibition, they had forbidden the ſale of it, although Stunica was a domeſtic of the Cardinal *à Sancta Cruce*. He tells Landavus, that there were three Furies which raged in the Low Countries, Hochſtrat the Dominican, Alcmar of the ſame Order, and Egmond the Carmelite. To theſe he adds an anonymous fourth, who employed the former as his drudges and agents. He alſo tells him, that he was unhappily furniſhed with unanſwerable reaſons againſt taking a journey to Rome, namely, old age, ill health, and the ſtone in his kidneys. A. D. 1522.

By the *anonymous fourth* he probably means Aleander, who was now exalted to high ſtations, and had *Wranglers* under him, whom he could ſet at Eraſmus; though the Laws of the Church forbid Eccleſiaſtics *alere canes venaticos*. He promiſes Landavus to ſend him the * apotheoſis of his friend Reuchlin, who died this year. Ep. 642, 644.

Ulricus Huttenus, whom Eraſmus had often celebrated before the Lutheran conteſts had ſet them at variance, being come to Baſil, was deſirous to ſee Eraſmus, and ſent him word of it by Eppendorf, their common friend. But, as Hutten had openly declared himſelf for Luther, and had publiſhed ſeveral libels againſt the Court of Rome, for which the Pope had endeavoured to apprehend him, Eraſmus feared that a viſit from ſuch a man would confirm all the ſuſpicions, that he ſecretly favoured the Lutheran cauſe, and draw a hatred upon him. Therefore he ſet him word by Eppendorf, that if Hutten only intended a viſit of civility, he begged to be excuſed, on account of bad conſe-

 quences.

* Reverſus Pellicanus Baſileam, Eraſmo narravit de obitu, et ſuo colloquio, occaſionemque præbuit dialogo illi de apotheoſi Reuchlini. Sicut et eidem, quod de Franciſcano Conrado et Bernhardino luſit, ſua facundia illuſtrans hiſtoriam veram quidem, ſed humiliorem, quam quæ legatur. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Pellic.

A. D. 1522. quences. Hutten at firſt ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſe; but before he had quitted Baſil, Eraſmus aſked Eppendorf, whether Hutten had taken offence at this denial; and the other replied, that Hutten perhaps wiſhed that he could have converſed with him. Eraſmus anſwered, that although what he had done was purely to avoid obloquy, yet he would deſpiſe that danger, if Hutten had any thing of importance to ſay to him; that, if it were deſired, he would go himſelf to Hutten, if he could bear the ſmell of the ſtoves, which Hutten, being out of order, was obliged to uſe; and that, if Hutten could bear the cooler air of the hall of Eraſmus, he would receive him there by the fire-ſide, and converſe with him as long as he thought fit. Eppendorf ſaid, that Hutten was too ill to come abroad. Thus Eraſmus hath related it, in his apology againſt Hutten, who, ſoon after this, left Baſil without ſeeing Eraſmus. This was the beginning of a very warm conteſt.

There was at this time a certain Preacher at Conſtance, who conſulted Eraſmus by Botzem, how the Reformation might beſt be advanced. Eraſmus anſwered, that they who imagined themſelves to have as great abilities for ſettling thoſe Chriſtian truths which concern all men and all times, as they had for a Theological compotation, or a little Scholaſtic diſpute, were infinitely miſtaken. Truth, ſays he, is efficacious and invincible, but it muſt be diſpenſed with Evangelical prudence. For myſelf, I ſo abhor diviſions, and ſo love concord, that I fear, if an occaſion preſented itſelf, I ſhould ſooner give up a part of Truth, than diſturb the public peace.

But the miſchief is, that a man cannot thus give up truth, without running into falſhood, and aſſenting to things which he doth not believe. For a man cannot judge that to be right, which his own reaſon pronounces to be falſe, only becauſe overbearing perſons attack the truth with more vehemence than he chuſeth to employ in defence of it, and are the majority and the ſtronger

party. Beſides, when ſuch enemies to Reaſon and to Religion perceive that a man will not have the courage to defend his opinions at all extremities, which Eraſmus confeſſed to be his own diſpoſition, they never fail to take advantage of him, to oppreſs him, and to run him down, well knowing that nothing is neceſſary to accompliſh their purpoſes beſides ſtubbornneſs, clamour, impudence, and violence. And ſo ſpiritual Tyranny being once erected, would endure for ever, and gain ſtrength and ſtability. Concord and peace are unqueſtionably valuable bleſſings; but yet not to be purchaſed at the expenſe of truth and liberty, which are infinitely more eſtimable than a ſordid tranquillity beneath the yoke of falſhood and arbitrary dominion. Beneath this yoke the Chriſtian republic becomes a mere faction of poltroons, ſolicitous about enjoying the preſent, and neglecting every thing that is laudable, under the pretext of preſerving the peace. Such would have been the preſent ſtate of Chriſtianity, if the pacific ſcheme of Eraſmus had been received and purſued. Diviſions, it muſt be owned, do much harm; yet they have at leaſt produced this good, that the truth of the Goſpel, and a Chriſtian liberty, which acquieſceth only in the deciſions of Jeſus Chriſt, are not entirely baniſhed from the face of the earth, as they would have been without thoſe ſtruggles of our anceſtors. They have produced no ſmall ſervice to the memory of Eraſmus himſelf, who, having his works condemned by Theological Cabals, and mangled by Inquiſitions, which ſtruck out the moſt valuable part of his writings, would have been ſtigmatized and proſcribed through all ages, if a Party had not riſen up in Europe, and alſo amongſt his own countrymen, which willingly forgives him his weakneſſes and his irreſolution, for the ſake of his uſeful labours Philological and Theological; and hath reſtored to him a ſecond life, and recommended him to the Chriſtian world, by an elegant and a faithful edition of all his works. A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. But let us hear ſome more of his advice. This preacher, ſays he, who certainly is a worthy man, will do more ſervice to the Goſpel, the honour of which we all have at heart, if he takes care to join the prudence of the Evangelical ſerpent to the ſimplicity of the Evangelical dove. Let him eſſay it; and then let him condem my counſel, if he finds it not to be ſalutary.

Alas! experience hath taught the Chriſtian world, that this ſame ſerpentine prudence ſerved to make Falſhood triumphant. It was even eaſy to foreſee it, ſince this wiſdom conſiſted only in ſubmitting to that faction, which was the moſt powerful and the moſt obſtinate.

Eraſmus entertained ſome hopes, that his old friend and ſchool-fellow, Adrian VI, would do ſome good, as he teſtifies in this letter: but, ſays he, if I ſhould be miſtaken in this, I will not be factious. As to the Preacher's laſt queſtion, Are we to abandon and give up the whole Goſpel? I reply; They may be ſaid to abandon the Goſpel, who defend it in an improper manner Beſides; with what reſerve and ſlow caution did our Lord himſelf diſcover his doctrine?

All this in ſome ſenſe may be right: but then our Saviour never ſaid any thing contrary to the truth; and when the time was come for it, he laid down his life in confirmation of it; which is more than Eraſmus was inclined to do, as he himſelf frankly confeſſeth. It cannot be called defending the Goſpel, to refer it to the arbitration of a ſet of Eccleſiaſtics, whom all the world knew to be either ill-inſtructed, or ill-diſpoſed, or both.

In a dedicatory Epiſtle to Beraldus, he ſpeaks with [p] grief and deteſtation of the wars between France and the Empire; and wiſhes,

[p] Video, diſcruciorque animo, bellum hoc inter Germanos et Gallos indies magis ac magis incrudeſcere. Quanta totius rei Chriſtianæ calamitas, duos potentiſſimos orbis Monarchas ſic feralibus diffidiis inter ſe conflictari? Tolerabilius eſſet malum, ſi res eorum quorum intereſt, monomachiis iniretur. Sed quid;

wiſhes, that ambitious Princes could terminate their quarrels by duels, and not involve their innocent and unhappy ſubjects in ſuch miſery. A. D. 1522.

This year's letters are from Baſil, where Eraſmus paſſed the remainder of his life, except ſome part of it at Friburg. Baſil was a place which he dearly loved, though he ſometimes complained of it; where his beſt friends dwelt, and where he was treated with much reſpect, and made [q] Rector of the Univerſity; a ſtation which was there, as it often is in other Univerſities, not leſs troubleſome than honourable: for amongſt the plagues which he met with in the courſe of his life, we may reckon the diſorderly and impudent behaviour of the young ſtudents, which ſo provoked him, that, like another Moſes, he brake their Tables, (as ſome have ſaid) and deſtroyed the privileges which they enjoyed by their ſtatutes, to humble them and to tame them. Bayle ſeems to doubt of the truth of this ſtory. ERASME, Not. B. B.

[r] Under this year we will place, at a venture, a comical miſtake of Eraſmus, who, having received a letter and a meſſage from a learned

quid commeruere cives et agricolæ, qui ſpoliantur fortunis, exiguntur ſedibus, trahuntur captivi, trucidantur ac laniantur? O ferreos Principum animos, ſi hæc perpendunt, ac ferunt! O craſſos, ſi non intelligunt: ſupinos, ſi non expendunt! T. I. c. 343.

[q] Urgente jam ſenio, Baſileam Rauracorum urbem ſe recepit, ad Rhenum ſitam, loci amœnitate captus, et ſodalitio multorum doctiſſimorum hominum, quibus ea civitas ſemper ornata eſt. Academiæ illius Rector factus, cum ſcholaſticorum inordinatam licentiam et petulantiam refrænare tentaret, ab iis malè exceptum ferunt: his irritatum contumeliis famâ eſt diſcerpſiſſe et cremaſſe privilegiorum partem illius Academiæ (quæ cum Magontina totius Germaniæ creditur antiquiſſima) ut his deperditis ſtudioſæ juventutis protervia retunderetur: quod aliquando me audiviſſe recordor a piæ memoriæ præceptore meo Hugone Babelo, qui tunc temporis Baſileæ Eraſmo vivebat amicus et familiaris. *Boiſſard* Icon. p. 223.

[r] Cum Primus Comes, M. Antonii Majoragii conſobrinus, in Germaniam ea de cauſa profectus fuiſſet, ut Eraſmi conſuetudine per aliquod tempus fruere-

tur;

A. D. 1522. learned man, one *Primus Comes*, who wanted to wait upon him, took him for a Prince, and went forth to meet and receive him as ſuch, &c.

The time when this happened is of no conſequence: the ſtory is all.

Ep. 545 is a friendly letter to Joannes Glapio. This Glapio was a Franciſcan, a ſubtle fox, who endeavoured to [s] ruin Luther, whilſt he pretended to have a value and regard for him. [t] Hutten afterwards reproached Eraſmus for having beſtowed ſo many praiſes on this man, though he knew him to be a raſcal.

Luther this year wrote a rough anſwer to Henry VIII, in Latin, and afterwards tranſlated it into German. On this account he hath been inſulted and cenſured by many writers, and is defended by Seckendorf, who ſhews, that thoſe very writers have treated Princes, whom they hated, with more malice and ſcurrility, than they can pretend to faſten upon Luther. It is a good argument *ad hominem*. L. I. p. 186—190.

Fridericus Canirmius, Rector of the School at Delft, ſpeaking of the perſecution of the Reformed party in Holland, cenſures the

tur; priuſquam Eraſmum conveniret, ad eum literas dedit, quibus adventus ſui cauſam declarabat, quarum in extrema parte nomen ſuum, ut fit, ita ſubſcripſerat, *Tui ſtudioſiſſimus Primus Comes Mediolanenſis*. Hanc cum Eraſmus ſubſcriptionem vidiſſet, credidit ſtatim magnum adeſſe aliquem Principem ſui viſendi gratia. Quare licet admodum ſenex et infirmus eſſet, tamen quo ſtudio quoque apparatu potuit, obviam Majoragii conſobrino longe proceſſit. Sed poſtquam homunculum unum, nullo comitatu, nullo ſervorum grege ſtipatum, et bene quidem literatum, ſed nullo elegantiori cultu veſtitum reperit, errorem ſuum jucundiſſime ridere cœpit, et tamen eum ſibi multo gratiorem adveniſſe, quam ſi magnus Princeps fuiſſet, multis audientibus, teſtatus eſt. Hæc Majoragius in quadam Oratione. Colomeſius Κειμηλ. c. 37.

See Bayle MAJORAGIUS.

[s] Seckendorf L. I. p. 143—145.

[t] Eraſmum Huttenus taxavit, quod Glapionem laudibus ornaſſet, cujus malitiam alias execrari ſolitus fuiſſet. Sed Eraſmus utrumque, in *Spongia*, negavit: ingenue tamen fateri ſe dicit, ſe nunquam auſum fuiſſe homini toto pectore fidere, ejuſque ingenium tam occultum eſſe ait, ut dubitet an Huttenus decem annorum converſatione illud pernoſcere potuiſſet. *Seckendorf.*

the [u] coldneſs and timidity of Eraſmus, which was imitated, as he ſays, by too many. A. D. 1522.

Henry VIII had been informed, by ſome ſycophant, that Eraſmus had aſſiſted Luther in writing a book which was lately publiſhed, probably, Luther's reply to the King: but Eraſmus [x] cleared himſelf, as he tells Pirckheimerus, in a letter, which probably was written in 1523.

[y] Wolfgangus Rychardus, a German phyſician and a Lutheran, in a letter to a friend, written about the year 1522, informs us, that Eraſmus was apprehenſive of being attacked by Melanchthon, and very unwilling to have any diſpute with him. I wiſh, ſays he, that Melanchthon may be perſuaded to let him alone; for I dare ſay that he will return by and by to his firſt love, and be a good Lutheran.

Eraſmus gave a [z] third edition of his New Teſtament. He ſeems not to have ſeen at this time the [a] Complutenſian Bible, which

[u] Eraſmum in dies magis frigeſcere, et quantum ego judicare poſſum, retractare latenter, quæ videatur olim liberius vel dixiſſe, vel ſcripſiſſe, ægerrime fero, et agnoſco puerilem metum, qui plus veretur hominum gloriam quam Dei. Cæterum tales Nicodemi apud nos in magno ſunt numero. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 241.

[x] Neſcio an tibi ſcripſerim de tragœdia exorta in Anglia. Injecta erat Regi ſuſpicio me adfuiſſe Luthero in novo ludicro libello. Ea de cauſa miſi famulum. Is rediit omnibus feliciſſime geſtis. Rex excuſat ſe, et item Cardinalis. Amicis veteribus accrevit et amor et numerus. Donarunt famulo ſupra triginta florenos.——Principes omnes hortantur in Lutherum. Ego autem non ſcribam, aut ita ſcribam, ut qui pugnant pro regno Phariſaico malint me ſiluiſſe. Ep. 471. c. 1860.

[y] Eſt apud nos Braſſicanus, perendie Ingolſtadium petiturus, ubi Græcas profitebitur literas. Oſtendit mihi hodie Epiſtolam Eraſmi, in qua conqueritur de fama ſuper Philippo, quod ille neſcio quid dentatis libellis moliatur: multum deprecatur Philippi odia. Velim, mi Joannes, ſi aliquando Philippum a bello Eraſmico dehortari poſſis, ne differas: redibit olim cum fœnore Eraſmus, et priſtini amoris memor, totus in Lutheri, imo Chriſti partem palam manibus pedibuſque ibit. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, T. I. p. 306.

[z] See Maittaire II. 621.

[a] Il ſemble qu'il ſurvint encore quelqu'autre empêchement qui en retarda la publication; car il eſt hors de doute, que

A. D. 1522. which was then printed off, but probably not made public. Maittaire II. 2. ſpeaks of four editions of the New Teſtament of Eraſmus printed at Froben's preſs: but there were five, during the life of Eraſmus, of which the laſt was in the year 1535. Maittaire afterwards makes mention of it, II. 816.

Whilſt Eraſmus dwelt at Baſil, he ſeems, on account of his bad ſtate of health, to have conſulted the famous phyſician Theophraſtus [b] Paracelſus, who was for ſome time a Profeſſor in that city. Melchior Adam hath given us a [c] letter of advice from this Doctor to Eraſmus, which contains a ſtrange jargon; and a reply of Eraſmus to it.

A. D. MDXXIII. Ætat. LVI.

A. D. 1523. Adrian having received a ſecond copy of Arnobius, with a letter from Eraſmus, returned him an anſwer, telling him, that he ſhould be glad to hear his opinion concerning the method of quieting the Lutheran controverſy, and inviting him again to come to Rome.

Eraſmus, in his reply, excuſed himſelf from the journey on account of his bad health, and of other impediments: but he certainly did not repoſe ſuch confidence in Adrian, as to throw himſelf into his hands. He added, that he had neither the talents nor the authority requiſite for anſwering Luther with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He complains equally of the Monks and of the Lutherans, and proteſts, that he had no inclination to join with the latter, to whom he could have done no ſmall ſervices, if he had been ſo diſpoſed.

He

que ſi Eraſme avoit eu connoiſſance de cette edition en 1522, il s'en ſeroit ſervi dans la troiſieme édition du Nouveau Teſtament Grec, qu'il publia cette année, comme il le fit dans la quatrieme, qui parut en 1527, ou il cite très-ſouvent la Bible d'Alcala. *Long.* Maittaire II. 2, &c. 133, 816.

See above, p. 49.

[b] Melchior Adam.

[c] Appendix.

He ſays elſewhere, that Adrian had offered him a good Deanery; but he refuſed it, not caring to lie under ſuch obligations to the See of Rome, and perhaps caring as little to be involved in chapter-affairs, and connected with Eccleſiaſtics. A. D. 1523.

Then he proceeds to the advice which he had promiſed.

1. He very honeſtly diſapproves all violent and cruel methods, and wiſhes that ſome condeſcenſion were ſhewed to the Lutherans.

2. He thinks that the cauſes of the evil ſhould be inveſtigated, and ſuitable remedies applied; that then an amneſty ſhould enſue, and a general pardon for all that was paſt; and then the Princes and Magiſtrates ſhould take care to prevent innovations for the future.

3. He thinks it needful to reſtrain the liberty of the preſs. A ſtrange advice, indeed, from one who had made ſo much uſe of it himſelf! He would have been the very firſt to feel the ill effects of ſuch prohibitions, and the Eccleſiaſtics would have abuſed him in their writings, ten times more than ever, without fearing repriſals. But the poor man had been pelted and inſulted with impudent Libels, and expected more of the ſame kind; and this made him inconſiderately call for a remedy, which would have proved worſe than the diſeaſe; and he himſelf afterwards was [d] ſenſible of it.

Eraſmus, however, propoſeth his counſel with [e] diffidence, and in a general way; and we will obſerve the ſame reſerve and caution upon this ſubject.

Certain it is, that the liberty of the preſs, in this country, hath been carried to the utmoſt degree of effrontery and licentiouſneſs by every vile wretch, who ſhoots his arrows in the dark, wraps

[d] Legem, quæ coercet edendi improbitatem, vehementer approbo: verum illud interim cavendum, ne lex optima vertatur in exemplum peſſimum; id quod Lutetiæ fieri cœptum erat. Aliquot conjurati, calumniis ac mendaciis licentiſſime debacchabantur in quoſlibet. Si quid reſpondiſſes, vetabatur excudi. Ep. 859.

[e] Optarim, *ſi fieri poſſit*, etiam libellorum procudendorum licentiam cohiberi.

A. D. 1523. wraps himſelf up in his obſcurity, and puts on what Homer calls Ἄϊδος κυνέην, and what you may call in Engliſh *The Devil's Helmet*. Suppoſe an author were obliged to ſet his name to his works: Would not this be an eaſy and an effectual remedy? It would indeed ſilence ſome, whoſe names are only fit to appear in the works of the Ordinary of Newgate, or who would have ſome regard left for their own reputation, or who would fear repriſals or wholeſome correction. But then it might prevent ſome good advice, and ſome ingenious and uſeful works. The *Provincial Letters* would probably never have appeared in France, nor the *Difficulties and Diſcouragements* in England, if the Authors had been obliged to make themſelves known. Beſides; we have ſome writers ſo exceſſively baſhful, that they cannot bear to ſee their own names in print, or to be tortured with the applauſe which the Public would beſtow upon them; and ſurely ſuch perſons deſerve to be humoured and indulged in this amiable infirmity.

4. Eraſmus adviſeth the Pope to give the world hopes that ſome faults ſhould be amended, which could no longer be juſtified. At the ſweet name of Reformation, and of Liberty, men would begin to breathe more freely, and to expect better times.

5. He would have him call together perſons of integrity and abilities, and of all nations ——

Here Eraſmus breaks off in the middle of a ſentence, intending to ſay more at another time, if the Pope were willing to hear it. But he had already ſaid too much: Adrian utterly diſliked his advice, and his enemies at the Court of Rome ſeized upon this occaſion to try to ruin him. The Pope died ſoon after, and this project was dropped, and Eraſmus eſcaped his indignation. Ep. 649, 703, and 321. c. 1700.

He wrote a very long [f] letter to Marc Laurin, Dean of St. Donatian, at Bruges, in which he ſpeaks of the calumnies which had

[f] In this letter he mentions Hermannus Buſchius, as his learned and worthy friend. See his life in Melch. Adam.

had been circulated at Brabant againſt him, ſince he had quitted Louvain; of his journey to Baſil, which he undertook principally that he might attend in perſon upon another Edition of his New Teſtament; and of the reaſons which he had to abide there. Although he knew that the Emperor had received moſt courteouſly his Paraphraſe on St. Matthew, and had ſpoken advantageouſly of him to the King of England at Calais, and that he had honours and preferments to expect, if he would attend upon Charles; yet he did not chuſe to come away from Baſil, not only on account of his bodily infirmities, but for fear leſt the Emperor ſhould order him to undertake a work which he did not like. They call me, ſays he, to great honours, as Glapio hath often aſſured me; and I know that the Emperor hath an affection for me; and yet it hath been ſaid, that I did not dare to ſhew myſelf to him. If the mortified Saints, who thus belie me, had been in no greater fear and danger than I was of being ill received, they would have flown thither for preferment, like birds of prey. I had only one thing to fear, leſt He, to whom I could not with decency refuſe any thing, ſhould have laid his commands upon me to refute Luther. Not that I am a favourer of ſedition; I, who by a kind of natural inſtinct do ſo abhor all ſorts of quarrels, that, if I had a large eſtate to defend at law, I would ſooner loſe it than litigate. A. D. 1523.

He adds, that he had entertained a deſign of going to Rome, whither he was invited by many good friends. The Cardinal of Sion had offered, very courteouſly, both to defray the charges of the journey, and to ſettle upon him five hundred ducats a year. For this purpoſe he had proceeded as far as to Conſtance, and there fell ill of the gravel. He deſcribes the manner in which he paſſed his time there, and his return to Baſil. He ſpeaks jocoſely of the wine of Burgundy, without which he could not live; and then enters upon the old ſtory of Lutheraniſm, and of the endeavours which had been employed to draw him into that party.

A. D. 1523. But of this enough hath been ſaid already. He blames [g] Luther, principally for his arrogant and cenſorious temper. But Luther's enemies were not one jot more humble and gentle than he, and repaid his inſults with uſury. The difference between their behaviour and his was, that they had been of old accuſtomed to invectives, and were in long poſſeſſion of them; and Luther was a novice, who was learning the exerciſe of the ſame weapons. And yet Eraſmus (as we may collect from many paſſages in his writings) did not in reality think Luther to be ſuch a railer, and ſuch an evil-ſpeaker, as he here repreſents him. He did indeed diſapprove his doctrines upon *Free-will*; and the Lutherans themſelves have rejected them.

Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, approved the deſign of Eraſmus to dedicate to him his Paraphraſe of St. John, and wrote him a moſt obliging letter upon the occaſion. Having received the book from Eraſmus, he returned him thanks, and ſent him a preſent of an hundred florins of gold. Ep. 650, 651.

Eraſmus commends Coricius, an Italian. Ep. 650. Bayle hath collected a remarkable account of this learned and unfortunate man. Dict. CORICIUS.

In the mean time Hutten, who had left Baſil, highly offended at Eraſmus, was meditating horrible revenge, and preparing a wrathful book. The friends of Eraſmus hearing of this, adviſed him to ſend Hutten a letter, and to diſſuade him from his purpoſe. Eraſmus therefore wrote to him, giving him an account of the reaſons for which he had declined the interview, and telling him, that by attacking his old friend, he would both diſgrace himſelf, and rejoice all thoſe who were ſworn enemies to them both. It was a very complaiſant and friendly letter: but Hutten, who was of a violent temper, would not yield to his advice, and cenſured Eraſmus, amongſt other things, for ſhewing ſo much

[g] Eraſmus ſæpe dixit de Luthero: *morborum magnitudinem acrem medicum. Deus dedit huic poſtremæ ætati propter.* Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 78.

much regard to the Court of Rome. This highly provoked Eraſmus, and he anſwered the Invective of Hutten in a Tract intitled [h] *Spongia*, &c. But Hutten died much about the ſame time at [i] Zurich. A. D. 1523.

The [k] moderate Lutherans greatly diſapproved Hutten's furious libel. Gerbelius, who was of the more violent ones, abhorred Eraſmus,

[h] Spongiam meam nunquam ita mihi prædicabis, quin oſurus ſim, indignans his, qui miſerum huc perpulerunt. *Eraſm.* Ep. ad Viand. T. V. c. 234.

[i] Subito ac præter omnem ſpem exortus Ulricus Huttenus, ex amico repente verſus in hoſtem. — Hoc nemo ſcripſit in Eraſmum hoſtilius — nam omnino res ipſa loquitur, Huttenum non alio conſilio ſcripſiſſe ſic in me, quam ut calamo jugularet quem gladio non poterat, et ut ſibi videbatur vir fortis, ſic cogitabat: Seniculus eſt, valetudinarius eſt, meticuloſus et imbecillis eſt, mox efflabit animum, ubi legerit hæc tam atrocia. Hoc illum cogitaſſe, voces etiam, quas jactabat, arguebant. — Ego Hutteni Manibus, ubi mihi mors hominis eſt nunciata, animo Chriſtiano precatus ſum Dei miſericordiam: et audio hominem ſub mortem deploraſſe, quod deceptus quorundam verſutia, laceſſiſſet amicum. *Catal. Lucubr.*

[k] *Spongiam* Eraſmi legiſſe te arbitror. — Heſſenus ſcripſit Scoto noſtro *(This Scotus was Hutten's Bookſeller)* expoſtulationem Hutteni ſupra modum diſplicere Luthero et Philippo *(namely*, Melanchthoni) eſſeque nonnullos qui me dicant ejus rei auctorem eſſe; ſed teſtis mihi Scotus erit, me ne verbum quidem unquam ſuper hoc negotio cum Scoto contuliſſe; quanquam quid eſſet tandem flagitii, ſi diſſimulantem tamdiu impietatem quoquo modo evocaſſem? — Non credis *(it ſhould be* credas) item quam amarulenter Philippus cum Scoto expoſtulet ob excuſum ejus in Eraſmum judicium. Ita vel verentur eloquentiam hominis, vel diffidunt probæ cauſæ! Si non ſatis damnavit *Spongia* doctrinam Chriſti prædicatam à Luthero, quærant queſo alios qui acrius inceſſent. Sed de his te audire volo. *Epiſt.* Gerbelii *ad* Schwebelium, p. 55.

De Eraſmo nihil aliud ſcio, quam quod infeſtus eſt Luthero. *Idem*, p. 60.

In the ſame Collection of Epiſtles, Melanchthon, who loved both Eraſmus and Luther, declares how ſorry he was that the contention between them continued:

Doleo Lutherum renovare certamen cum Eraſmo: ſed video hæc eſſe plane ἀναγκαῖα κακά, p. 202.

Eraſmus was well pleaſed to find, that both Luther and Melanchthon were offended at Hutten's behaviour:

Damnat Lutherus factum; ſed Melanchthon mire odit Huttenum. Epiſt. ad Goclen.

In

A. D. 1523. Eraſmus, and was vexed to find, that not only Melanchthon, but Luther himſelf, blamed Hutten's inſolence and ferocity.

[1] Eraſmus, in his *Spongia*, propoſeth his ſcheme about pacifying

In his letter to Botzem, he ſhews how favourably he had treated Hutten in his reply, called *Spongia*, and had paſſed over in ſilence his ſcandalous courſe of life; for he had been a ſpendthrift, a gameſter, and a fornicator, and had extorted money from the Carthuſians, attacked ſome Eccleſiaſtics, and killed ſome Monks.

[1] Eraſmus edita paulo poſt hoc anno *Spongia* ſua, more ſuo tecte et caute oſtendit, quid conſilii fuiſſet capiendum, et quid optari potuerit pro bono Eccleſiæ. Cum enim indicaſſet, quid in Lutheri, ut vocat, paradoxis et vehementia deſideret, et Lutheranos, qui ſibi ſpiritualem cognitionem vindicabant, commonuiſſet, ut cogitarent ſe quoque homines eſſe, iiſdem malis obnoxios, quibus Pontifices et Principes, utque publicam non ſpernerent authoritatem; hac paræneſi ad Principes, Eccleſiaſticos nempe et Politicos, utitur:

" Rurſum Principes quamlibet po-
" tentes ac magni, ne averſentur veri-
" tatem Chriſti, a quamlibet humili
" propoſitam: humiles erant et Apo-
" ſtoli: pharmacum corpori profuturum
" accipimus ab obſcuriſſimo idiota, aut
" a muliercula, et animi medicinam
" reſpuimus ab humilioribus oblatam?
" Submoveantur utrinque privatæ cupi-
" ditates, et communibus votis implo-
" retur Spiritus ille pacificus, ne mu-
" tuis diffidiis Chriſtiana res jam nunc
" in arctum contracta, penitus conci-
" dat, ne ferarum ac piſcium ritu mu-
" tuis morſibus nos invicem lacerantes
" jucundum ſpectaculum præbeamus et
" Satanæ, et Chriſtiani nominis hoſti-
" bus. In omnibus articulis a priſcis
" proditæ fidei conſenſus eſt. Cur ob
" paradoxa neſcio quæ, quorum aliquot
" ejuſmodi ſunt, ut ad plenum non poſ-
" ſint intelligi, quædam ejus generis,
" ut in utramque partem diſputari que-
" ant, nonnulla talia, ut non ita mul-
" tum momenti adferant ad mores emen-
" dandos, ſic tumultuetur orbis? Tota
" vita Chriſtianorum undique differta
" eſt bellis inſaniſſimis, tumultibus, la-
" trociniis, jurgiis, odiis, obtrectationi-
" bus, fraudibus, dolis, luxu, libidini-
" bus, nihil uſquam ſanum eſt, et omiſ-
" ſis omnibus digladiamur, an principa-
" tus Romani Pontificis ſit profectus ab
" auctore Chriſto. Utraque pars alteri
" ſe obtemperet. Obſequium parabit
" amicitiam, pervicacia tumultum gig-
" net. Quis autem finis erit, ſi altera
" pars nihil habeat niſi tumultus, rixas,
" et convicia, altera nihil niſi cenſuras,
" bullas, articulos, et incendia? Quid
" magni eſt homunculum alioqui mori-
" turum in ignem conjicere? Docere
" ac perſuadere magnum eſt. Ne pali-
" nodiæ quidem illæ magnopere movent
" quenquam. Quis enim non ſic inter-
" pretatur, Maluit pudefieri, quam ex-
" uri? Quam vero non plauſibile, quum
" Epiſcopus

ing the religious differences; and he had an intention to treat the ſame ſubject more largely in the form of Dialogue. A. D. 1523.

Petrus

" Epiſcopus qui debebat docere Philoſo-
" phiam Evangelicam, in his quæ ſunt
" hujus mundi, pluſquam ſatrapes eſt;
" in his quæ ſunt fidei, nihil habet niſi
" articulos, carceres, carnifices, et in-
" cendium? Non pudeat Epiſcopos ſer-
" vire charitati Chriſtianæ, quod facere
" non puduit Apoſtolos; non pigeat
" eruditos, Epiſcopis ſuum honorem
" reddere. Hoc interim conſilium de-
" derim utrique parti, ut neutri ad-
" dictus, ita utrique bene cupiens."

Ne vero hæc ſolius Eraſmi conſilia fuiſſe exiſtimentur, teſtatur ipſe, in Epiſtola ad Jo. Bozemum ſcripta, ſe Marini Caraccioli, Hieronymi Aleandri, (quem trilinguis eruditionis hoc tempore principem vocat) et Joannis Glapionis, imo et Georgii Saxoniæ Ducis, et Montjoii ex Angliæ Proceribus hortatu, Diſputationem, ſive collationem, tribus Dialogis, de negotio Lutheri, ſed ſuppreſſis ſive mutatis nominibus, ſcribere cœpiſſe.

" In his (ait) Thraſymachus Lutheri
" partes agit, Eubulus diverſas. Primus
" dialogus inquirit, an expedierit hac
" via rem tractari, etiamſi Lutherus
" omnia vera ſcripſiſſet. Secundus ex-
" cutit aliquot ejus dogmata. Tertius
" oſtendit viam, qua tumultus hic ita
" poſſit ſopiri, ut in poſterum non facile
" repullulaſcat. Res peragitur inter
" duos, abſque convitiis, nulla conten-
" tione, nullo fuco, tantum nude ſim-
" plex et ruſticana veritas proponitur;
" tanta æquitate, tantaque moderatione,
" ut majus periculum videatur ne mihi
" ſuccenſeat pars diverſa, videlicet leni-
" tatem meam interpretans colluſionem,
" quam Lutherus ipſe, ſi modo micam
" ullam habet ejus mentis, quam multi
" de illo prædicant: et ego certe gra-
" tulor, ſi habet: opto, ſi non habet.
" Video quibuſdam magis placere ſævi-
" tiam, ac per me quidem licebit ut
" ſuum cuique judicium blandiatur.
" Sævire facilius eſt, ſed hoc mihi vi-
" ſum eſt conducibilius. Si corporis
" affectio in uno quopiam membro ver-
" ſetur, fortaſſe profuerit cauterium aut
" ſectio. Cæterum ubi malum per
" omne corpus ſuſum eſt, ubi per inti-
" mas venas ac fibras ſparſum eſt, for-
" taſſis aliquo Mercurio ſit opus; qui
" quemadmodum lethalem ſoporem ex-
" emit ex omnibus membris Pſyches,
" ita paulatim ex intimis educat id quod
" eſt noxium.

Addit poſtea:

" Multa tamen intercurrerunt, quæ
" me non patiebantur longius in opere
" cœpto progredi, quam ad unam aut
" alteram pagellam, ut opus conceptum
" ſit magis quam cœptum: quanquam
" et alias ab hoc ſcripti genere natura
" ſatis abhorreo. Odi cruenta diſſidia;
" luſibus innoxiis magis capior, velut
" huc natus. Tum probe mihi con-
" ſcius ſum, quantum Herculem hæc
" res poſtulet, et quantulus ego ſim
" Pygmæus. Ac prorſus nondum mihi
" ſatis

A. D. 1523. Petrus Barbirius, Chaplain to Adrian VI, and one of the old friends of Eraſmus, commended this Pontif highly to him; which made Eraſmus hope, that Adrian might ſucceed in calming the religious conteſts, if he ſhould appear diſpoſed to ſhew clemency to Luther, and if the [m] Germans ſhould find him inclined to mend ſome things, which were offenſive to good men, and enſnared the conſciences of Chriſtians, only to ſecure the profit of a few perſons: for would to God, ſays he, that [n] Luther's repreſentations of the tyranny, avarice, and turpitude of the Roman Court were falſe!

To ſpeak in this ſtrain cannot be called flattering the Romiſh party: but he ſpares the Lutherans as little. I am greatly afraid, ſays he, that this will end in tumults. Evangelical liberty is the cry and the pretence; but all have not the ſame point in view. There are, who under this plauſible plea want an unbounded licence to ſatisfy the luſts of the fleſh. There are, who envy the riches of the Eccleſiaſtics, and who conſuming their own patrimony in drinking, whoring, and gaming, want to lay hands on the goods of other people. There are, whoſe ſituation and condition

" ſatis decretum eſt, an velim quod in-
" ſtitutum eſt abſolvere. Quicquid fiet,
" non fiet temere: nec exibit omnino,
" niſi privatim lectum ac probatum ab
" his, quos maxime decet favere gloriæ
" Chriſti; nam in hoc certe cudetur,
" ſi tamen cudetur unquam. Siquidem
" video partem utramque ſic eſſe accen-
" ſam, ut tota velit vincere, aut tota
" perire. Porro altera devicta magnam
" Evangelicæ veritatis ac libertatis rui-
" nam ſecum trahet: altera non op-
" primetur, niſi perniciosiſſimo orbis
" tumultu, qui multos etiam innoxios
" involvet. Ego malim rem ita com-
" poni, ut utraque pars victoriam con-
" cederet veritati et gloriæ Chriſti. Hac
" de re obtuli ſecretum conſilium meum
" Monarchis, ſi jubeant exhiberi."

An Eraſmus perfecerit et ediderit quæ cœpiſſe ſe dicit, fateor me neſcire. Si exſtaret, luculentius forte quam ex omnibus aliis ejus ſcriptis judicium ejus haberemus. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 262.

[m] He ſeems to allude to the complaints of grievances, which the Princes of Germany had ſet forth.

[n] Nam quæ Lutherus ſcribit de tyrannide, avaritia, et turpitudine Romanæ curiæ, utinam, mi Barbiri, eſſent falſa!

dition is ſuch, that the public welfare muſt be their ruin. There A. D. 1523.
are likewiſe ſome, who wiſh that the uſeleſs innovations, which are crept into the Church, might be corrected gradually, gently, and peaceably. When all is thrown into confuſion, each will ſeize what ſuits him beſt, as when a city is on fire.

Some of theſe evils, which he prognoſticates, came to paſs accordingly in ſome places: but, in general, things did not go ſo ill as he apprehended; as it may be ſeen in the Hiſtories of Sleidan, Seckendorf, Thuanus, Brandt, and Burnet. The Chriſtian ſocieties, which aroſe from theſe tumults, have been greatly preferable to the Chriſtian world, and to the ſtate of it, for many ages before the Reformation. Ep. 653.

Eraſmus republiſhed his book, *De ratione veræ Theologiæ*, which he had formerly dedicated to the Cardinal Archbiſhop of Mentz. But to this new edition he prefixed a new dedication to the Cardinal. In the former he had greatly commended Hutten, who in thoſe days was in the ſervice of that Prelate; and he had ſaid, that the Lives of the Saints, which the Cardinal deſired him to draw up, were ſo full of fables, that he begged to be excuſed from ſuch an undertaking. This ſecond addreſs is to be found Ep. 655; and the former in the fifth Volume of the works of Eraſmus.

As the Monks induſtriouſly ſpread the report in all places, that Eraſmus was a Lutheran, he takes as much pains in his letters to undeceive the public, and to ſatisfy his friends. With this view he wrote to Henry VIII, and to the Pope's Legate in England. Cuthbert Tonſtal ſent him a letter, and exhorted him to anſwer Luther, againſt whom this Biſhop inveighs with wonderful violence. So Eraſmus could no longer withſtand the importunate ſolicitations of the Roman party, and ſent word to the King of England, that he was drawing up a work againſt Luther; but he adds, that he ſhould be obliged to depart from Germany before his work were publiſhed, leſt he ſhould be killed by the

A. D. 1523. Lutheran faction. Soon after, he ſent to the King, by a meſſenger, the beginning of the work. He ſaid, that it would not be poſſible to find an operator in all Germany, who would undertake the printing it, and that he muſt needs ſend it elſewhere. Perhaps he had a mind to engage the King to be at the expence; and perhaps he made it a kind of merit in himſelf to dare to dwell at Baſil, where he was ſo much expoſed to danger. Yet he certainly had nothing of that kind to fear in a city, where he had ſo many friends and admirers, and where the ſentiments of Luther did not ſo entirely, or ſo boiſterouſly prevail. On other occaſions he claims ſome merit from having the courage to attack Luther in his own head-quarters, in the middle of Germany. Ep. 656, 657, 660.

He wrote a letter to Silveſter [o] Prieras, one of Luther's antagoniſts, and a man for whom he had very little eſteem. He ſpeaks in it with the utmoſt contempt of Stunica. He boaſts, that not only he was no Lutheran, but that he had done the party more harm than even Aleander, who was their perſecutor. He had however the frankneſs and the ſpirit to tell Prieras, that Luther had taught many neceſſary things; but that, as for himſelf, he hated ſchiſms. Ep. 664.

At Chriſtmaſs he had ſo violent a fit of the gravel and cholic, that he was very near dying. He ſpeaks of it to his friend Pirckheimerus, ſaying, that he wiſhed not for life, but for an eaſier departure from it, if it pleaſed God. Clemens VII had invited him to Rome; but at Rome, ſays he, there are many who want to deſtroy me, and they had almoſt accompliſhed their purpoſe before the death of Adrian. After having, at his own requeſt, communicated to him my ſecret opinion, I found that things were altered, and that I was no longer in favour.

The

[o] Seckendorf L. I. 38—41. Bayle PRIERIAS. Du Pin XIV. 115. They all agree in giving him a mean character.

The cauſe was manifeſt: Eraſmus had hinted at the neceſſity of reformation; and ſuch language was highly diſguſting at the Court of Rome. If Luther did not like Eraſmus, becauſe Eraſmus approved not in all things either his doctrine or his conduct, the Court of Rome liked him as little, becauſe he did not condemn Luther in all things: but this Court thought it proper to give him good words and fair promiſes, and to try to entice him to Rome, where he would have been quite under her ſubjection, and, at the beſt, a kind of priſoner at large. Ep. 668, 646, 665, 703. A. D. 1523.

[p] This year the foreigners, who had Eccleſiaſtical preferments in England, being double-taxed, Eraſmus, Polydore Virgil, and a very few others were excepted.

"[q] Wolſey publiſhed Pope Leo's Bull againſt Luther, and "ordered it to be every where publiſhed. He alſo required all "perſons, under pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther's books that were in their hands. He enumerated forty-"two of Luther's errors.

"This ſhews the apprehenſions they were under of the ſpreading of Luther's books and doctrine. All people were at this "time ſo ſenſible of the corruptions — that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to every where. "Corruption was the common ſubject of complaint: and in "the commiſſion given to thoſe whom the King ſent to repreſent "himſelf and his Church in the [r] Council of Lateran, *the Reformation of the Head and Members* is mentioned as that which was "expected from that Council.

"This was ſo much, at that time, in all men's mouths, that "one of the beſt men in that age, Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, "being to open the Convocation with a ſermon, made that the "ſubject of it all, &c."

[p] Burnet I. 21.
[q] Burnet III. 25.
[r] Begun in 1512, ended in 1517.

A. D. 1523. Polydore Virgil wrote a very friendly letter to Eraſmus, offering him not only his good offices, but his money alſo, if he would pleaſe to accept of it. Ep. 326. c. 1703.

[s] Adrian VI dying this year, Clemens, who was of the houſe of Medicis, ſucceeded him, and ſent to Eraſmus an honourable Diploma, accompanied with two hundred florins.

" [t] Adrian being choſen Pope, came on foot to Rome. Before " he entered into the city, putting off his hoſe and ſhoes, bare-" foot and bare-legged he paſſed through the ſtreets towards his " palace, with ſuch humility and devotion, that all the people " had him in great reverence and admiration."

This Pope was a learned man, and very deſirous of reforming the Church, not indeed in doctrine, but in manners and diſcipline. He ſhewed no favour to men of polite literature; he hated the poets; and they revenged themſelves by ſetting him in the worſt light, and ridiculing and reviling him upon all occaſions. On account of his religious zeal, and his deſire to correct ſome abuſes, [u] Pallavicini treats him as a poor ſilly creature, not fit to be at the head of the Church.

Adrian (ſays Jovius) gave me a Biſhoprick, becauſe he was informed that I was a learned man, a writer of hiſtory, and no poet.

Spalatinus drew up a very curious inventory of the ſacred Reliques, which were preſerved in the Church of Wittenberg, in the year 1523. They amounted in number to no leſs than 19374. Frideric of Saxony, before Luther had opened his eyes, had been at the pains to collect this elegant aſſemblage of Rarities.

[s] Sleidan L. IV. Du Pin XIII. 71, 87. Bayle HADRIEN, which is a very good article. Seckendorf I. 285. Burmanni Analecta Hiſtorica de Hadriano ſexto. Durand Hiſt. du XVI Siecle, T. III. p. 109. P. Jovius Vit. Hadriani. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 116. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 1. Bibl. Univ. XVI. 256. Scultet. Annal. ap. Von der Hardt. Hiſt. Lit. Ref. P. V. p. 61.

[t] More's Life of More, p. 114.

[u] Seckendorf L. I. p. 252.

ties. See Seckendorf L. I. p. 221—223. But the Reliques and Indulgences lodged in the Churches of Hall were, if it be poſſible, ſtill more curious, and more ridiculous. Seckendorf gives a handſome ſample of them, L. III. p. 372. A. D. 1523.

This year Aleander, aſſiſted by Egmond and Hochſtrat, cauſed two [x] Auguſtinian Monks to be burnt at Bruſſels for Lutheraniſm. They ſuffered with heroic conſtancy, and Luther compoſed a Hymn in their praiſe, which was ſung in the Reformed Churches. The charitable Catholics rejoiced at their death, and called them the Devil's Martyrs. Eraſmus had the courage to declare his diſlike of ſuch barbarous and unchriſtian proceedings; and obſerves, that the ſufferings of theſe men had brought over multitudes to Lutheraniſm.

[y] To give ſome check to the Reformation, amongſt other ſtratagems which were employed, one was the canonization of Benno by Pope Adrian. Benno was Biſhop of Miſna, in the eleventh century. His principal merit was, that he had been a rebel and a traytor, who ſided with Pope Gregory the ſeventh, called Hildebrand, and excommunicated his own lawful Prince, the Emperor Henry IV. His miracles were as follows: He ſhut the Emperor out of the Church, and flung the keys of the Church into the Elbe; but they were found in the belly of a fiſh, and reſtored again to the Prelate: he croſſed the river, walking upon it as upon dry ground: he turned water into wine: he cauſed a fountain to ſpring up, by ſtriking the ground with his foot: he ſaid Maſs in two places at once: he foretold to a Marquis, who had given him a blow on the face, that he ſhould die in a year's time, and it came to paſs accordingly: after his death he appeared in a dream to a Marquis, and ſtruck out one of his eyes; and wrought many other miracles. Luther wrote againſt this

[x] Seckendorf L. I. p. 279, 281. Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 60. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amæn. Literar.* T. IV. p. 412. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 60. [y] Seckendorf L. I. p. 285, 286. Bayle Baronius.

A. D. 1523. this canonization, and treated Benno's miracles, as either human frauds, or Diabolical operations. Emſer, like a true champion, who ſticks at nothing, defended the cauſe of Benno againſt Luther. He had written the life of this precious Saint ſome years before, and had dedicated it to George of Saxony.

A. D. MDXXIV. Ætat. LVII.

A. D. 1524. The Emperor, and his aunt Margaret of Auſtria, Governeſs of the Low Countries, invited Eraſmus to return to Brabant, and did not pay him his penſion. But in Brabant his capital enemies Hochſtrat and Egmond bare rule, and were Inquiſitors, and had already burned ſome perſons for Lutheraniſm, and longed to do him the ſame good office. The King of France invited him alſo to his dominions; but that Prince was then at variance with the Emperor.

Eraſmus wrote to Rome to the Cardinal of Sion, to give him hopes, that, though his indiſpoſitions had prevented his journey to Rome on the preceding year, yet he now would undertake it, as ſoon as the fine weather ſhould ſet in. He complains grievouſly of Stunica, who, having been a little reſtrained by Adrian, had attacked him again, during the *interregnum*. He alſo defends ſome paſſages in his writings cenſured by Stunica; but he hath done this more fully in an Anſwer to him. He adds, moreover, that he had ever ſubmitted his works to the judgment of the Catholic Church; and that if, before Luther had made his appearance, he had ſaid any thing capable of being miſinterpreted, he had corrected it in later editions. But, ſays he [z], in both parties I ſee what diſpleaſeth me; in the one (the Romaniſts) much of the worldly ſpirit; in the other (the Lutherans) much of the ſeditious ſpirit.

Who

[z] In utraque parte video quod mihi ſpiritus, in altera multum ſeditioſi. diſpliceat; in altera multum mundani

Who doth not ſee that ſuch remarks as theſe muſt have given offence to the Court of Rome? And thus Eraſmus, whilſt he took ſo much pains to keep fair with the Pope, could not fail to loſe his favour; for the letters which he wrote to eminent and learned correſpondents could be no ſecrets. He was incapable either of diſſembling thoroughly, or of ſpeaking the truth fully, when and where it was dangerous. Ep. 667. A. D. 1524.

The ſame lamentations he pours out to his friend Bombaſio, repreſenting it as a hard and a cruel caſe, that at Rome he ſhould paſs for a Lutheran, he who in Germany was accounted *Anti-lutheraniſſimus*.

Although he was ſubject, and Counſellor to Charles V, he could by no means approve the war, which this Emperor was preparing to wage with France, upon ſuch ſort of pretexts as would furniſh occaſion for everlaſting wars. He was alſo much offended that the Pope ſhould make himſelf a party in it, he whoſe office it was to be the common father of all Chriſtians: and here and elſewhere he ſhews his equitable and pacific diſpoſition.

What you write is very true, ſays he to Pirckheimerus, that Luther promotes many perſons. Luther makes Canons, Biſhops, and Cardinals, and enricheth others, whether they will or no: but then Luther beggers a great many, and me amongſt the reſt, to whom Margaret and the Emperor have promiſed the payment of my penſion——but it is upon condition that I return into my own country. A hard condition! for Egmond reigns there, a madman, armed with the inſtruments of death, who hates me twice more than he hates Luther. His collegue is one Hulſt, a ſworn enemy to learning. Theſe Inquiſitors firſt fling men into a dungeon, and then ſeek out for accuſations againſt them. Of theſe things the Emperor is ignorant, and yet it were to be wiſhed that he knew them. In the mean time five hundred florins are due to me: my penſion alſo, upon a Prebend which I reſigned, is in no ſmall danger.

If

A. D. 1524. If the Princes, who at that time favoured Luther, had acted generouſly, they ſhould have ſettled a handſome penſion upon Eraſmus, without inſiſting on any conditions, but leaving him entirely to act and to write according to his own diſcretion. Perhaps, if he had been thus ſupported, he would have opened himſelf rather more freely. Ep. 669.

Shortly after, he wrote a letter of congratulation to Clemens VII, and boaſts of his refuſing very preſſing ſolicitations to join himſelf to Luther. He alſo complains of Stunica, and ſends the Pope his Paraphraſe on the Acts of the Apoſtles. The Pope thanked him, and ſent him two hundred florins. Ep. 670, 684.

His [a] epiſtle to Gaver upon the death of Joannes Nævius is a very good one. He treats of ſudden deaths, and of the learned men whom he had known and outlived, amongſt whom he mentions [b] Reuchlin, and Petrus [c] Marſus; and repreſents himſelf as preparing for his great change. He ſpeaks reſpectfully of [d] Hieronymus Donatus, a Noble Venetian, whom he hath commended in his *Ciceronianus*; and of [e] Joannes Laſcaris. Ep. 671.

In his treatiſe *de Ratione Studii*, he prefers [f] Conſtantinus Laſcaris to all the Greek Grammarians, except Gaza.

Joannes Laſcaris was one of thoſe, who made [g] epigrams againſt Eraſmus in favour of Budæus, for which he was much to blame.

In the ſame Epiſtle he calls [h] Zacharias [Calliergus] a very learned youth.

This

[a] Appendix.

[b] There is a copious account of Reuchlin, and of his friends and foes, in Von der Hardt *Hiſt. Liter. Reform.* P. II. p. 1—156.

[c] Bayle MARSUS.

[d] Bayle DONATUS.

[e] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 247. Eraſm. Ep. 212, 249, 335, 347, 361. Maittaire I. 286, &c. 293. Bayle LASCARIS (JEAN.)

[f] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 240.

[g] Ep. 975, 1100.

[h] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 317.

This year he wrote two preſſing letters to the Magiſtrates of Stratſburg, complaining of one Scottus, who had printed Hutten's libel againſt him, and was reprinting it, with ſatirical additions by ſome other enemy, who treated Eraſmus as a deſerter of the faith, a man corrupted by bribes to wage war with the Goſpel, a paraſite, who for a morſel of bread might be made to do any thing; with other invectives of the ſame coarſe kind. To engage the Magiſtrates of Stratſburg to puniſh this printer, Eraſmus ſays of himſelf, that he had taken ſingular pains to advance the Goſpel, and that by ſo doing he had drawn much hatred upon himſelf. I have refuſed, ſays he, advantageous offers from Princes, if I would write againſt Luther; nay, I have ſuffered loſs in my own fortunes, rather than I would write according to other men's paſſions, and againſt my own conſcience. Only I have refuſed to liſt myſelf in the party, for other reaſons, it may be, and becauſe in Luther's writings I found ſome things which I underſtood not, and other things which I approved not; and above all, becauſe I ſaw in that party certain perſons, whoſe morals and deſigns ſeemed to me very remote from the Evangelical ſpirit. Ep. 674, 687. A. D. 1524.

From this time Eraſmus affected much to cenſure the morals of the Lutherans, as if the whole party had approved the bad behaviour of ſome particulars, or as if the ſame evil was not equally prevalent at that time, to ſay the leaſt, in the oppoſite ſide; as if the Popes, Prelates, and Cardinals were men of exemplary lives and Apoſtolical manners, or as if it were a mere diſpute about morals! Eraſmus, it is true, ſpeaks of ſome Lutheran doctrines which he did not approve: but were there not as many, were there not more doctrines on the other ſide, which he approved as little? and the Romiſh faction approved his ſentiments ſo little, that they ordered a great part of his works to be cancelled, before they would permit the poor remainder even to be peruſed, as it appears from the *Indices Expurgatorii*.

A. D. 1524. Eraſmus imagined that [1] Hedio and Capito, his old acquaintances, who were then Miniſters of the Goſpel at Stratſburg, would ſecond his complaints to the Magiſtrate: but he found himſelf quite miſtaken, and complains heavily of it. Theſe men began to grow more cold in their regards for Eraſmus, ſeeing that though he had ſo often declared and perſiſted in it, that the Church wanted reformation, yet he himſelf would run no riſque to forward the good cauſe, but was willing to lie ſtill and hold his peace, if the Pope and his Prelates required it, and was reſolved not to ſeparate himſelf from their communion, howſoever they acted. Eraſmus indeed ſaid, and ſaid again, that he loved and favoured the Goſpel; but they did not believe him, whilſt they ſaw him pay his court to thoſe who abhorred all amendments. Perhaps alſo they thought it not amiſs to pique him a little, and rouſe him, and blame his diffident conduct, either to oblige him to ſpeak out more openly, or to diminiſh his reputation and authority, if he remained attached to the Papiſts. Thus they ſhewed little regard to his expoſtulations and remonſtrances. Ep. 725.

Eraſmus, as it ſeems, to extort the payment of his penſion, as he was Counſellor to the Emperor, had written to the Court of this Prince, or to Brabant, that he was invited very kindly to the Court of France, and that if his penſion were not paid, neceſſity would compel him to accept of this offer. Margaret, and Carondelet Archbiſhop of Palermo, ſeem to have taken offence at it; and wrote to him in ſuch a manner, that he thought himſelf obliged to ſend a letter of excuſes. 'To reply at the ſame time, ſays he, to your letter, and to that of the moſt Illuſtrious Margaret, they are not, as you may fancy, mere compliments, and words without deeds, which the French have offered me. The

[1] Sleidan. L. XV. 399. Thuanus L. XI. p. 349. Melch. Adam. Hedio tranſlated into German the treatiſe of Eraſmus *De præparatione ad mortem.*

The Biſhop of Paris long ago, whilſt he was embaſſador at Bruſſels to Charles, not as then Emperor, beſides the King's bounty and all my charges, offered me from himſelf four hundred crowns of gold, aſſuring me that I ſhould be maſter of myſelf and of my own time, and that my liberty ſhould ſuffer no diminution. A. D. 1524.

My abſence cannot properly be called abſence, at a time wherein I am preſent with you as an author, and have publiſhed ſo many volumes; works which I could not have accompliſhed, had I reſided with you. And when I departed, the Treaſurers promiſed me, that my penſion ſhould be aſſured to me. But when you add, that I ought not to go to France, leſt I ſhould ſeem to throw myſelf into the arms of your enemies, to tell you the truth, I could not forbear ſmiling. As if Eraſmus were a warrior! I have ever preached up peace to Chriſtian Princes. The King of France informed me, by a meſſenger, of the reaſons for which he ſo often invited me. He hath a deſign to found at Paris a College for the three learned languages, like that at Louvain, and he thought me a proper perſon to conduct the affair. Yet I excuſed myſelf from the undertaking, becauſe I knew how much hatred and trouble I had incurred from the Divines, on account of the College of Buſleiden. My ſervant, on his return from France, aſſured me by certain proofs, that a place of a thouſand livres (he ſays elſewhere, five hundred crowns) was ready for me.

I have not as yet been very chargeable to the treaſury of my own Prince, for my penſion from the Court hath been paid only once: as for the other penſion, the treaſury is not concerned in it. I live here at great expence, becauſe of my bad health and my frequent illneſſes, and I never was a good œconomiſt. I have contracted ſeveral debts; ſo that if my health would, my creditors perhaps would not, permit me to depart. I wiſh therefore, if it were poſſible, that my ſervant, whom I ſend, might receive one year of my penſion, to aſſiſt me in my neceſſities. But whether

A. D. 1524. with, or whether without a penſion, I ſhall ever remain the Emperor's faithful ſervant, and will trouble you no more about ſuch trifles.

After having thus ſet forth his wants, he lays before the Archbiſhop, as before a friend, his unwillingneſs to return to the Low Countries. You know, ſays he, how many quarrels I have had with ſome Divines, even before Luther appeared, on account of the *Belles Lettres*. Now they have put a ſword into the hands of two the moſt inveterate enemies to that cauſe, namely, Hulſt and Egmond. All the world knoweth what ſort of a creature that ſame Egmond is, and he hath long ſhewed, and continues every day to ſhew how implacably he hates me. I publiſhed ſeveral books before the name of Luther was heard, and my enemies have not been able to pick any thing out of thoſe books which agrees with Lutheraniſm, (in all reſpects, he muſt mean.) And yet how eaſy is it for an enemy to lay hold on ſomething there to calumniate me, eſpecially if he proceeds according to your true Theological methods? [k] When theſe Saints want to do any one a miſchief, firſt they clap him in priſon, and then his affair is decided by a few confederates, who are judges and parties. There the moſt innocent man alive muſt ſuffer the vileſt treatment, leſt their authority ſhould ſuffer: and when they have been totally miſtaken, they cry out, that the ſide of religion muſt always be favoured!

This ſtate of things, as Eraſmus owns, diſguſted him, and diſheartened him from adventuring his perſon in the Low Countries, and eſpecially during the abſence of his Patron the Emperor. He adds, that Campegius, who was then at Nuremberg on account of the Lutheran affairs, had called him thither; but that

[k] Res agitur iſthic prorſus ordine Theologico. Homo, cui male volunt, rapitur in carcerem; ibi inter paucos tranſigitur negotium, et innoxius debet indigna pati, ne quid illis decedat auctoritatis. Ubi tota aberratum eſt via, clamant, ſavendum eſſe negotio fidei.

that if he could get excuſed from waiting upon him, and pay the A. D. 1524.
debts contracted at Baſil, he would repair to Brabant, as ſoon as he ſhould have no cauſe to fear the bad effect of the German ſtoves, which incommoded him exceſſively.

It was eaſy to apprehend, that if things remained in the preſent poſture, Eraſmus would abſent himſelf from the Low Countries, and that, if other reaſons ſhould be deemed unſatisfactory, his gravel, from which he was never quite free, would ſerve for an excuſe.

Egmond had publiſhed a book againſt him in Holland, which Eraſmus thoroughly refuted in an epiſtle, addreſſed to [1] Nicolas Everard, Preſident of the Court of Holland. Amongſt other things, he fully and clearly proves, that all Chriſtians ought to be allowed to read the holy Scriptures. Ep. 679.

Some time after, he received a letter from George Duke of Saxony, who both exhorted him to write againſt Luther, and deſired him to name a perſon fit to ſucceed Moſellanus, Greek Profeſſor at Leipſic, lately deceaſed: but George wanted one who was not infected with Lutheraniſm. Ep. 680.

Eraſmus went not to Nuremberg; but Campegius ſent a meſſenger to Baſil, to conſult him, and receive his advice concerning the proper methods of appeaſing the diſorders of Germany, which Eraſmus communicated, but confeſſed that he ſaw not how they could be appeaſed, conſidering the methods which were then purſued. In my country, ſays he, in Holland, the Nuns elope from their cloiſters, and marry in the Lord. Egmond the Carmelite hath been turned out of office by the Pope and the Emperor. His collegue Hulſt hath hardly eſcaped the halter. Literature flouriſhes in ſpite of the Theologers. They cry out amain that Eraſmus is an heretic; and no man believes them. Martin Luther hath ſent me a letter civil enough, by one Joachim, (Camerarius) to which I dared not to reply with equal civility, for

[1] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 621. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 74. Melch. Adam.

A. D. 1524. for fear of the Calumniators: yet I anſwered in few words. Melanchthon, as I am informed, would gladly have a conference with me, but is loth to expoſe me to any hatred and obloquy, which however on ſuch an occaſion I ſhould have deſpiſed. He is a youth of great candor. Eraſmus then complains ſome Lutherans wrote againſt him, as well as Stunica, and that Eppendorf, who pretended to be his friend, was in the cabal. This perhaps was a mere ſuſpicion: but there is ſome room to doubt, whether he would have been glad of a viſit from Melanchthon, who with all his mildneſs and candor was little leſs hated than Luther by the Romaniſts. Ep. 684, 713.

Eraſmus [m] wrote to Richard Bere, deſiring his friendſhip, and treating him with great reſpect. Bere was Abbot of Glaſſenbury, and a conſiderable benefactor to that Monaſtery. He had been a benefactor to R. Pace. He went once to Italy in a public character. He died in 1524. Ep. 700.

It appears from Ep. 689, that certain Italian Critics and Philologers, whom Eraſmus afterwards rallied in his *Ciceronianus*, began at this time to cenſure in his works ſome defects of ſtyle and expreſſion, and faults in points of Grammar and Criticiſm. Some paſſages Eraſmus defends againſt their attacks; but he owns that he had ſlipped here and there, either by writing haſtily, or for want of neceſſary ſuccours. It was very eaſy for men of great leiſure, who themſelves compoſed either nothing at all, or very little, to find errors in the voluminous works of Eraſmus; but it was not in their power to write things equally learned, uſeful, lively, and agreeable.

In this Epiſtle, Eraſmus pretends that he would have paſſed his winter at Rome, if the plague had not deterred him; and ſays, that his tract [n] *De Libero Arbitrio* was in the preſs. We ſhall ſee hereafter how he excuſed himſelf to the * Lutherans for for having attacked their Patriarch. It

[m] Knight, p. 218.

[n] Du Pin XIII. 97.

* Of the cauſes which impelled Eraſmus, contrary to his inclination, to write againſt Luther, ſee Seckendorf L. I. p. 308, &c.

It may ſuffice to obſerve here in general, that Luther was an admirer of Auguſtin, and, like the Thomiſts, held a phyſical predetermination, which entirely ſubverts human liberty, and which, under the pretence of making the creature dependent upon the Creator, deprives it of all active powers, ſo that it can do nothing without being neceſſarily determined by the influence of God. If there was any difference between Luther and the Thomiſts of the Church of Rome, it was this, that Luther ſpake more ſimply and ſincerely and openly than they; for he abſolutely denied that there was any ſuch thing as free-will, whilſt they admitted it in words. This perhaps deceived Eraſmus, who imagined that he was only diſputing againſt Luther, whilſt he was really diſputing as much againſt Thomas Aquinas and his followers, as againſt the Reformer. Be that as it will, Eraſmus makes many good remarks againſt the ſentiment which he oppoſes, and juſtly inſiſts upon it, that the human will cooperates with the grace or aſſiſtance of God. Yet they who ſhall carefully peruſe the writings of Eraſmus upon this ſubject, and are tolerably ſkilled in the controverſy, will ſee that he had not the cleareſt and the preciſeſt notions. But then it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſubject itſelf is obſcure, and hath embarraſſed thoſe who had ſtudied philoſophy more than he. He very dextrouſly and artfully choſe this point of diſputation, that he might appear to the Romaniſts to write againſt Luther, and yet that he might avoid cenſuring his other doctrines oppoſite to the Roman Church; and he ſo managed the point, as to abſtain from all rudeneſs and malice againſt Luther, and to act quite differently from the Monks. And indeed, as the Court of Rome was very little obliged to him for this work, ſo the Lutherans did not diſdain his advice upon this point of controverſy, and made a ſober uſe of it afterwards, departing from the extreme into which the theology of Thomas Aquinas had betrayed their Reformer. To attack Luther upon the ſingle point of liberty and neceſſity was, A. D. 1524.

A. D. 1524. in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him ſuperior to his adverſaries in other reſpects; and the Lutherans ought to have thus underſtood it. Ep. 715.

Le Clerc ſuppoſes that Luther was a Thomiſt: but from [p] Seckendorf's accurate hiſtory, we learn that Luther abhorred Ariſtotle, and deſpiſed the School-men in general, and in particular both the Thomiſts and the Scotiſts. If he was a favourer of any Scholaſtic ſect, it was that of [q] *Occam*, whom he eſteemed. Therefore I think that Luther learned his notions of fataliſm from St. Auguſtin, whom he had carefully peruſed, of whom he had a very high opinion, and by whom he had been taught to think ill of the Pelagians. He alſo miſunderſtood and miſapplied ſome paſſages in St. Paul's Epiſtles, which in thoſe days were not ſo fully cleared up, as they have been ſince.

Luther

[p] Vol. I. p. 31—36, 103, 118.

[q] Occam, ſays Father Paul, is a very judicious writer, excepting the barbarouſneſs of his ſtyle. I have ever valued him above all the School-men.

Letters of F. Paul, p. 412.

"The Terminiſts were Sectaries in "the high Schools, among whom I "was. They oppoſe the Thomiſts, "the Scotiſts, and the Albertiſts: they "are called alſo Occamiſts, of Occam "their firſt beginner and founder. "They are of the neweſt ſect, and "now are the ſtrongeſt in Paris." *Luther*'s Colloq. Menſal. p. 354.

I will here add two or three paſſages out of theſe *Colloquies*: "I am perſua-"ded, ſays Luther, of all thoſe of "whom the Scripture ſaith, *And he ſlept* "*with his fathers*, that they are all in "heaven: for this word *ſleep* ſheweth "ſome good in the Scriptures," p. 361.

"Your ſon, ſays Luther to a diſcon-"ſolate father, is well provided for; "he liveth now with Chriſt. O! "would to God that I had finiſhed my "courſe; I would not wiſh me her-"again," p. 402. See above, p. 122.

He banters the faſtings of the Monks in thoſe days: "Their faſting is more "eaſy to them, than our eating is to "us. To one faſting day belonged "three days of devouring. Every Frier, "to his evening collation, hath two "quarts of beer, a quart of wine, ſpice-"cakes, or bread prepared with ſpice "and ſalt, the better to reliſh their "drink. Thus went theſe poor faſting "Brethren; they grew ſo pale and "wan, that they were like to the *fiery* "*Angels*," p. 413.

Luther [r] and Eraſmus were in the ſame condition and ſituation, in one reſpect. They had innumerable adverſaries, and for the moſt part extremely contemptible. A. D. 1524.

Eraſmus wrote at the ſame time to [s] Aleander, excuſing himſelf for having ſpoken of him as of an enemy, and declaring himſelf

[r] Quanta in Lutherum veluti grando convitiorum ceciderit, ipſe quidem non diſſimulat; quanquam verum eſt, adverſarios ei pleroſque rudes et inficetos contigiſſe, quos ingenio longe ſuperabat. Eraſmum inter paucos excipio, qui ſtylo et politiori literatura potior, eaque elegantia et moderatione affectuum applauſum captans, ita ſcripſit, ut neminem Lutheri cauſæ magis nocuiſſe exiſtimem. De hoc ipſe quidem Eraſmus gloriatur, quanquam exigua ab Eccleſia, cui adhærebat, gratia. Nolo repetere, quæ ſupra notavi, opus fuiſſe immiti Prælatorum caſtigatore, ut Eraſmus ipſe non diffitetur, Epiſtola ad Melanchthonem. Nam eventu comprobatum eſt, quotidieque adhuc comprobatur, quod fruſtra idem Eraſmus ſperaverit, ut temperata libertate Pontifices et Reges ad hujus negotii (reformationis nempe) conſortium pellicerentur. Quod vero in iiſdem literis optat Eraſmus, ut *Lutherus tam cito poſſet Pontifices et Principes ad Evangelicæ pietatis ſtudium convertere, quam in vitia illorum fortiter debacchari*; id profecto ipſe Lutherus anxie deſideravit, imo cum non ſuccederet, quam pluſquam omnia intendebat, vitæ et morum, etiam in illis locis ubi purior doctrina prædicabatur, correctio, nemo vehementius de malo illo queſtus eſt. *Virtus verbi*, inquit Epiſt. ad Langum, *adhuc latet, vel nimis modica eſt in omnibus nobis, quod miror valde. Sumus enim iidem, qui antea, duri, inſenſati, impatientes, temerarii, ebrii, laſcivi, contentioſi; ſumma, ſymbolum illud et inſigne Chriſtianorum charitas nuſquam prodit, et fit illud Pauli: Regnum Dei habemus in ſermone, non in virtute.* De Monachis vero cucullum exuentibus ita loquitur: *Video Monachos noſtros multos exire nulla alia cauſa, quam qua intraverant, hoc eſt, ventris et libertatis carnalis gratia, per quos Satanas magnum fœtorem in noſtri verbi odorem bonum excitabit.*

Mirum ſane non fuit, multos qui in Monaſteria temerario conſilio ingreſſi erant, haud meliori egreſſos, et iniquè poſtulari ab adverſariis, ut ſancti repente evaderent Luthero concionante, quos per tot annos peſſima docuerant, et pravis moribus viventes diſſimulaverant. Interim non deerant ex deſertoribus illis, qui vere reſipiſcerent, nec per alios magis doctrina Evangelica in tot regnis et provinciis propagata fuit, &c. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 199.

[s] In his anſwer to Albertus Pius, written in 1529, he thus ſpeaks of Aleander:

Jam qui cenſorium diploma detulit, illico ſpargebat has voces apud ſuos, *Nihil egerimus, niſi prius exſtincto Eraſmo.*

A. D. 1524. himſelf well diſpoſed to a reconciliation, and yet ſhewing him, that he was too well informed of his unfriendly behaviour. He alſo defends himſelf againſt ſome Italians, who criticiſed his works. Ep. 693.

Eraſmus, though he loved not Aleander, and had no reaſon to love him, yet hath done [t] juſtice to his learning and abilities more than once.

He ſent his treatiſe againſt Luther to the King of England, to Wolſey, to Warham, and to many more. Writing to Gibertus, he tells him, that neither the Pope nor the Emperor could make him happy, on account of his age and his diſtempers. He who ſhould beſtow a biſhoprick, or any other dignity upon me, ſays he, would only throw a weight upon the ſhoulders of a poor man, who is [u] departing from this world. My concern is to keep a conſcience void of offence, and to deceive no man knowingly. If each party continues to defend its rights to the utmoſt, I fear it will be a combat between Hector and Achilles, who, being equally fierce and haughty, entertained for each other an hatred, which death alone could terminate. Ep. 694.

Complaining to Warham of the Lutherans, and of the Monks, by whoſe clamours he had been compelled to write againſt Luther,

Conſtanter fugit meum colloquium, ſubornatis tamen, qui, quid de ipſo, ſeu Lutheri negotio ſentirem, explorarent. Et certe nihil ab eo tentatum non eſt, ut me perderet. Atqui longe aliud in mandatis habebat a Leone decimo. T. IX. c. 1104.

Dixit apud me; *Pontifex Romanus tot Duces, tot Comites ſæpe dejecit; facile dejiciet tres pediculoſos Grammatiſtas.* Idem alias dixit, *Pontifex poteſt dicere Cæſari Carolo, Tu es cerdo*, &c. Ibid. c. 1105. What impudence!

[t] Si de hæreſi periclitatur, qui Græce et Hebraice novit, quod Lutherus harum linguarum rudis non eſt, cur non potius in tuto eſſe dicitur, quod Joannes Epiſcopus Roffenſis, quod Hieronymus Aleander Archiepiſcopus Brunduſinus propugnatores ſunt nutantis Eccleſiæ, quorum hic omnibus linguis excellit, ille tres linguas ætate jam vergente non vulgari ſtudio amplectitur? *Adag.* c. 1053.

[u] Et libertatis avidus, et brevi moriturus. Ep. 697.

ther, he tells his Patron that he had ſent him the Epiſtles of Jerom [x], wet from the preſs, ſo that he could not bind them. This was the ſecond Edition, in which the Dedication to Warham is dated July 1524. The other Tomes followed ſoon after. He adds, that he had received twenty pounds at two times, and thanks the Archbiſhop for having augmented his penſion; and exclaims, Curſed be theſe wars, which decimate us ſo often! I imagined, however, that penſions were exempted from paying ſuch taxes. A. D. 1524.

The Archbiſhop had alſo ſent him a horſe, whom Eraſmus thus deſcribes to him; I have received your horſe, who is not over-handſome, but a good creature; for he is free from all the mortal ſins, except gluttony and lazineſs. Elſe he is endued with the qualities of a holy Father Confeſſor, being prudent, modeſt, humble, chaſte, and peaceable, and one who neither bites nor kicks. I fancy that, by the knavery or the miſtake of your domeſtics, I have not the horſe that you intended for me. I had ordered my ſervant not to aſk for a horſe, nor to accept of one, unleſs ſome perſon offered him a very good one, of his own accord. And yet I am equally obliged to you for your kind intention. Indeed I thought to ſell my horſes, as I have given over riding.

We ſee that neither his ſtudies, nor his diſtempers, nor his vexations, had deprived him of his gay temper, which breaks out in his letters.

[x] Hieronymus n'eſtoit pas ſi ſçavant qu'on le dit. Il eſtoit bien ignorant, & eſcrivoit a des bigottes de femmes. Per nebulam tantum Hebræa novit. — Il eſt meilleur pour des choſes des Payens que pour la Theologie. Il a eſté trop vehement, ſur tout contre Jovinianus & Vigilantius, encore qu' à tort, comme meſme Eraſme le reconnoit. — Hieroſme eſtoit plus docte qu' Auguſtin, mais c'eſtoit un vray fou de Moine, qui a maintenu des choſes fort abſurdes, &c. Eraſme a beaucoup gaſté (l' edition) de Baſle. Il y a auſſi reſtitué quelque paſſages. — Scaligeran. p. 101.

A. D. 1524. He ſays that Ferdinand had ſent him *centum aureos.* Ep. 697.

Two days after, he wrote a long epiſtle to Melanchthon, which begins with an [y] invective againſt Hutten, who had the itch upon him, as he ſays, or [z] ſomething elſe, and whoſe viſits he had declined, to free himſelf from an hungry, beggarly, and vain-glorious gueſt, whom he had no mind to receive and maintain at bed and board. We have ſeen before, that Eraſmus gave other reaſons for ſhunning Hutten.

As to Melanchthon, he ſays that he would moſt gladly have received a viſit from him, and have deſpiſed all fear of offence by it; and that, if Wittenberg were not too far off, he would go there himſelf, to converſe with him and with Luther. Theſe were mere compliments, to pacify them; and he had no thoughts of paying ſuch viſits, as his whole conduct ſhewed. But he ſays no more than the truth, when he tells Melanchthon that he had not written to Luther, becauſe his letter would ſoon

[y] Nam quod Hutteni colloquium deprecabar, non invidiæ metus tantum in cauſa fuit: erat aliud quiddam, quod tamen in *Spongia* non attigi. Ille egens et omnibus rebus deſtitutus, quærebat nidum aliquem ubi moreretur. Erat mihi glorioſus ille miles cum ſua *ſcabie* in ædes recipiendus, ſimulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo *Evangelicorum*, ſed titulo duntaxat. Sletſtadii mulctavit omnes amicos ſuos aliqua pecunia. A Zuinglio improbe petiit, quod ipſe Zuinglius mihi ſuis literis perſcripſit. Jam amarulentiam et glorias hominis nemo, quamvis patiens, ferre poterat.

[z] By the *ſcabies* he means the French diſtemper, which he calls *novam lepram*, and which, he ſuppoſes, may be caught by drinking after the infected perſon, *Adag.* c. 1115. In many other paſſages he expreſſes a great dread of it. In this epiſtle he beſtows the epithet ψωρώδης upon an Anonymous, alluding to the ſame diſeaſe.

Hutten once thought himſelf quite cured by the uſe of Guaiacum, and recommended it to the public as an infallible remedy, with an *Experto crede Ruperto.* But he was miſtaken. Burckhard Comment. de Vit. Hutteni, p. 49, 197. Bayle HUTTEN. Burckhard wrote an account of Hutten in three volumes, of which I have only ſeen the firſt.

Huldrici Hutteni de Guiaci ligni medicina, et morbo Gallico liber: apud Joannem Schœffer, 4to. Mogunt. 1519. *Maittaire* II. 331.

ſoon have been printed by the party, and becauſe the very [a] firſt letter that he ſent to Luther was immediately publiſhed, and brought him into no ſmall danger. A. D. 1524.

He commends the [b] *Loci Communes* of [c] Melanchthon, as very fit and able to encounter and demoliſh *Phariſaical tyranny:* but he adds, that they contained alſo ſome things which he did not underſtand, ſome concerning which he had doubts and ſcruples, and ſome which he thought it needleſs to profeſs openly.

He then boaſts of the mild and moderate counſels which he had given to Popes and Princes; but he ſpeaks very ill of Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, [d] Farellus, Capito, and Hedio, and inveighs violently

[a] Porro ne ſcriberem perſuaſit illa prima ad Lutherum epiſtola, magno meo periculo edita. Hæc enim dedit anſam Aleandro, jampridem iniquo in me animo, ut me perditum iret, conatus Leonis animum irritare in me, ſimul Leodienſis Epiſcopi, qui prius pene deperibat, ut ita loquar, in Eraſmum. Nam ipſe Leodienſis oſtendit mihi literas, quas ad eum e Roma ſcripſerat Aleander, ſatis odioſe me attingentes. Quum itaque viderem apud iſtos nihil eſſe clam, judicavi rectius cohibere calamum.

[b] Perlegi locos omnes, in quibus perſpexi tuum iſtud judicium non minus candidum quam felix, quod ego ſemper tum ſuſpexi, tum amavi, ſed magis etiam utrumque facere cœpi poſteaquam illa legi, tantum abeſt ut me ejus operæ pœniteat, quanquam inter legendum ſcrupulis aliquot offendebar, de quibus voluiſſem tecum communicare ſi coram licuiſſet. Video dogmatum aciem pulchre inſtructam adverſus tyrannidem Phariſaicam: ſed in his quædam ſunt, quæ, ut ingenue fatear, non aſſequor; quædam ejus generis, ut etiamſi tutum eſſet, nollem profiteri propter conſcientiam; quædam ejuſmodi, ut ſine fructu videar profeſſurus.

[c] Melanchthonis Loci Communes rerum Theologicarum, ſeu Hypotypoſes Theologicæ, quoad primam editionem Wittenbergenſem A. 1521, ferme majorum noſtrorum incuria perierunt. Novæ ſcilicet editiones multum ab ea diverſæ prioris induxerant oblivionem. Nunc autem beneficio Hermanni Von der Hardt rariſſimo hoc Philippi monumento rurſus gaudet orbis literatus: integrum enim illud inſeruit, ſicut et plura rariora Dorpii, Reuchlini, aliorumque hactenus neglecta et prope deperdita opuſcula, Hiſtoriæ Literariæ Reformationis Part. IV. fol. 30, &c. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. II. p. 418.

[d] Farellus, A. 1524, venit Baſileam, ex Gallia profugus, et publice diſputavit. Sed non multo poſt Vicarius Epiſcopi et Academiæ Rector vi et factione

ſua

A. D. 1524. violently againſt the morals both of the *Reformed*, who then began to make a party, and of the *Lutherans*. [e] Shall we, ſays he, ſhake off the domination of Popes and Prelates, to ſubmit to worſe tyrants than they, to ſcabby madmen, to the ſcum of the earth? He hath in view [f] Otho Brunsfeld, who had written againſt him, and [g] Farellus, who then preached at Montbeliard. Eraſmus could not bear theſe men, becauſe they had decried him as a political time-ſerver, who dared not to act according to his true ſentiments. They doubtleſs had their faults; but they were not ſo bad men as ſeveral, to whom Eraſmus paid his co[urt]. They applied themſelves cloſely to the ſtudy of the holy Scri[pture], and, as far as they underſtood the Goſpel, they preached it with great fervour, and with no leſs danger; and if there was ſomething in their behaviour which Eraſmus could juſtly cenſure, there was alſo ſomething which he might have commended. Their

ſua Farellum Baſilea exegerunt. *Scultet.* Annal. ap. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 68.

Oecolampadius creatur Paſtor ad S. Martinum; et jure primus Baſilienſium Apoſtolus nominatur. *Ibid.* p. 69.

Farellus had been a diſciple of Faber Stapulenſis. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Calvini, p. 34.

[e] An ideo depellimus dominos, Pontifices et Epiſcopos, ut feramus immitiores tyrannos, ſcabioſos Othillones, et Phallicos rabioſos? Nam hunc nuper nobis miſit Gallia. Dices, olim Evangelium habebat ſuos pſeudo-apoſtolos, qui ſub pietatis titulo negotium agebant ventris. Verum hos interim tenerè fovent hi proceres Evangelii, Capito, cujus vafricies mihi ſemper oboluit; Hedio, qui ſcurram impurum (Scot, *the bookſeller*) ex occaſione mearum literarum, per quas debebat dare pœnas, ſublevavit, miſericordiam appellans, quod haberet uxorem et teneros liberos: nec aliud agit etiam nunc, quam ne quid detrimenti capiat res et fama nebulonis. Oecolampadius cæteris paulo modeſtior eſt, et tamen eſt ubi in illo quoque deſiderem Evangelicam ſinceritatem. Zuinglius quam ſeditioſe rem gerit!

[f] Cum Huttenus e vita diſceſſiſſet, ſuſcepit ejus defenſionem Otho Brunfelſius, medicus, ac convitia in Eraſmum regeſſit. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Hutteni et Brunfelſii.

This Brunsfeld tranſlated a treatiſe of Ægineta. Maittaire II. 436, 475, 693.

[g] Verheiden Effig. Theol. p. 116. Melchior Adam. Beza Icon. Bayle Dict. FAREL. Remarques ſur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 104.

Their boiſterous and violent temper was blameable, and they A. D. 1524.
were much in the wrong to call Eraſmus a Balaam, who was hired to curſe Iſrael. But Eraſmus, being thus provoked, paid them in kind, and was not a whit behind them in reſentment and invectives.

Laſtly, He apologizes for having written againſt Luther, and ſays, that the calumnies of Eccleſiaſtics, who made him paſs for a Lutheran, and the importunity of Princes, had conſtrained him to it. If it were objected, that by ſo doing he favoured tyrants and tyranny, he anſwered, that no perſon had taken ſo much pains as he to dehort all men from cruelty, and had treated the ſubject with ſo much freedom. Although, ſays he, I were a moſt bigotted Papiſt, *(ſectæ Papiſticæ addictiſſimus,)* yet would I condemn cruelty, becauſe opinions oppoſed with cruelty ſpread the more. Therefore the prudent Julian would not put Chriſtians to death. Our Theologers thought, that if they burned a man or two at Bruſſels, the reſt would be corrected by it. On the contrary, the ſufferings of theſe men made many embrace Lutheraniſm. He concludes with deſiring Melanchthon not to ſhew his letter to ill-diſpoſed perſons. Ep. 703.

Melanchthon anſwered him politely, and with a much better temper, telling him, that the vices of particulars ſhould not bring any prejudice againſt a good cauſe, and that Luther did in no wiſe reſemble thoſe whom he had painted in ſo odious colours. He gently reproves him for drawing up a catalogue of vile fellows, and inſerting ſuch perſons as Oecolampadius, and other men of merit, amongſt them. As for himſelf, he declares, that in his conſcience he is perſuaded of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and will never forſake it. And, as to the Diſſertation of Eraſmus upon Free-will, he ſays; We are not at all ſhocked at it, for it would be mere tyranny to hinder any man from giving his opinion in the Church of Chriſt, concerning any points of religion. This ought to be free to every one, who will deliver his ſentiments without

A. D. 1524. without paſſion and partiality. Your moderation in that treatiſe hath been applauded; and yet ſuffer me to tell you, that ſometimes you bite too hard. But Luther is not ſo eaſily provoked, as to be unable to bear diſſent; and he promiſeth to obſerve the ſame moderation in his reply. — It is alſo your duty to be very cautious not to bring an odium upon a cauſe, which the holy Scriptures ſo evidently favour. As you yourſelf have not as yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you will wound your own conſcience. You know that we ought to [illegible] and not to deſpiſe prophecies.

So Luther, it ſeems, told Melanchthon, that he [illegible]uld be very calm and civil in his reply to Eraſmus: but, wh[illegible] he ſet himſelf about it, he forgot theſe promiſes, and his [illegible]al and Impetuoſity were two hard-mouthed horſes, which ran away with the chariot and the charioteer:

——— *Fruſtra retinacula tendens*
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

Ep. 704.

Eraſmus wrote at the ſame time to Ant. Brugnarius of Montbeliard, and ſhews a violent anger againſt Farellus, or *Phallicus*, as he calls him. The Lutherans themſelves, ſays he, cannot bear that Fellow; and he hath been [h] reprimanded ſeveral times by Oecolampadius and Pellicanus, but to no purpoſe. He hath purloined a jeſt from one Blet, a merchant, who hath taken it into his head to call me *Balaam*, although I never would accept of a peny, to write againſt Luther.

But whatſoever Eraſmus might ſay, he had for ſome time ſeemed to take delight in ſpeaking againſt the Reformers to the Roman party, that he might preſerve their favour, and perhaps (though he himſelf might hardly be ſenſible of it) with ſome view to ſecure his own revenues. If he had had no dependence upon

[h] It was very true. See Scultet. in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 70.

upon that party, which in his letter to Melanchthon he calls *the Popiſh ſect*, and which in his letters to the Papiſts he calls *the Catholic Church*, and nothing to hope or to fear from that quarter, he would probably have been leſs upon the reſerve. A. D. 1524.

Then he gives an account of a ſmall diſpute which he had with Farel, about the invocation of Saints. I aſked him, ſays he, why he rejected the doctrine of the invocation of Saints? and whether it was not, becauſe the Scriptures were ſilent about it? Yes, ſaid he. Shew me then evidently, ſaid I, from the Scriptures, that we ought to invoke the Holy Ghoſt. If he be God, ſaid he, we ought to pray to him. But I preſſed him to produce one paſſage from the Scriptures, telling him often at the ſame time, that I agreed with him as to the thing itſelf, and that I only did this by way of diſputation. — He cited the paſſage in St. John's Epiſtle—*and theſe three are one*. I anſwered, that, not an unity of nature, but of teſtimony and conſent was there implied, and that the words of the *blood*, the *water*, and the *ſpirit*, would bear no other interpretation; that the words alſo concerning the *Father*, the *Word*, and the *Spirit*, were in no ancient manuſcripts, and had never been cited by thoſe Fathers, who had diſputed the moſt againſt the Arians, as Athanaſius, Cyril, and Hilary. Here the converſation ended. Eraſmus only [1] complained, that Farel had called him Balaam: yet he ſays that Farel had written a letter, wherein he had reported this converſation very unfairly. He could not prove, ſays Eraſmus, that the Holy Ghoſt is God, which yet may be proved out of [k] St. Paul; and if he had proved it, he would not have got the better of me: for it is no opinion of mine that the Saints ought to be invoked; although

Y y

[1] See the Letter to Botzem, in the firſt Tome.

[k] Quanquam certiſſimis argumentis colligitur Spiritum eſſe Deum, nuſquam tamen aperte vocatur Deus, niſi recipimus locum, qui eſt apud Paulum 1 Cor. iii. *Qui violaverit templum Dei, diſperdet eum Deus.* Præceſſit enim mentio Spiritus. *Eccleſiaſt.* T. V. c. 1090.

A. D. 1524. although they who declaim ſo tragically againſt a thing practiſed from the beginning of the Church, and pious in its own nature, talk fooliſhly.

But if any one had aſked Eraſmus, in what Father of the three firſt centuries he found the invocation of Saints, he would have been ſufficiently embarraſſed; as alſo, if he had been aſked what piety there could be in making objects of adoration for ourſelves, without any divine revelation, and even againſt divine revelation. His violence ſhews that he was quite [1] chagrined, becauſe Farel had ſaid that Froben's wife underſtood divinity much better than Eraſmus, and had thrown out other ſcoffs of the ſame kind.

It was great effrontery in Farellus, who at this time was only thirty-five, to treat a man in ſuch a manner, who in age was ſo much his ſenior, and in abilities and reputation ſo much his ſuperior. But this Frenchman was almoſt what the French call *un Enragé*, a Reformer intoxicated with Proteſtant zeal. He was an incomparable Field-preacher, who could lift up his voice like a trumpet; and as no noiſe could ſilence him, ſo no danger could diſconcert him. He ſucceeded in his labours, and brought many over to Proteſtantiſm. Ep. 707.

About this time, Luther wrote a letter to Eraſmus, not in the moſt elegant ſtyle, but a letter full of life and fire and ſpirit, which vexed him not a little.

He begins in the Apoſtolical manner; Grace and peace to you from the Lord Jeſus.

I ſhall not complain of you, ſays he, for having behaved yourſelf as a man eſtranged from us, to keep fair with the Papiſts, my enemies. Nor was I much offended, that in your printed books, to gain their favour, or to ſoften their rage, you have cenſured us with too much acrimony. We ſaw that the Lord had

[1] Tumultuatur et Burgundia nobis proxima, per Phallicum quendam Gallum, qui e Gallia profugus huc ſe contulit, homo rabula, effreni tum lingua, tum calamo. Ep. 698.

had not conferred upon you the diſcernment, the courage, and the reſolution to join with us, and freely and openly to oppoſe thoſe Monſters; and therefore we dared not to exact from you that which greatly ſurpaſſeth your ſtrength and your capacity. We have even borne with your weakneſs, and honoured that portion of the gift of God which is in you. A. D. 1524.

Then having beſtowed upon him his due praiſes, as he had been the reviver of good literature, by means of which the holy Scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he proceeds thus:

I never wiſhed that, forſaking or neglecting your own proper talents, you ſhould enter into our camp. You might indeed have favoured us not a little by your wit, and by your eloquence; but foraſmuch as you have not that courage which is requiſite, it is ſafer for you to ſerve the Lord in your own way. Only we feared leſt our adverſaries ſhould entice you to write againſt us, and that neceſſity ſhould then conſtrain us to oppoſe you to your face. We have withheld ſome perſons amongſt us, who were diſpoſed and prepared to attack you; and I could have wiſhed that the *Complaint* of Hutten had never been publiſhed, and ſtill more that your *Spongia* in anſwer to it had never come forth; by which you may ſee and feel at preſent, if I miſtake not, how eaſy it is to ſay fine things about the duties of modeſty and moderation, and to accuſe Luther of wanting them, and how difficult and even impoſſible it is to be really modeſt and moderate, without a particular gift of the Holy Spirit. Believe me, or believe me not, Jeſus Chriſt is my witneſs, that I am concerned as well as you, that the reſentment and hatred of ſo many eminent perſons (of the Lutheran party) hath been excited againſt you. I muſt ſuppoſe that this gives you no ſmall uneaſineſs; for virtue like yours, mere human virtue, cannot raiſe a man above being affected by ſuch trials. To tell you freely what I think, there are perſons (amongſt us) who having this

A. D. 1524. weakneſs alſo about them, cannot bear, as they ought, your acrimony and your diſſimulation, which you want to paſs off for prudence and modeſty. Theſe men have cauſe to be offended; and yet would not be offended, if they had more greatneſs of ſpirit. Although I alſo am iraſcible, and have been often provoked ſo as to uſe ſharpneſs of ſtyle, yet I never acted thus, except againſt hardened and incurable reprobates. I have reſtrained myſelf, though you have provoked me; and I promiſed, in letters to my friends, which you have ſeen, that I would continue to do ſo, unleſs you ſhould appear openly againſt us. For although you are not in our ſentiments, and many pious doctrines are condemned by you with irreligion or diſſimulation, or treated in a ſceptical manner, yet I neither can nor will aſcribe a ſtubborn perverſeneſs to you. What can I do now? Things are exaſperated on both ſides; and I could wiſh, if it were poſſible, to act the part of a mediator between you, that they might ceaſe to attack you with ſuch animoſity, and ſuffer your old age to reſt in peace in the Lord; and thus they would act, in my opinion, if they either conſidered your weakneſs, or the greatneſs of the controverted cauſe, which hath been long ſince beyond your talents. They would ſhew their moderation towards you ſo much the more, ſince our affairs are advanced to ſuch a point, that our cauſe is in no peril, although even Eraſmus ſhould attack it with all his might; ſo far are we from fearing ſome of his ſtrokes and ſtrictures. On the other hand, my dear Eraſmus, if you duly reflect upon your own imbecillity, you will abſtain from thoſe ſharp and ſpiteful figures of rhetoric; and if you cannot or will not defend our ſentiments, you will let them alone, and treat of ſubjects which ſuit you better. Our friends, even you yourſelf being judge, have ſome reaſon of anxiety at being laſhed by you, becauſe human infirmity thinks of the authority and reputation of Eraſmus, and fears it: and indeed there is much difference between him and the reſt of the Papiſts, and he is a more formidable adverſary than all of them joined together.

Thus Luther exhorts him to be rather a ſpectator, than an actor in the Tragedy; and to bear with others, as he expected that they ſhould bear with him. A. D. 1524.

This Epiſtle was written before the *Diatribe* of Eraſmus againſt Luther was publiſhed. Ep. 726.

[m] Eraſmus wrote an anſwer to this letter of Luther, which is not in the Collection of his Epiſtles. Seckendorf hath given us an account of it, with ſome extracts from it.

If

[m] Reſponſum Eraſmi ad Lutheri epiſtolam —— in volumen Epiſtolarum ejus relatum non invenitur: exſtat autem MS. tum in Archivis, tum in Bibliotheca Jenenſi, et alibi. Plena eſt querelis adverſus abuſum Evangelii. Excuſat etiam, quam ei Lutherus objecerat, timiditatem, ita ut ab initio ſtatim dicat:

"Nec tibi concedo, ut magis ex "animo cupias Evangelicæ ſinceritati, "quam ego, cujus rei gratia nihil non "perpetior, et hactenus omnem venor "occaſionem, ut Evangelium fiat om-"nibus commune."

Dicit etiam:

"Se rectius conſuluiſſe negotio Evan-"gelico, quam multi, qui ſe jactent "Evangelii nomine."

De Lutheri doctrina ambigue loquitur:

"Valde pertimeſco, ne qua arte de-"ludat Satanas animum tuum; rurſus "alia ſic non ſapiunt, ut velim hunc "meum metum eſſe falſum."

Hærere ſe dubium palam fatetur:

"Nolim profiteri, quod ipſe mihi "nondum perſuaſi, multo minus, quod "nondum aſſequor: metuo ne peſſum "eant bonæ literæ et diſciplinæ."

Ad ea vero quæ Lutherus petierat, ut a ſcriptione contra ſe abſtineret, hæc reſpondet:

"Nihil adhuc contra te ſcripſi, fac-"turus id magno Principum applauſu, "niſi vidiſſem hoc abſque jactura Evan-"gelii non futurum. Tantum eos re-"puli, qui conabantur omnibus Prin-"cipibus perſuadere, mihi tecum fœdus "eſſe, et mihi tecum per omnia con-"venire, et in libris meis eſſe, quic-"quid tu doceres. Hæc opinio vix "etiam nunc revelli poteſt ex illorum "animis. Quid ſcribas in me, non "magnopere laboro; ſi mundum ſpec-"tem, nihil mihi poteſt accidere felici-"us. Cupio hanc animam puram red-"dere Chriſto, et in hoc affectu velim "omnes eſſe. Si paratus es omnibus "reddere rationem de ea, quæ in te eſt, "fide, cur ægre feras, ſi quis diſcendi "gratia tecum diſputet? Fortaſſe Eraſ-"mus ſcribens in te, magis profuerit "Evangelio, quam quidam ſtolidi ſcri-"bentes pro te, per quos non licet eſſe "ſpectatorem iſtius tragœdiæ, quæ uti-"nam non habeat tragicum exitum."

Sic

A. D. 1524. If Eraſmus complained of the Lutherans and the Reformed, he complained full as much of the Monks; as it appears from his letter to Ferdinand, brother to Charles V, wherein he intreats him, and Margaret of Auſtria, to impoſe ſilence upon Egmond, whoſe malice againſt him was implacable. Ep. 710.

Ep. 712 is to his good friend Paulus Volzius, an Abbot, who had quitted his Abbey, and to whom Eraſmus had dedicated his *Enchiridion*. Volzius, like ſeveral other friends of Eraſmus, afterwards became a Proteſtant Divine; and then fell into Anabaptiſm, from which Calvin reclaimed him. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Calvini, p. 37.

Ep. 715 is to Henricus [n] Stromerus, a phyſician, and one of his good friends.

The 713th letter is from the learned [o] Camerarius to Eraſmus, deſiring his friendſhip. Camerarius was born in the year 1500, and died in 1574.

In a long epiſtle to Melanchthon, he ſays that he had not much exhorted him to forſake the Reformers, knowing that it would be labour loſt, but could have wiſhed that Melanchthon had applied himſelf entirely to good literature. And yet, if *good literature* was not compatible with the ſtudy of divinity, it would have been *bad literature*, or *malæ literæ*, as the Monks then called it. He declares, that his only view was to promote the good of both

Sic tecte ſubindicat ſe omnino ſcripturum eſſe, ut et non multo poſt fecit. Reliqua Epiſtolæ pars atroces in Huttenum habet imputationes, quia Lutherus *Spongiam* in eum Eraſmi ut juſto acriorem taxaverat, &c. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 310.

[n] Melch. Adam.

[o] Beza Icon. Baillet III. 65. Pope Blount, p. 416. Crenius de Singular. Scriptorum, p. 64. Thuanus L. LIX. p. 65. Melch. Adam.

Vir de politiori literatura præclare meritus, ſuæque adeo Germaniæ ſingulare ornamentum. *Huetius* De Clar. Interpr. p. 227.

Crenius, in his book *de Erudit. Comparanda*, publiſhed a Treatiſe of Camerarius, and prefixed to it the Teſtimonies of Learned men concerning this author. They are much to the honour of Camerarius.

both parties, and to diſſuade tumults, and he wiſhed that a reformation might be made without ſtrife and contention. This was wiſhing impoſſibilities, conſidering the temper of the Romaniſts. He cenſures with great heat the paſſions of thoſe, who mixed themſelves in the controverſy, and the diviſions which had ariſen amongſt the Reformers; for Zuinglius and Oecolampadius had declared openly enough, that they followed not the ſentiments of Luther in all things. But however, they ſpake of Luther with reſpect, and thoſe differences were not concerning things eſſential and fundamental. Eraſmus, who was ſo well verſed in Eccleſiaſtical antiquities, knew that the ancient Fathers were far enough from being all of a mind, though they agreed in the main; and, as he pardoned them, he ought to have extended the ſame favour to his contemporaries, to men equally liable to the ſame defects, and equally worthy of the ſame regard and reſpect. But he was quite out of temper with them, and ſeeing them, as he thought, upon the point of being overpowered and oppreſſed by the Romaniſts, he thought to provide for his own ſafety by oppoſing them. The ſame angry ſpirit predominates in too many of his letters. Ep. 714, 715, 718. A. D. 1524.

In Ep. 714 he laments the death of his friend [p] Neſenus, who was drowned in the Elbe. Neſenus embraced the reformed religion, and ſettled in Saxony, and was very dear to Luther. Eraſmus afterwards ſpake ill of Neſenus, ſuſpecting that he had been one of Luther's counſellors and aſſiſtants in the controverſy between Luther and himſelf.

I am always the ſame, ſays he; and yet, *I have laid the egg, and Luther hath hatched it.* This is a joke of the Minorite Brethren, for which they deſerve to be complimented as wits: but I laid a hen-egg, and Luther hath hatched a very different bird. Ep. 719.

In

[p] Seckendorf L. I. p. 314. Maittaire Liter. Tom. IV. p. 415. II. 25. Spalatinus, *in the* Amœnitat.

A. D. 1524. In Ep. 725, we ſee none of the mildneſs and moderation of Eraſmus. He was very angry that Hedio would not take his part againſt [q] Scottus, the printer, who had publiſhed Hutten's book againſt him, and had alſo publiſhed a tract of Otho Brunſfeld, wherein he was treated as a man who abandoned the cauſe of the Reformers againſt the convictions of his own conſcience. Theſe libels were probably paltry performances, and as ſuch, deſerving to be deſpiſed. It is ſtrange, that Eraſmus himſelf, who is ſo incenſed on this occaſion, had declared, in his reply to Hutten, ſo ſupreme a contempt for his book, that, having ſeen it in manuſcript, he had offered Hutten to print it for him, at his own expence, if he deſired it. Yet he would have been well pleaſed, if the printer of it had been hanged, and he exclaims loudly againſt the Magiſtrate of Stratſburg for not bringing him to puniſhment. He complains alſo, that in one of theſe books, under the pretence of giving a picture of the prieſts of [r] Baal, they had drawn them like ſo many [s] prieſts of the Church of Rome. They have alſo added my picture apparelled exactly in the dreſs which I uſually wear, and which, as I remember, I had on, when Otho came to ſee me. Eraſmus ſaid, that he only laughed at it; though he adds, that ſuch proceedings do great hurt to religion. But yet he compares [t] the action of this printer

[q] Maittaire II. 118.

[r] Addita eſt pictura ſeditioſa. Si pingebant prophetas Baal, cur addiderunt crinem attonſum, vertices raſos, lineam veſtem, mitram horum temporum? Et me pinxerunt pileo ſub mentum religato, ſerico impoſito humeris, et brachiis e pallio porrectis, ſic enim fere color, præſertim domi, et hoc cultu eram quum me ſalutaret Otho.

[s] Le Nouveau Teſtament, par Jean Frellon. Lyon. 1553. Cum figuris, de quarum una Diabolorum Monachali cucullo amictum exhibente antea dictum eſt. — Id eo magis miror, quod illud Teſtamentum ad uſum non Genevenſium, ſed Eccleſiarum Romanæ, Pariſienſis, Meldenſiſque conformatum fuiſſe Evangeliorum et Epiſtolarum tabula teſtetur. *Maittaire* III. 619.

[t] Scottus, inquis, habet uxorem et teneros liberos. Num iſta excuſatio videatur juſta, ſi ſcriniis meis effractis ſuſtuliſſet aurum? Non opinor. Et tamen

printer with that of a thief, who ſhould break open his ſcrutore, and rob him, and ſays that this is a far worſe crime. He ought, according to Eraſmus, if he was neceſſitous, rather to have proſtituted his own wife, and ſold her to all comers, and lived upon that infamous and flagitious trade, than to have printed libels againſt Eraſmus. He then rails at thoſe Monks, who threw off the frock, without the conſent of their Superiors; though he ſays that he had often maintained to the Romaniſts, that prieſts ought to have leave to marry, if they had not the gift of continence. A. D. 1524.

He thanks the Cardinal of Sion for his kind offer of five hundred ducats a year, and declines accepting the favour. Ep. 667.

He declares, that he had no [u] fancy to ſettle in England. Ep. 673.

Ep. 683 is a Preface to a [x] Greek Dictionary, augmented by Ceratinus, in which he had ſome little ſhare. He [y] obſerves juſtly of ſuch labours, that they are both very uſeful, and very ſeldom eſteemed as they deſerve.

Mention is made of ſome preſent, which Eraſmus had received from Thomas Lovel. Ep. 686.

tamen hoc quod facit longe ſceleratius eſt. Niſi forte putas mihi famam eſſe viliorem pecunia. Si deeſt unde alat liberos, mendicet. Pudet, inquies. Et hujuſmodi facinorum non pudet? Proſtituat uxorem, et ad calices vigilanti naſo ſtertat adultero. Nefarium, inquis. Magis nefarium eſt quod facit. Nulla lex punit capite qui uxorem proſtituat, at capitalem pœnam denunciant omnes iis qui libellos edunt famoſos.

He repeats the ſame thing in his *Lingua*, c. 712; ſo much he had it at heart.

[u] In Anglia ſummos et certiſſimos habeo amicos; ſed illic neſcio quo pacto non libet vivere.

[x] Maittaire II. 656.

[y] Scimus hoc laboris genus eſſe minime glorioſum, præſertim quum pauci reputent quot auctores ſint excutiendi, ut voces aliquot ab aliis præteritas ſeligas. Verum, hoc plus debetur illis gratiæ, qui publicæ utilitatis gratia non detrectant ingloriam ac moleſtiæ plenam induſtriam.

A. D. 1524. In Ep. 689 he defends himſelf [z] extremely well againſt his Italian Cavillers.

His letter to his friend Pace ſhews, that [a] Linacer and Grocin had been by ſome methods alienated from him. Ep. 699.

[b] Sadolet, in a polite and friendly letter to Eraſmus, intimates, that the [c] Court of Rome intended him ſome conſiderable favour. Ep. 708.

In a letter to Ferdinand, brother to Charles V, Eraſmus complains of Egmond's lies and calumnies, and intreats that Prince to command him to be ſilent; intimating, that he had a tongue, which nothing could reſtrain, except [d] baſtinadoes. He alſo honeſtly diſſuades Ferdinand, and other Princes, from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans. Ep. 710.

In

[z] Appendix.

[a] Plane confido, qui tui eſt ingenii candor, mi Pacæe, te perpetuum amicum futurum: nec ob id deſciſces ab amicitia, quod tanto ſis felicior. Atque utinam ſis multo etiam felicior. —Linacrum fac in amicitia retineas, et ſi fieri poteſt, etiam Grocinum. Non hæc ſcribo, quod vel metuam aliquid, vel quicquam ab illis exſpectem commodi, ſed quod tales viros perpetuo velim amicos. Non egent illi meis præconiis; illud tamen auſim dicere, nec inter Anglos eſſe, qui de illis vel ſenſerit magnificentius, vel prædicaverit honorificentius, quam Eraſmus. Et non libet meminiſſe, quid uterque, haud ſcio quorum inſtinctu, in nos molitus fuerit, id quod re ipſa comperi, non ſuſpicione conjeci: quanquam jam olim idem olfeceram. Sed homines ſumus, ego ſemper ero mei ſimilis, et huic injuriæ tot opponam illorum benefacta. Linacri feci honorificam mentionem in Scholiis Hieronymianis. Nil magnum ſit, ſi contemnam, contemtus; ſi oderim, odio habitus. Illud literis eſt dignius, officiis certare, non odiis. Apud Cardinalem Eboracenſem, quoties inciderit commoditas, fac Pacæum agas.

[b] Menagian. I. 292. III. 347. IV. 231. Boiſſard Icon. p. 263. Baillet IV. 381. Du Pin XIV. 177. Vita Sadoleti. It is prefixed to the Edition of his works in two Volumes Fol. Gallæi Imagines. Pope Blount, p. 404.

[c] Pontificis in te uberior fuiſſet liberalitas, ni his difficillimis temporibus ipſe quoque ad anguſtias redactus eſſet: tanta eſt rerum omnium perturbatio, et quotidianorum ſumptuum impendiorumque effuſio, ut ſuſtinere ægre poſſit. Sed erit locus aliquando et ornandi et augendi tui.

[d] Tale ingenium ſolis ſuſtibus corrigi poterit.

In a long letter to George Duke of Saxony, he ſhews what reaſons had made him backward in attacking Luther, mentions the faults on both ſides, and declares himſelf againſt the cruel and ſanguinary methods of defending the Cauſe of Rome. Ep. 718. A. D. 1524.

About this time the rebellion of the Peaſants or [e] Ruſtics began, and in the following year ſtretched itſelf over Germany, and not leſs than [f] fifty thouſand of them were ſlain.

Then Muncer collected and headed ſome fanatical rebels of the ſame kind, who were deſtroyed together with their chief.

Amongſt the articles of grievances ſet forth by the Peaſants, one was the *Game-Laws* of thoſe times. The Peaſants complained, that they not only were not permitted to kill any *game*, but might not drive wild beaſts out of their lands, when they deſtroyed the fruits of the earth.

[g] After this the Anabaptiſts took arms, and did infinite miſchief in Germany, and in other regions. [h] Luther exerted himſelf againſt theſe fanatical villains, who, being alſo enemies to

[e] Tumultus Ruſticorum cladem intulit Tabulariis Alſatiæ, præſertim A. 1525; hoc ipſum agente illa colluvie, ut Eccleſiis ac Dominis titulos poſſeſſionum atque arma eriperet, quibus ad recuperanda ſua uti poſſent. See *Relat. Gotting.* Vol. I. Faſc. 1. p. 245.

[f] Agricolæ, qui nuper tantos tumultus excitarunt in Germania, procurrebant in aciem, quaſi vellent occidi. T. X. c. 1748.

[g] Du Pin H. E. XIII. 92, 106, 126. Sleidan L. IV, V, VI, X. Seckendorf L. I. 192, &c. 303, &c. L. II. p. 1, &c. p. 62. L. III. 114, &c. and Supplem. XL. Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 68. Scultet. Annal. ap. Von der Hardt. Hiſt. Lit. Ref. P. V. p. 37, 77. Bayle ANABAPTISTES, BORRHAUS, HOFMAN, MAMILLAIRES.

[h] Ex officina (Munceri) prodiit genus hominum, qui propter actionem et ipſum dogma vocantur Anabaptiſtæ,—nam et parvulos arcent a baptiſmo, et rebaptizantur ipſi, ——. Sanctimoniam quandam externam præ ſe ferunt, docent non licere Chriſtianis in foro contendere, non gerere magiſtratum, non jusjurandum dicere, non habere quid proprium, ſed omnia debere omnibus eſſe communia. Et hæc quidem illi principio, ſed multo deinde graviora propoſuerunt. *Sleidan* L. X.

A. D. 1524. Popery, were a ſcandal to the [i] Reformation. Luther always preached up obedience to the civil Magiſtrate, and condemned rebellions againſt the ſtate. His exhortations on this occaſion, both to the rebellious Peaſants, and to the tyrannical Nobles, were excellent, and give a high idea of his probity, his plain-dealing, and his good ſenſe. But when he found that the Fanatics grew frantic, and committed the moſt execrable crimes, he exhorted the Magiſtrates to draw the ſword, and deſtroy them as ſo many wild beaſts.

The leaders of theſe wretched people were Enthuſiaſts, and yet not altogether ſo mad, as not to be great rogues: for theſe two qualities of *Knave* and *Fanatic* go very lovingly together.

The ſeditious and rebellious Anabaptiſts being cut to pieces, their ſucceſſors went into the contrary extreme, and held the uſe of arms to be utterly unlawful. It appears from the hiſtory of Brandt, that many of this ſect departed from the commonly received notions concerning the Trinity, and held the ſuperiority of God the Father, and that the Monks reproached them, as having learned this hereſy from Eraſmus, who yet was no Arian.

[k] In the year 1538 aroſe the vile ſect of the Antinomians, who taught that it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but

Negabant (Anabaptiſtæ) in infantibus peccatum eſſe, aut eos baptiſmo opus habere; rejiciebant itaque in totum pædobaptiſmum; infirmitatem innatam, id eſt, pravam concupiſcentiam, vel culpam originis non eſſe peccatum, ſed tale demum fieri, ſi conſenſus in adultis accedat: infantes igitur omnes, etiam Turcorum, Judæorum, et Gentilium, ſalvari abſque baptiſmo, bona enim eſſe omnia creata a Deo: Chriſtianos non poſſe magiſtratu fungi, nec gladio uti: opus non eſſe inter Chriſtianos magiſtratibus, ſed miniſtros verbi ſufficere: juramenta illicita eſſe: condemnabant proprietatem poſſeſſionum; et communionem bonorum, ad morem Apoſtolicum, urgebant: conjugium inter fidelem et infidelem, id eſt, inter Anabaptiſtas cum ſectæ illi non addictis, improbabant, et pro fornicatione habebant, unde plurimas conjugum exercebant ſeparationes. *Seckendorf* L. III. 115. Anno 1535.

[i] The Lutherans did not own them as brethren. See Seckendorf L. II. p. 4.

[k] Hoc anno prodiit ſecta eorum, qui dicuntur *Antinomi*——hi ſtatuunt, quæcumque

but faith. The principal perſon amongſt them was Joannes Iſle- A. D. 1524.
bius Agricola. Luther had the honour not only of confuting, but of converting this man, and of bringing him back to his ſenſes and to his duty.

In the firſt Anabaptiſts there was a ſurpriſing mixture of wickedneſs, folly, ſtupidity, and religious frenzy. An immoral Fanatic is of all animals the moſt dangerous to the Church and State; and the hiſtory of theſe Anabaptiſts is an everlaſting monument of the miſchief which ſuch people can perpetrate.

" About this time (ſays Perizonius) Anabaptiſm, an evil which " had lately ſprung up, grievouſly afflicted Holland and the " neighbouring regions. The men of this ſect not only forbad " infant-baptiſm, and rebaptized adults, who had been already " baptized in their infancy, but boaſted of inſpirations and reve- " lations. They rejected all the Liberal Arts, deſtroyed all " books except the holy Scriptures, aboliſhed all magiſtracies and " civil government, and declared that they would extirpate the " *Ungodly*, and ſet up the *Kingdom of Sion*. They ſeem to have " ſhewed themſelves firſt at *Suiccavia* or *Cygnea* [Zwickaw] in " Saxony, A. 1521, where Nicolas Storch was their head; to " whom immediately joined themſelves Marc Stubner, Martin " Cellarius, and Thomas Munzer, who was alſo the ring-leader " of the rebellious Ruſtics. They began to raiſe commotions in " the

cumque tandem ſit hominis vita, et quantumvis impura, juſtificari tamen eum, ſi modo promiſſionibus Evangelii credat. In his erat facile primus Joannes Iſlebius Agricola. Lutherus autem iſta copioſe refutat.——Iſlebius tandem a Luthero commonefactus privatim, et facta Scripturæ collatione, rectius inſtitutus in ſententiam ejus accedit, idque publico deinde ſcripto teſtatur, confeſſus errorem. *Sleidan* L. XII. p. 312.

That poiſoned doctrine of the Antinomians proceedeth mildly, fleſh and blood reliſheth it well, it is ſweet, it maketh people rude and ſecure, it will produce much miſchief. *Luther.* Coll. Menſ. p. 429.

See alſo Seckendorf L. III. p. 306; and Bayle, AGRICOLA, (JEAN) and ISLEBIENS, and Melchior Adam Vit. Agric. p. 195. Vit. Luth. p. 71.

A. D. 1524. " the above-mentioned city and year; and ſome of them were " flung into priſon. Hence aroſe the Anabaptiſts, who after- " wards ſhewed themſelves in various regions.

" The Helvetians or Switzers, a ſect in the year 1522, ſeem " to have been of the ſame origin and ſtamp: for Munzer, before " he headed the Ruſtics, had preached his doctrines in Switzer- " land; and after him his diſciples, Balthaſar Hubmeier, and " others, did the ſame, and excited tumults there, A. 1525. We " do not read that any of the Anabaptiſts were put to death there " before this year; nor did they ſuffer then as Anabaptiſts, but " becauſe they brake the oath which they had taken to the " government, and were guilty of inſurrections and rebellions. " About this time Munzer excited thoſe terrible commotions in " Germany, which ought to be a warning to Poſterity, to beware " of Enthuſiaſts, who proceed upon the levelling ſyſtem, allow " of no private property, and want to have all things open and " in common. It is proper to keep a ſtrict hand over ſuch Fa- " natics at their firſt appearance, and before they gather ſtrength: " for all the violence and the miſchiefs which enſued, aroſe from " theſe principles.

" Some have confidently affirmed, that Zuinglius declared " himſelf for putting Anabaptiſts to death, and ſaid, *Let him who* " *dippeth again, be dipped*, that is, *drowned:* but it is a very im- " probable ſtory, ſince Minius Celſus himſelf, namely, Sebaſtian " Caſtellio, whoſe teſtimony in points of this kind ought to be " credited, having publicly defended his poſition, *That heretics* " *ought not to be put to death*, appeals to the authority of Zuing- " lius, and affirms, that the Anabaptiſts at that time never ſuf- " fered on account of their opinions, as heretics, but of their " evil actions, as perjured and ſeditious rebels.

" Several of theſe men being puniſhed and executed in Ger- " many, along with Munzer, their chieftain, the remainder fled, " and were diſperſed in divers regions: and Cnipperdolling,

" with

" with other fanatics like himſelf, departed from Holland, and A. D. 1524.
" raiſed diſturbances in other places. The founder of this ſect
" amongſt us was Melchior Hofman, who came to Embden
" A. 1529. Thence the Enthuſiaſtic Spirit drove him to Stratſ-
" burg, to act the *Elias:* but, inſtead of the *New Jeruſalem*,
" which he intended to erect there, he found a jail and a halter.
" At Embden he left as his ſucceſſor John Trypemaker, A. 1530,
" who thence repaired to Amſterdam, and afterwards was execu-
" ted at the Hague. After him, the principal leader of the
" Anabaptiſts, who were become numerous in Holland, was John
" ſon of Matthias, a baker of Harlem, who, caſting off his old
" wife, went to Amſterdam, and took with him a brewer's
" daughter, a very handſome girl. There he acted the Prophet,
" and the *Enoch*, and ſent forth his Apoſtles into divers regions,
" but chiefly about the neighbourhood.

" Amongſt theſe, John Bucold, or Bökelſen, a taylor of Ley-
" den, and one Gerard, were ſent by him to Munſter, where the
" Reformed religion had been lately introduced, and preached by
" Bernard Rotman. The Senate had publicly permitted the
" exerciſe of it: the Biſhop and the Canons at firſt violently
" oppoſed it; but at length found it expedient to ſubmit and
" conſent to it, upon condition that the principal or Cathedral
" Church ſhould belong to them, and that the other Churches
" ſhould be granted to the new Sect. At the ſame time, along
" with the Reformation, Anabaptiſm ſilently crept in, and, after
" the arrival of Bucold, (John of Leyden) had ſpread itſelf ſo
" much, that not only many of the citizens, but even Rotman
" himſelf, who before had oppoſed it, was ſo infatuated as to
" embrace it openly. Theſe Fanatics, now troubleſome and
" dangerous, were commanded by the Senate to depart from the
" city; upon which they withdrew, but ſoon returned and raiſed
" a ſedition; and then the whole city took arms, and was ſplit
" into two parties, very nearly equal; each of which ſeized upon

" different

A. D. 1524. " different quarters of the town, and kept poſſeſſion of them for " three days. At laſt they came to an agreement to lay down " their arms on both ſides, and to dwell together, upon this con- " dition, that every man ſhould profeſs that religion which pleaſed " him beſt. But the Anabaptiſts ſecretly called in many of their " fraternity from neighbouring towns and villages; and thus, " being grown the ſtronger party, they all ran about the ſtreets " of the city, crying out to the inhabitants, Depart, ye Ungodly, " depart, unleſs ye chuſe to be put to the ſword. Hereupon " both Papiſts and Proteſtants fled together, and the Anabaptiſts " entered into their houſes, and rifled them, burned all the books " that they could find, except the Bible, eſtabliſhed the Kingdom " of the *New Jeruſalem*, as they called it, aboliſhed the Senate, " and choſe out of their own gang two Conſuls, Bernard Cnip- " perdolling, and Gerard Kippenbrock. But John Matthias had " the ſupreme power, under the title of Prophet, who, hearing " of their ſucceſs, had betaken himſelf thither.

" In the mean time the Biſhop of Munſter collected an army, " and obtained from the neighbouring Princes and Cities auxiliary " troops and artillery, and tried to recover Munſter by force: " but the Anabaptiſts making a deſperate defence, he reſolved, " by depriving them of ſupplies from without, to reduce them " by famine.

" In one of their ſallies from the city, their *Prophet* was killed, " and John Bucold ſucceeded him in his office, who, rejecting " the old Senate, appointed twelve Judges in his *Iſrael* to preſide " over affairs. Afterwards he declared, that the prophetic ſpirit " was departed from him, and had entered into John Tuiſ- " cofchurer, a goldſmith, of Varendorp. This new Prophet, in " return for the favour, proclaimed Bucold *King of Sion*, in the " name and by the order of God. Bucold then ſolemnly pro- " teſted, that God had revealed this to him alſo; and with a " general applauſe took poſſeſſion of his kingdom, put down

" the

" the twelve Judges whom he had lately made, choſe other Mi- A. D. 1524.
" niſters of State and Counſellors, dreſſed himſelf in royal appa-
" rel, declared that polygamy was lawful, and took to himſelf
" fifteen wives, the principal of whom was the young widow of
" John Matthias, who was proclaimed *Queen*. Some perſons
" amongſt them, who were not quite mad, ſaw through this
" mockery, and abhorred ſuch proceedings, and entered ſecretly
" into a treaty with the Biſhop to betray the city to him, if he
" would ſpare their lives. But the plot was diſcovered, and in-
" formation againſt them was made to the *King*, and all of them,
" being more than fifty, were publicly put to death, by order
" of his Majeſty, and by the hand of Cnipperdolling, whom the
" new Monarch had honoured with two offices, and had made
" him Governor of the City and Common Executioner. The
" King himſelf alſo with his own hand publicly beheaded one
" of his own wives, becauſe the poor creature had expreſſed a
" doubt, whether theſe proceedings were according to the will of
" God.

" He was full of hopes, that a powerful army, collected prin-
" cipally in Holland, would ſoon come to his relief, and put the
" beſiegers to flight. And indeed at the end of March ſome
" thouſands of men, in ſeveral ſhips, came to Over-Yſſel, and had
" appointed the Mount of St. Agnes, near Zwoll, for their place
" of rendezvous. Many alſo from other parts flocked thither in
" carriages, and on horſes. Being ſeized and aſked, Whither
" they were going? they anſwered, To *Mount Sion*, or Munſter,
" to deliver our brethren and ſiſters, who are beſieged. In the
" ſhips was found nothing beſides a large quantity of ſwords,
" ſpears, muſkets, and ſome drums and ſtandards; whence it
" was evident that they intended to fight with the *Ungodly*, for
" ſo they called all thoſe who were not in their ſentiments.
" Theſe weapons therefore were taken from them, as alſo their
" money, of which they had collected a conſiderable ſum,

A. D. 1524. " having ſold all their goods and poſſeſſions at any rate; and their " leaders were put to death.

" At the ſame time, at Amſterdam, and at noon-day, five " Anabaptiſts ran through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and " with a loud voice denouncing bleſſings and curſings upon the " city, in the name of the Lord. Theſe were apprehended by " the citizens, and beheaded; as were ſeveral more the ſame " year, in different parts of Holland. But even theſe rigorous " proceedings could not tame them; for, in the beginning of " the following year, (1535) about forty men attempted to " make themſelves maſters of the city of Leyden by night. But " the Magiſtrates, being apprized of it, ſtopped the clocks from " ſtriking the hours of the night, and drew together the militia " in a ſilent manner, and finding fifteen men and five women " aſſembled together, put them into priſon, and then beheaded " the men, and drowned the women. After this, in the month " of February, ſeven men and five women, of the Anabaptiſts, " pulling off their cloaths, even their ſhirts and ſhifts, and fling- " ing them into the fire, ran naked about the city, headed by " Theodoric Snider, who was their Prophet, crying out thrice, " *Wo*, and *God's Revenge*. Being taken and brought into Court, " and ordered to put on ſome cloaths, they refuſed, ſaying, that " they were *the Naked Truth*. Theſe perſons, being condemned, " ſuffered death with wonderful conſtancy, ſhall we call it? or " ſtubbornneſs, and a full perſuaſion that they were highly in " the favour of God. After this, in the month of March, about " three hundred men, chiefly of Franeker, with their wives and " children, in Frieſland near Bolſawert, ſeized upon the houſe " called *the Old Monaſtery*, and expelled the Monks from it: but " they were beſieged by George Schenk, who on the fifth " attack made himſelf maſter of the place. Moſt of them were " ſlain in taking the Monaſtery, and the priſoners were hanged " or beheaded.

" John

" John Gelenius had been the author of this commotion, A. D. 1524.
" whom the *King* had ſent from Munſter to ſeize upon theſe
" regions, principally upon Amſterdam: for he had ſent forth
" twenty-ſix Prophets to various towns, to preach the Goſpel of
" his Kingdom. Theſe men, being caſt into priſon whereſoever
" they appeared, received the wages of their madneſs, and yet
" perſiſted in it to the laſt. One eſcaped, Henry Hilverſum, and
" returning to Munſter, pretended that an Angel had taken him
" out of priſon on the day before he ſhould have ſuffered; and
" had ordered him to tell the King, that three of the principal
" cities, Amſterdam, Daventer, and Weſel, would ſoon ſubmit
" to his government. Encouraged by this meſſage, and giving
" credit, as it ſhould ſeem, to theſe fictions, he appointed John
" Campenſis to go to Amſterdam, and to be the Biſhop of his
" Church there, and with him Gelenius, a military man, who
" ſhould be the General, and collect forces in Holland and
" Frieſland, and lead them to Munſter, and put the beſiegers to
" flight. This man, who had excited tumults in Frieſland,
" thence fled to Amſterdam, where he lay concealed for a time.
" Afterwards he went to Bruſſels, and obtained a pardon, on a
" promiſe of managing affairs in ſuch a manner, as to deliver up
" Munſter into the hands of the Emperor Charles. Hereupon
" he returned, and ſhewed himſelf openly at Amſterdam: but
" all the while he was ſecretly plotting to ſeize upon that city,
" and ſubject it to the *King* of Munſter. This he attempted
" with about forty men, hoping that many more would imme-
" diately join him. So, upon the tenth of May, theſe frantic
" people, when night came on, ruſhed into the market-place,
" with arms, drums, and banners, ſeized upon the Hall, and
" ſlew moſt of the Watch. The Conſuls, apprized of it, called
" the citizens to arms, and marched directly to the market-place,
" but were repulſed by theſe Rebels; and Peter Colin, the Con-
" ſul, a worthy man, who headed the citizens, and fought with

A. D. 1524. " great bravery, was killed in the engagement. The other Con-
" ſul ordered all the avenues to the market-place to be ſtopped
" up with large ſacks filled with hops, which might ſerve as a
" breaſt-work to ſecure the citizens. Then he immediately
" enliſted a body of volunteers, and drew them up behind the
" breaſt-work, to wait there till the morning. In the mean time,
" the Anabaptiſts ſpent the whole night in ſinging pſalms in the
" market-place. But when the day began to break, the volun-
" teers, ſeeing them rambling about the market, took aim, and
" wounded ſome of them. Hereupon they fled into the Town-
" Hall, and the citizens purſued them, and ruſhed in after
" them. There theſe Ruffians were ſoon routed, and eight and
" twenty of them ſlain. Gelenius, their captain, ſeeing that all
" was loſt, ran up into the turret, and drew the ladder after him,
" and knowing what torments he ſhould ſuffer, if he was taken,
" expoſed himſelf to the aim of the citizens, who ſtood with-
" out in the market-place, and, receiving ſeveral wounds, fell
" down dead. In theſe ſkirmiſhes twenty of the citizens loſt
" their lives. The Anabaptiſts who were taken priſoners, being
" twelve, were executed in a dreadful manner, but yet according
" to their deſerts. Their breaſts were cut open, whilſt they
" were alive, and their hearts pulled out, and flung into their
" faces. Their bodies were cut into four parts, and each of
" the quarters fixed upon the gates. The carcaſſes of the ſlain
" were hung upon gibbets by the heels. And then as many of
" the ſect as could be diſcovered, both men and women, were
" deſtroyed, till by degrees it was quite rooted up.

" And now their brethren of Munſter were diſheartened, at
" the report of theſe ſad diſaſters, and at the ſame time worn out with
" famine, which was ſo grievous that many of them had been ſtar-
" ved to death, and the ſurvivors were reduced to eat unuſual food,
" horſes, dogs, cats, mice, and any vermin, and even ſkins and
" the coverings of books: and it is ſaid, that, when the city was
" taken,

" taken, the hands and feet of children were found in pickle. A. D. 1524.
" At length, the *King* gave leave to all perſons to depart from
" the city, if they were ſo inclined. Some accepted of the offer;
" but moſt of them choſe rather to ſtay, and to endure all
" extremities.

" A certain ſoldier, who for ſome crime had deſerted from
" the Biſhop's army, and fled to the rebels, now returned from
" the city, where all was full of deſpair, to the camp, and laid
" before the Biſhop an eaſy method of taking it. By this man's
" directions and conduct, Munſter at the laſt, at the end of June,
" 1535, after a ſiege of eighteen months, came into the Biſhop's
" hands; yet not without a violent reſiſtance, and a ſmart engage-
" ment, particularly in the market-place, where the beſieged
" had fenced themſelves with a circle of waggons. But the
" ſoldiers forcing a paſſage, moſt of the Fanatics were cut to
" pieces, and amongſt them, as it was thought, Bernard Rotman.
" The *King*, with Cnipperdolling and Crechting, was taken alive.
" For ſome months they were made a public ſhew, and carried
" about to the courts of ſeveral Princes; and in January of the
" following year he was ſet upon a ſcaffold, in his own kingdom
" and city, and tormented for more than an hour by two execu-
" tioners, who tare off his fleſh with hot pinchers; and then, a
" ſword being thruſt through his breaſt, he expired, aged only
" twenty-ſix. His two companions underwent the ſame puniſh-
" ment. Their carcaſſes were put into iron baſkets, and hung
" up on the higheſt tower in the city. They ſhewed a remark-
" able patience under theſe torments; and the *King*, after he
" had knelt down, and recommended his ſoul into the hands of
" God, never uttered the leaſt complaint or groan: nor did Cnip-
" perdolling and Crechting ſuffer with leſs conſtancy. Hence we
" may learn, that Religion, though a falſe one, hath a wonder-
" ful effect upon a mind that entertains it with a full perſua-
" ſion; as alſo, that there is nothing ſo abſurd, nothing ſo im-

" pure

A. D. 1524. " pure and immoral, which an Enthuſiaſt cannot adopt as a part " of his religion; and conſequently that we muſt not too haſtily " reject the teſtimony of the ancient Fathers concerning the " filthy and wicked doctrines and deeds of the Gnoſtics and " Manichæans.

" Thus fell the kingdom of the Anabaptiſts of Munſter by a " ſeries of dreadful calamities: yet John Batenburg attempted to " raiſe it up again; he collected together, and comforted and " confirmed the diſtreſſed and ſcattered remnant of this faction; " and then theſe Ruffians exerciſed many acts of outrage and " cruelty upon their adverſaries, in villages, and up and down " in the country. But the Anabaptiſts, who had their denomi- " nation from Hofman, abhorred the polygamy and the violent " deeds of theſe men, although not leſs enthuſiaſtic than they. " So they appointed a meeting in Auguſt 1536, and aſſembled " at a town in the territories of Munſter, to try if they could " come to an agreement: and ſomething of an accommodation " was then made, by the mediation of David ſon of George, a " glaſs-maker of Delft, one who had been in high repute with " the Anabaptiſts of Munſter, and afterwards was ſo amongſt all " the Fanatics. This man [1], at laſt, died at Baſil in the year " 1556, where he had taken refuge, bringing great wealth along " with him, and where he acted with profound diſſimulation, " holding communion with the Zuinglians, pretending to have " fled from Holland on account of Proteſtantiſm, and keeping " his real ſentiments concealed from all perſons.

" At length aroſe Ubo, ſon of Philip, as a Reformer, who " departed from all the above-mentioned Fanatics, and purged " Anabaptiſm of every thing that was frantic, enthuſiaſtic, and " ſeditious. This man had been baptized, and made a teacher, " by the Apoſtles whom John Matthias had ſent to Frieſland, " at Leeuwarden, in the year 1534: and in 1536 he laid his " hands

[1] See a large account of him in Thuanus L. XXII. 667.

" hands upon Menno, the ſon of Simon, of a village near Bol- A. D. 1524.
" ſawert, who had been a prieſt, and ſent him forth as a preacher.
" From this Menno, who became very famous in both Frieſlands,
" our Anabaptiſts have taken their denomination, and are called
" Mennonites. Yet even in his time violent ſchiſms aroſe amongſt
" them, chiefly on account of their excommunications, which
" they dealt out very liberally upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, and
" carried to ſuch rigour, that even the wife of an excommuni-
" cated man was to renounce all intercourſe and connections with
" her huſband. Many diſapproved this doctrine and practice,
" who were called afterwards Franekerans and Waterlandians.
" Menno died in 1559, between Hamburg and Lubeck, when,
" being expelled from Holland, he had betaken himſelf firſt to
" Eaſt Frieſland, and then to Wiſmar.

" Theſe outrages and ſeditions of the Anabaptiſts did no ſmall
" harm to the Reformation in the Low Countries, and in other
" regions: for Princes and Magiſtrates, and indeed many private
" perſons entertained an opinion, that all theſe inſurrections and
" all this fanaticiſm proceeded from the New Religion, and that
" in it were contained the ſeeds of anarchy and ſedition;
" imagining that they who rejected the authority of the Pope,
" and the Hierarchy, and Epiſcopal juriſdiction, were equally
" diſpoſed to deſtroy all ſubordination and civil government,
" which indeed was the avowed doctrine of the firſt Anabap-
" tiſts. Under the pretence therefore of cruſhing theſe enthu-
" ſiaſts, cruel edicts were made, and a perſecution carried on,
" againſt all the oppoſers of the Church of Rome, but princi-
" pally againſt the Zuinglians, who were ſuppoſed to approach
" nearer to Anabaptiſm than the Lutherans, becauſe, like the
" Anabaptiſts, they rejected the doctrine of the bodily preſence
" of Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Henceforwards our Annals are
" filled with accounts of Proteſtant Martyrs. We find in the
" year 1534, when the Anabaptiſts were ſeized and puniſhed at

A. D. 1524. " Over-Yſſel, as they were going to Munſter, that the Senators " of Deventer bound themſelves by an oath to aſſiſt each other " by night and by day againſt Lutheraniſm, the mother, as they " accounted her, of Anabaptiſm; and, in the year following, " purged themſelves of Lutheraniſm by an oath, and made it a " capital crime to profeſs that religion. Yet they refuſed to " admit the Emperor's Commiſſaries, who had been appointed " Inquiſitors of Lutheraniſm; but choſe for themſelves four " from the Lower, and eight from the Upper Senate, who ſhould " exerciſe this office, according to the Imperial edicts. Thus " did they oppoſe all reformation, through a dread and a hatred " of Anabaptiſm." *Perizonius* Hiſt. Sec. XVI. p. 194.

This year Luther was occupied in tranſlating the book of [m] Job, and complains to a friend of the difficulty of the taſk; and obſerves, ſomewhat jocoſely, that [n] Job choſe to ſit on his dunghill, and not to admit of Interpreters.

[o] About this time the violent and unhappy controverſy concerning the Euchariſt was excited amongſt the Proteſtants. As many books were written upon the ſubject as would load ſeveral waggons; but the diſpute produced far worſe effects than the mere waſte of ink and of German paper, and did no ſmall harm to the Reformation.

Eraſmus wrote an excellent Letter to Botzem, in which he gives an hiſtory of himſelf, and an account and a catalogue of all his works. It ſhall be inſerted in the Appendix. Some remarkable things contained in that Epiſtle are omitted for the preſent, that the Reader may not have the ſame thing twice over.

His

[m] Luther was inclined to think that Solomon was the author of the book of Job. *Colloq. Menſ.* p. 359.

[n] In transferendo Hiob tantum eſt nobis negotii, ob ſtyli grandiſſimi granditatem, ut videatur multo impatientior tranſlationis noſtræ eſſe, quam fuit conſolationis amicorum, aut certe perpetuo vult ſedere in ſterquilinio. Niſi forte id voluit auctor libri ejus, ne unquam transferatur. *See* Seckendorf L. I. p. 204.

[o] Seckendorf L. I. p. 302. See Bayle MORLIN; and MORUS, Not. A.

His *Querela Pacis* was about this time tranſlated into Spaniſh. A. D. 1524. Ep. 673.

The Aſtrologers had foretold that the world ſhould periſh by a deluge in 1524, and terrified many people all over Europe. Bayle NIPHUS, and STOFLER.

A. D. MDXXV. Ætat. LVIII.

Eraſmus, in Ep. 728 to Oecolampadius, is angry with him, becauſe, in the Preface to his Commentary on Iſaiah, he had ſaid of Eraſmus, *Magnus Eraſmus noſter*; which might give occaſion to the enemies of the latter to ſay, that he and Oecolampadius were of a mind. He would have been better pleaſed that Oecolampadius had even ſpoken ill of him, than that he ſhould have treated him as a friend. What reply this learned and worthy Reformer made to his ſtrange complaint, we know not: but he might very juſtly have told Eraſmus, that he had done him more honour than he deſerved, and that for the future he would throw away no more civilities upon him. The beginning of this Epiſtle is not worthy of Eraſmus. I judge you not, ſays he; I leave that to the Lord, who will abſolve or condemn you: but I conſider what ſeveral great men think of you, the Emperor, the Pope, Ferdinand, the King of England, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, Cardinal Wolſey, and many others, whoſe authority it is not ſafe for me to deſpiſe, and whoſe favour it is not prudent for me to throw away. Frank enough! But this was almoſt to ſay, in other words, that truth and juſtice in this point were not the rules of his conduct; and that a fear of provoking thoſe, who gave him penſions, and could do him a miſchief, had too much influence over his proceedings. And yet, when any of the Reformed hinted that he acted by ſuch motives, he always took fire, and complained loudly. Although we have the higheſt eſteem for Eraſmus, yet the indiſpenſable laws of hiſtory oblige A. D. 1525.

A. D. 1525. us to take notice of theſe infirmities, were it only to ſhame thoſe, who imitate him in the moſt blameable part of his behaviour. It is a deſpicable meanneſs to be afraid of being commended by thoſe whom we ſecretly honour and value, leſt we ſhould give offence to others whom we eſteem not, and leſt we ſhould ſuffer in our worldly intereſts. Eraſmus had done better to have accepted of a profeſſorſhip in Switzerland, or in ſome reformed country, where he might have dwelt in ſafety, and have been under no neceſſity to accommodate himſelf to the humours of incorrigible men. Thus Le Clerc obſerves; but then it muſt alſo be conſidered, that Eraſmus was not ſatisfied with all the doctrines of the Lutherans, or of the Zuinglians, and ſtill leſs with the perſons of ſeveral of them. A Profeſſorſhip amongſt them might have proved a more uneaſy ſituation to him, than any which he had experienced in all his life. He might have liked it even worſe than a Monaſtery, which indeed never was a *Cage* fit for ſuch a *Bird*.

This year he dedicated to the Biſhop of Olmutz an edition of Pliny the Naturaliſt, wherein he had corrected many paſſages by the help of an ancient manuſcript. Ep. 730.

De Hondt, Canon of Courtray, had the canonry, from which Eraſmus received a penſion. Eraſmus in a letter to him inveighs, according to cuſtom, againſt the Reformed; and obſerves, as a very ſtrange thing, that there were amongſt them perſons, who believed that *in the Euchariſt there was nothing beſides bread and wine*. But he complains as much of P. Barbier, who had *tranſubſtantiated* forty franks from the Emperor's penſion to him, and had endeavoured to ſeize upon part of his other penſion from the Canonry of Courtray. He ſuppoſeth that poverty had compelled this man to follow Aleander, who was then an Archbiſhop, and was gone to France, as Pope's Nuncio.

George, Duke of Saxony, had deſired Eraſmus to recommend to him a perſon to be profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Leipſic.

Eraſmus

Eraſmus ſent him [p] Jac. Ceratinus, who was then at Louvain, A. D. 1525. and whom he extols as a worthy man, and one of the beſt ſcholars in the world. Yet it appeared afterwards, that this learned Profeſſor was in the ſentiments of Luther: but that was more than Eraſmus knew. Ep. 736, 737, 738, 763.

Ep. 739 is to [q] Martinus Hunnus, a phyſician.

He received ſome notes of Natalis [r] Bedda, or Beda, upon his Paraphraſe of St. Luke. He returned Bedda his thanks, and prayed him to do the ſame on his other Paraphraſes, and principally on his Annotations; and told him, that he would make a proper uſe of them in a fourth Edition of his New Teſtament, which he was preparing. But Bedda having attacked him with too much [s] acrimony, theſe compliments, which Bedda little deſerved, were changed into warm reproaches. Eraſmus ſpeaks alſo with the utmoſt contempt of Petrus Sutor, ſome time Doctor of the Sorbonne, and then a Carthuſian, who had attacked him, and oppoſeth to his cavils the favourable judgments of Adrian VI, and of the Biſhops of London and Rocheſter, who had commended his works. Amongſt his Apologies, there is a treatiſe in anſwer to this man. Ep. 741.

In this year he probably wrote a [t] letter to [u] Goclenius, Profeſſor of Latin at Louvain, which is prefixed to the firſt Tome of his works; wherein, after grievous complaints of Hutten and Eppendorf, he ſays, that if he had known the perfidious temper

[p] Bayle Dict. CERATINUS. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 419. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 130.

[q] Melch. Adam.

[r] Bayle BEDA. Du Pin XIV. 157. Remarques ſur Bayle in the Relat. Gotting. Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 97.

[s] Bedda accuſed Eraſmus of having given to Henry VIII the title of *King of England, France*, &c. An accuſation of the ſame kind was afterwards brought againſt Beza. Bayle BEZE, Not. G. G. See Eraſmus, T. IX. c. 489. To avoid offence, this part of Henry's title was omitted in ſubſequent Editions.

[t] Epiſtola Secretiſſima. Ἀναγίνωσκε μόνος, καὶ λάθρα.

[u] Melch. Adam.

A. D. 1525. of the Germans, he would ſooner have gone to Turky than to Baſil. And yet he owns, that he knew not where to go elſe, and how to mend his quarters; for he had juſt cauſe to fear every place, where the Pope and the Monks had too much authority. And therefore, after all his croſs ſpeeches about Baſil, and about the Reformed party, he certainly rejoiced inwardly, that the Monks had no intereſt and ſway in that city.

In this letter he makes a ſort of laſt will and teſtament; whence it appears, that although his penſion from the Emperor was not duly paid him, yet he was not bare of money, and that the debts which he had contracted, as he ſaid, at Baſil, were only a plea for not going to Brabant, whither he was then invited. He left to Goclenius four hundred florins of gold, to Ceratinus three hundred florins of the Rhine, to Melchior Vianduius one hundred and thirty philips, to Corn. Grapheus fifty florins of gold, and forty-ſix and an half of the Rhine; for, ſaid Eraſmus, I ſuſpect that he is poor, and he is a man worthy of better fortune. As for his plate and his jewels, he ſays that he would ſoon diſpoſe of them. He deſires Goclenius to keep all theſe things ſecret, for many good reaſons; and he declares, that he repoſeth an entire confidence in him.

He ſays, that he would not burden his friends with *offices* and *anniverſaries*, but only with the care of printing all his works correctly at Froben's preſs. I would have you, ſays he, alſo give all the ducats to Levinus, (who was one of the *amanuenſes* of Eraſmus) if you think that he can come ſafely hither. Let him ſew them in his girdle, as Hilary did. — You will learn from others, how I have diſpoſed of the reſt of my effects. I have ordered that you ſhould give twenty-five florins of gold to Ceratinus. If you have done it, I will repay you from the money which I have at Antwerp, that the ſum for Grapheus may be complete.

2

Hence

Hence it appears, that Eraſmus was not quite ſo poor as he ſometimes ſeemed to repreſent himſelf. But after this will, he made another. With this Letter to his friend Goclenius, he ſends him a [x] *Compendium* of his *moſt unhappy* life, and hopes that Goclenius will defend his character, after his deceaſe, againſt his Calumniators. A. D. 1525.

At this time Cælius [y] Calcagninus, a Canon of Ferrara, wrote a treatiſe on Free-will againſt Luther; and one of the friends of Eraſmus ſent it to him to Baſil in manuſcript. Eraſmus approved of it, one paſſage excepted, wherein Calcagninus pretended that there was a right underſtanding between Eraſmus and Luther, becauſe the former had not attacked the latter in his writings. Thereupon Eraſmus wrote to the author to juſtify himſelf, and told him, that he would have printed his treatiſe, if it had not been for this paſſage, which ought to be corrected; but that he would not alter the copy without his conſent. Three days after, Eraſmus compoſed a Dedication for this work, which appears amongſt his letters. It is addreſſed to Florianus Montinus, who had ſent the treatiſe to him, and Calcagninus is much commended in it. At the ſame time he defends himſelf againſt the ſuſpicions of the Italians; and ſays that it would be well for him, if the Germans had the ſame opinion of him, and, like the Italians, thought him a Lutheran; or if the Italians, like the Germans, thought him attached to the Romaniſts: inſtead of which, he was attacked by both parties. Some, ſays he, obſerve maliciouſly of me, that I keep a *medium* between both. I confeſs, that

[x] Quum autem ſubinde periculiter de vita, ſupereſt, ut tibi amicorum ſinceriſſimo commendem id, quod habeo chariſſimum, memoriam mei, quam ſuſpicor multis calumniis fore obnoxiam. Ita totius vitæ meæ compendium tibi mitto, hoc eſt, Ἰλιάδα πάνυ. Nihil enim unquam me natum eſt infelicius. Sed fortaſſe futuri ſunt qui multa affingent.

[y] Paul. Jovius Elog. p. 209, and Vit. Alphonſ. p. 198, who commends him very ſparingly.

A. D. 1525. that it is a great impiety to halt between Chriſt and Beliaſ; but I think it is prudence to ſteer between Scylla and Charybdis.

And yet there was no great prudence in writing even ſuch things as theſe to Italy, where every man paſſed for an heretic, who did not join in every article with the Pope againſt Luther. Ep. 742, 744.

In Ep. 747 he makes mention of his friend [z] Franciſcus Craneveldius.

In a letter to Bilibaldus he ſends his ſervice to Paulus [a] Ritius, for whom he had a great eſteem. This Ritius was a learned Jew, who had embraced Chriſtianity. Ep. 757.

Being invited by Carondeletus Archdeacon of Bezançon, he paid him a viſit, as it appears from his letter to Bedda, wherein he gives an account of his journey. He was moſt courteouſly entertained there, and it was with great difficulty that he avoided a croud of viſiters, and the danger of being feaſted to death. Yet lying reports had been ſpread, that he had been coldly received; and Eraſmus wrote to Bedda to contradict thoſe rumours.

Bedda, in a [b] letter to Eraſmus, had cenſured his vanity, and his ignorance in Theology, and had exhorted him to read Gerſon, and other ſuch authors, and had marked out ſome obnoxious paſſages in his works. It is a poor and impertinent letter, written in bald Latin, and full of ſpiritual pride under the tranſparent maſk of humility. Eraſmus replies to theſe objections in a long and laboured epiſtle, wherein he defends himſelf well, and ſets in a true light the baſe conduct of the Sorboniſts of thoſe days.

Louis de Berquin, who afterwards was burnt at Paris for religion A. 1529, had tranſlated into French ſome treatiſes of Eraſmus, as his *Praiſe of marriage*, *The Chriſtian Soldier's manual*, and *The complaint of Peace*; and, as Berquin was a declared enemy to Eccleſiaſtical tyranny, Bedda had ſent word to Eraſmus, that theſe tranſlations would hurt his character. Eraſmus only replies, that

[z] Melch. Adam.
[a] Melch. Adam, who calls him *Ricius*. Bayle Ricius.
[b] Ep. 322. c. 1706.

that they were undertaken againſt his conſent, and that he ought to be judged by his own works, as he had publiſhed them, and not by the verſions of others. Ep. 746. A. D. 1525.

The malignity of the French Divines quite diſguſted Eraſmus, and took from him all inclination to go to France: and yet his penſion from Charles V had not been paid him for four years. Of this he complains, and ſays, that if he were not ſpeedily paid, the money would come too late, unleſs it could be of any ſervice in the Elyſian Fields. He would have gone to the Low Countries, if the ſtoves and the ſeaſon of Lent had not hindered him; for even the ſmell of fiſh offended him, and made him ſick: and though he had a diſpenſation from the Pope to eat fleſh, yet he was not willing to ſcandalize any weak brethren in thoſe parts. Then the war of the Peaſants had thrown Germany into confuſion, and conſtrained him to keep cloſe at Baſil. Vincentius, the Dominican, had publiſhed a new invective againſt him at Antwerp; and thus the recommendations of Ferdinand, who had deſired Margaret to obtain the payment of his penſion, and to impoſe ſilence upon the prating Monks, had been ineffectual. Ep. 742.

He was attacked, as we obſerved before, by one [c] Sutor, a [d] blockhead and a madman, as Eraſmus repreſents him. Du Pin inſinuates, that this Sutor was a poor Critic and Controverſialiſt.

[c] Du Pin XIV. 158.

[d] Lutetiæ excuſum eſt opus cujuſdam Petri Sutoris, Theologi Sorbonici, et Monachi Carthuſiani, quo nihil adhuc legi dementius. *Ep.* 747.

" The *Ant-Apologia* of a Carthuſian " of Paris, called *Petrus Sutor*, (in " French *Dom Pierre Cordouanier*) who " died A. 1537, is an anſwer to an " Apology which Eraſmus had pub- " liſhed againſt this Monk. It is called " *Ant-apologia contra Eraſmi Apologiam* " *adverſus Petrum Sutorem Carthuſia-* " *num.* Paris, A. 1523. Theod Pe- " treius mentions another *Ant-Apologia* " of this Sutor, written, as he ſays, " againſt Luther. I never could ſee " it; and I ſuſpect that Petreius, who " was not over-accurate, miſtook Lu- " ther for Eraſmus. *Baillet* VII. 349.

La

A. D. 1525. Controverſialiſt. To Sutor let us join one Rivius, an adverſary to Eraſmus, who wrote ſomething againſt his *Enchiridion*, in the year 1531, and who is alſo mentioned by Du Pin.

[e] Gervaſius, in a letter to Eraſmus from Paris, informs him of the villainous behaviour of Bedda, and of the Faculty. Eraſmus [f] complains of this ill uſage to the Cardinal of Lorrain.

The letter of Eraſmus to Calcagninus drew an anſwer from this Italian, which was very courteous, and elegant enough as to the ſtyle, but contained a mere declamation againſt Luther, whoſe ſentiments Calcagninus did not even underſtand. He informs Eraſmus of the death of ſome Italian *Literati*, and amongſt others of Cælius Rhodiginus, who died of grief after the battle of Pavia, in which his patron Francis I, from whom he expected favours, was taken priſoner by the Imperialiſts. He mentions the death of Leonicenus, and highly commends Joannes [g] Manardus, a learned phyſician. Ep. 750.

[h] Rhodiginus had borrowed ſome things from Eraſmus, without making proper acknowledgments; and Beatus Rhenanus deſcribes him as a [i] plagiary.

Theſe

La Monnoye upon this paſſage obſerves, that the French name of *Sutor* was *le Sueur*. If he had called himſelf *Sudorius*, he would have deprived Eraſmus of ſome jeſts, which he made upon his Latin name, treating him as a *Cobler who went beyond his laſt*.

[e] —— Quid Bedda in caput tuum moliatur, paucis accipe. Ex Paraphraſibus neſcio quot myriades hæreſeôn, ut loquuntur, Facultati exhibuit: mitto, quas Facultas jam condemnavit, ſimul et eas, quas nunc tractat; nec eſt quod ſperes a Facultate, niſi omnia ſiniſtra, improba, et iniqua; proinde cura, ut tibi adſit animus, uti non deeſt calamus. Eſt tibi negotium cum ignorantiſſimis et impudentiſſimis traductoribus. Sunt in Facultate literati non pauci, ſed in illos animadvertitur, ut in pejores Lutheranis. Ep. 439. c. 1820.

[f] Si plenius ſuper hiſce rebus edoceri voles, ex Gervaſio Theologo poteris rem omnem cognoſcere, cui et doctrina non vulgaris, et judicium integrum adeſt. Ep. 911.

[g] Bayle MANARD.

[h] Bayle ERASME, Not. C. C.

[i] Ep. 119. c. 1595.

Theſe accuſations of plagiariſm, which perpetually occur in the works of the Learned, are not to be too haſtily credited: for, as in the Republic of Letters there are always a troop of Huſſars, who live upon pillage; ſo there are jealous and querulous writers, who ſuſpect upon ſlender grounds that others have robbed them of their rarities. They reſemble Mr. *Buſh*, the broken Merchant, in the Fable, who being transformed into a *Bramble*, uſed to ſeize every paſſenger by the garment, fancying that it was made out of his cloth, and endeavouring, when he could do no more, to pick a hole in his coat. Polydore Virgil ſeems to have been in this perverſe humour, when he charged Eraſmus with plagiariſm. A. D. 1525.

If a man finds ſome of his learned productions purloined by others, he may, generally ſpeaking, make out his claim to his own property, if he thinks it worth the while; and he ought not to be very uneaſy about it, as if ſome ſtrange accident had befallen him. He ſhould think and ſay of his writings, as well as of all his other goods and chattels, Theſe things I have collected for myſelf, for my neighbours, for friends, and for thieves; ſince thieves will come in for a ſhare.

Eraſmus ſent, at his own expence, a meſſenger to France, with letters to his friends, and amongſt the reſt to Berquin, who, though he had publiſhed ſome of the books of Eraſmus, tranſlated into French, with a friendly and good deſign, yet had thereby brought an odium upon him. This he freely tells Berquin, adviſing him to avoid conteſts with the Divines, becauſe religious controverſy was now carried on with ſuch an exceſs of fury, that it was not ſafe to meddle in it. Ep. 753.

At this time he publiſhed his *Lingua*, a book of the good and bad uſe of the tongue, and dedicated it to Schydlowitz, Chancellor of Poland. Upon this occaſion he ſays in a letter to a friend; *Eraſmus now muſt be mute, having parted with his tongue*, Ep. 756. 2

A. D. 1525. In this treatiſe he endeavours to diſſuade men from calumny and evil ſpeaking, and tells a pleaſant ſtory of a Franciſcan, who, after having peruſed his Paraphraſe upon St. John, approved it entirely; but unluckily coming at laſt to the Appendix, which Eraſmus had added purely to fill up a few blank leaves, he all on a ſudden changed his opinion. Eraſmus had there derided the ſuperſtition of thoſe, who deſired to be buried in the frock of a Franciſcan or a Dominican. This Monk, finding the holy garment of St. Francis thus ſet at naught, condemned the whole book, and by his intereſt cauſed the general Chapter to forbid all the Monks of their order to read the works of Eraſmus. If I had only jeſted, ſays he, upon the coat of Dominic, I ſhould have been a good Chriſtian with the Franciſcans; but for one poor word I became an Heretic. T. IV. c. 716.

In a letter to Pirckheimerus, he ſets forth the diſorderly ſtate of things. My frequent exhortations, ſays he, to moderate proceedings were underſtood by one party to be the effect of timidity, by the other to be a colluſion with the Lutherans. Now each ſide ſtanding up for its rights, and being more intent upon increaſing than diminiſhing them, things are come to ſuch a paſs, that God alone can calm the tempeſt.

Then he relates the tumults in various places; that at Bolduc the populace had driven out the Minorites and the Dominicans; that Margaret, the Emperor's aunt, was beſieging that city; and that the people of Holland, Zeland, and Flanders were acquainted with the Lutheran doctrines, and hated the Monks: and ſo we, ſays Eraſmus, muſt wage war to ſupport theſe bad men, who, if they prevail, will ruin their betters. They have indeed been ill uſed in many places; but moſt of them are ſo intolerable, that nothing elſe can correct them. Thus the conteſts of Eraſmus with the Proteſtants had not made him a better friend to Monkery. Ep. 757.

He

He addreſſed a letter of conſolation to Margaret, ſiſter to Francis I, and Queen of Navarre, who was gone to Spain to viſit her captive brother. Eraſmus ſays, that he had taken this liberty, upon ſeeing ſome letters which ſhe had written to [k] John à Laſco, a nobleman of Poland, who then lived and boarded with him. In this, and ſome other letters, he highly commends à Laſco, who afterwards embraced the Reformation. Such was the fate of many friends of Eraſmus, whom, without intending it, he led by his converſation and his writings into the Lutheran or Reformed ſyſtems, though he himſelf did not go ſo far. A Laſco, it is to be ſuppoſed, choſe to dwell with Eraſmus, that he might improve in literature, by having free acceſs to him; and afterwards other Gentlemen did the ſame, with the ſame views. And this might be no ſmall aſſiſtance to Eraſmus in the article of [l] houſe-keeping. A.D. 1525.

If ſome of theſe boarders with Eraſmus had taken it into their heads to ſerve him, as two young ſtudents ſerved Joſeph Scaliger, to ſet down his table-talk, we might have had perhaps no ſmall entertainment in his unpremeditated diſcourſes; for he was very ingenious, very unguarded, and very free of ſpeech.

Eraſmus wrote again to Bedda, to juſtify a letter which he had formerly ſent to the Biſhop of Baſil. In it we find ſome remarkable things concerning the ſentiments of the Reformed, as to the Euchariſt. [m] Carloſtad, ſays he, hath brought a moſt formidable

[k] Beza Icon. Verheiden Theol. Effig. p. 88 Strype's Life of Parker, B. III. ch. 25. Melch. Adam.

[l] *Eraſmus ſays afterwards to à Laſco, who had left him:*

Si tibi feliciter ceſſit tua demigratio, clariſſime Comes, eſt profecto cur levius doleam. Mihi ſane tuus abitus multis nominibus fuit infelix: ut enim reliqua taceam, menſibus aliquot mihi ſudandum erat, ut domum hanc tua magnificentia corruptam ad priſtinam frugalitatem revocarem. Deinde totum pene autumnum et hyemem cum calculo mihi fuit colluctandum. His, quaſi parum eſſet, tantum moleſtiarum aliunde acceſſit, ut facile ſenſerim Genium meum bonum abeſſe. Ep. 798.

[m] Novam Tragœdiam cæteris omnibus atrociorem nobis hic peperit Carolſtadius: perſuaſit in Euchariſtia nihil eſſe

A. D. 1525. tragedy upon the ſtage. He hath perſuaded the people, that there is nothing in the Lord's ſupper except *bread* and *wine*. Zuinglius hath written books to ſupport this opinion; and, laſtly, Oecolampadius hath defended it with ſuch ſkill, and hath employed ſo many arguments, and ſuch perſuaſive eloquence, that, if God ſhould not interpoſe, even the Elect may be ſeduced. This city (Baſil) wavers; but it may ſtill be confirmed in the faith. I am obliged to quit all my other affairs, to enter into this war, although I have not abilities equal to ſo difficult a taſk. It appears not that Eraſmus ever undertook to confute Oecolampadius, and this was probably a mere bragging and threatening, not intended to be put in execution, and thrown out to pleaſe the Romaniſts. He acted very prudently in leaving Zuinglius and Oecolampadius at quiet, and in declining a combat, wherein he would infallibly have been buffeted and diſgraced. He was even ſuſpected of favouring this very [a] ſentiment, for he was ſuſpected

eſſe præter panem et vinum. Eam ſententiam libellis aliquot editis confirmavit Zuinglius: proxime Oecolampadius tanto ſtudio, totque machinis argumentorum idem agit, et tanta facundia, ut ſeduci poſſint, ni vetet Deus, etiam Electi. Ep. 767.

Niſi me moveret tantus Eccleſiæ conſenſus, poſſim in Oecolampadii ſententiam pedibus diſcedere; nunc in eo perſiſto, quod mihi tradidit Scripturarum interpres Eccleſia. Alioqui nullum reperio locum in Scripturis divinis, unde certo conſtet Apoſtolos conſecraſſe panem et vinum in carnem & ſanguinem Domini. Ep. 1053.

[a] *Martinus Lydius thinks that Eraſmus came over to this ſentiment before he died;*

Sed quid opus eſt verbis? Eraſmum adeo intus permotum fuiſſe vi argumentorum Oecolampadii, ut in verbis Chriſti, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, tropum agnoſceret, et illi ſententiæ immoreretur (quicquid etiam alibi ad alios ſcripſit) teſtantur verba illius in lib. III. *Eccleſiaſtæ* ſui, ſeu, *de ratione concionandi*, quem non integro anno ante mortem ſuam edidit, ubi ſic ſcribit, p. 1019. Tom. V. *At cum Dominus porrigens panem Apoſtolis dicit*, Accipite, hoc eſt corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur; *ſi per tropum*, eſt *interpreteris* ſignificat, *aut* corpus *interpreteris* ſignum corporis, *non ſunt defuturi qui tuæ reclament interpretationi. At ſi hunc in modum interpreteris: Hoc ſymbolum, quod vobis exhibeo, ſignificat indiſſolubilem unitatem meam, qui ſum caput corporis mei myſtici, quod eſt Eccleſia, quoniam*

ſuſpected of holding every *rational* opinion that was propoſed in thoſe days; but he often denied it. He beſtows the ſame praiſes upon this work of Oecolampadius, in another letter, wherein he alſo pretends to have deſigned a viſit to Italy, if the ſtate of his affairs had permitted. This Farce he often acted, although he was terribly afraid of being compelled to go to Rome, as it appears from his Epiſtle to Goclenius, prefixed to the firſt Volume, in which he ſays, that he dared not even to go, according to his ſincere deſire, to Venice or to Padua, leſt he ſhould be forced to proceed on to Rome. A. D. 1525.

To return to this formidable book of Oecolampadius: as ſoon as it appeared, the Magiſtrate of Baſil conſulted two Divines and two Lawyers, to know whether the public ſale of it might be permitted. The Divines were Eraſmus and Berus; the Lawyers were Bonifacius Amerbachius and Claudius Canzoneta. Eraſmus ſays, that, in giving his anſwer upon this point, he made no invectives againſt Oecolampadius; and ſo the book was allowed to be ſold. He adds, that Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Pellicanus were alarmed at this procedure; that Capito wrote from Stratſburg, deſiring that too much deference might not be paid to the judgment of theſe four arbitrators, and that a defamatory libel had been drawn up againſt them, but was however ſuppreſſed. Ep. 846, 798.

He ſent word to Nicolas Everard, Preſident of the Court of Holland, that the [o] Lutheran Tragedy would end, like the quarrels of

quoniam tropus ſubſervit recto ſenſui, non eſt rejiciendus.

Hinc liquet ergo cui ſententiæ ſit immortuus Eraſmus: pugnant enim hæc e diametro cum his quæ ſcribit ad Pellicanum Ep. 845. p. 963 B, decem ante mortem annis. Profecit ergo plurimum ab eo tempore. Vide Librum *de amabili Eccleſiæ concordia.* M. Lydii Apolog. *It is in Eraſmus*, T. X. c. 1774.

[o] Solent Comici tumultus fere in matrimonium exire, atque hinc ſubita rerum omnium tranquillitas. Verum hanc cataſtrophen plerumque nunc habent Principum Tragœdiæ, non admodum lætam

A. D. 1525. of princes, in matrimony. A Monk, ſaith he, hath married a Nun; and that you may know that this marriage was contracted under happy auſpices, about fourteen days after the bridal ſong was chanted, my Lady was brought to-bed. Now Luther begins to grow mild, and not to write with his accuſtomed violence. Nothing is ſo fierce, which a girl cannot tame. He [p] ſpeaks again of this marriage in another letter, and adds, that Catharine Bore was very handſome. He was not well inſtructed in this affair, or he embelliſhed a little the common rumours, or he was too prone to give credit to the ſcandal which was publiſhed againſt Luther, who had been married more than ſix months, when Eraſmus wrote this letter: and Eraſmus himſelf owned afterwards, that the ſcandalous reports concerning Catharine Bore were lyes [q]. Nor was it true, that Luther's wife was a beauty. See a Diſſertation on this ſubject by Mayer, publiſhed in the year 1698. This puts me in mind of an obſervation of [r] Glareanus concerning Eraſmus, that he was very inquiſitive after news, and very credulous, and eaſily impoſed upon.

He

lætam populo, ſed tamen bellis potiorem. Malebat ille compilari quam venire. Similem exitum habitura videtur Lutherana Tragœdia. Duxit uxorem Monachus Monacham; et ut ſcias nuptias proſperis avibus initas, diebus a decantato hymenæo ferme quatuordecim enixa eſt nova nupta. Lutherus nunc mitior eſſe incipit, nec perinde ſævit calamo. Nihil eſt tam ferum quod non cicuret uxor. Ep. 781.

[p] Lutherus duxit uxorem, puellam mire venuſtam, ex clara familia Bornæ, (Boriæ, vel, a Bore) ſed, ut narrant, indotatam, quæ ante annos complures Veſtalis eſſe deſierat. Quin et ipſe Lutherus pallium et barbam philoſophi poſuit. Ep.

See Seckendorf. Ju. I. p. 272. L. II. p. 15, &c.

Bayle Bore. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amæn. Liter.* T. IV. p. 423.

[q] De conjugio Lutheri certum eſt; de partu maturo ſponſæ vanus erat rumor, nunc tamen gravida eſſe dicitur. Si vera eſt fabula Antichriſtum naſciturum ex Monacho et Monacha, quemadmodum iſti jactitant, quot Antichriſtorum millia jam olim habet mundus! Ep. 801.

[r] See T. V. c. 911.

He ſpeaks of the [s] ſlaughter of the Peaſants in Germany. A. D. 1525.

He cannot [t] refrain from commending the comparative moderation of the Reformers of Baſil, where he dwelt; and he mentions the death of Dorpius, to whom he gives a [u] good character, and whoſe [x] epitaph he compoſed.

He publiſhed this year a Greek edition of Chryſoſtom, and dedicated it to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus. Ep. 740.

He

[s] Hic longe ſupra centum millia ruſticorum interfecta ſunt, et quotidie ſacerdotes capiuntur, torquentur, ſuſpenduntur, decollantur, exuruntur. Non nego neceſſarium remedium, quamvis immite: ſed Germani magis novimus malefacta punire quam excludere. Ep. 781.

[t] Hic paſſim diripiuntur et incenduntur Monaſteria, diſſipantur Monachi, ſacræ virgines conſtuprantur, nullum diſcrimen eſt bonorum ac malorum. Civitates, quæ moderatiores ſunt, acceperunt Monaſteria in ſuam fidem, his legibus, ut obtemperent magiſtratui, ne quem alant, niſi inibi profeſſum, ne novitios recipiant inſc. [illegible]ſtratu, ne quem detineant, qui [illegible]ddit[illegible]ſatione velit exire, ne detineant [illegible] illi, qui diſcedunt, intulerunt, ne [illegible]miſceant parochiis, aut monaſteriis virginum. Errones, qui per omnes terras vagari ſolent cum fictis Priorum ſyngraphis, excluduntur ab ingreſſu civitatis. Hæc an pia ſint non pronuncio: certe mitiora ſunt, quam quod patiuntur reliqua Monaſteria. Et habemus hic hoc hominum genus mitiſſimum. Ep. 747.

[u] Periit Martinus Dorpius, qui ſolus ingenue favebat rectioribus ſtudiis, nec perinde atque cæteri, deteſtabatur quicquid ullo pacto Lutheri dogmatibus eſt affine. Ep. 747.

Dorpium ſtudiis ereptum acerbiſſime ferrem, ſi noſtro dolore poſſit huc revocari. — Mortuus eſt omnibus rebus florens. — Erat futurus magnus ſi vixiſſet; verum nunc felicius magnus eſt apud Chriſtum, uti ſpero. Solus propemodum erat æquus politioribus literis. — Ep. 748.

[x] Mitto epitaphium—ſi diſplicet, mittetur aliud elaboratius: nam Dorpii memoriam etiam habeo ſacroſanctam. Deplorarem mortem illius præproperam, quæ tot egregias dotes, tot ampliſſimas ſpes incidit: ſed nunc hujuſmodi ſeculum eſt ut nulli bono bene eſſe poſſit.—Dorpii memoriam non patiar intercidere, ſi quid mea ſcripta valebunt. Ep. 779.

See an account of the diſpute between Eraſmus and Dorpius, and of their reconciliation, and of the fair and ingenuous behaviour of Dorpius, in Von der Hardt *Hiſt. Liter. Reformationis*, P. I. p. 20, &c. 74, &c. He wrote a moſt friendly * letter to Eraſmus, which is not in our Collection, and which I have tranſcribed from Hardt, p. 87.

* Appendix.

A. D. 1525. He [y] ſpeaks in a ſort of rapture of Sadolet's ſtyle, and with much candour prefers it to his own. Ep. 758.

In the next letter he talks of his [z] death as approaching, which yet was not ſo near as he imagined.

Writing to Polydore Virgil, he repreſents the war of the Ruſtics as a terrible [a] calamity. Ep. 760.

Ep. 772 is a letter of compliments to [b] Pole, with whom at this time he contracted an acquaintance. Pole was a man of learning, of abilities, and of ſome good qualities: but Burnet hath commended him in every reſpect rather more than he deſerves. He had the honour to be ſuſpected of Heterodoxy or Proteſtantiſm; and was accounted an [c] hypocrite by many perſons.

" Pole,

[y] R. P. Sadoleti libellum in deliciis habeo: verum illius aureum dictionis flumen conſiderans, video quam meus rivus ſit et turbidus et exilis. Poſthac ad hoc exemplar meum quoque ſtylum conabor attemperare.

[z] Corpuſculum hoc in dies collabitur, exareſcit, ac deficit. Auguror haud procul abeſſe diem, quo ſyphar hoc abjiciam, et exſiliam nova cicada, Chriſti laudes felicius cantatura, poſteaquam in aërem puriorem ac liberiorem evolarim.

[a] Hic agitur crudelis et cruenta fabula. Agricolæ ruunt in mortem. Quotidie fiunt conflictus atroces inter proceres et ruſticos, &c.

[b] Knight, p. 194. Maittaire III. 515. Holland Heroolog. p. 20. Burnet I. 220, 221. II. 146, 298, 299, 326, &c. 340, 369. III. 124, 126, 129, 261. Appendix 411. Du Pin XVI. 21, 22. Sleidan X. p. 273. Continuat. Sleidani L. I. p. 51. Thuanus L. VI. p. 179. L. XX. p. 623. Pope Blount, p. 443. Vita Poli, Italice conſcripta a Ludovico Bacatello, Archiepiſcopo Raguſino, ipſius familiari. Latine reddita ab Andrea Dudithio Epiſcopo Tininienſi. Juxta Exemplar Venetiis excuſum, An. 1563. Londini 1690.

Dudithius, the Latin Tranſlator, was Biſhop of Knin (Tininium) in Croatia. See his life in Du Pin, B. E. XV. p. 193.

Our anonymous Editor ſays of this book; Vita Poli a pertinaciſſimo conſcripta eſt Pontificio, qui Reformationis noſtræ duces plurimis calumniis proſcidit, hiſtoriamque mendaciis obfuſcavit.

[c] Paulus III, monitu et commendatione Contareni, Cardinalem ipſum (Polum) creat, et Romam accerſit. Qui familiariter hominem norunt, Evangelii doctrinam ei probe cognitam eſſe dicunt: quod autem in Henricum Regem ita ſcripſit, cauſam eſſe putant, ut ſuſpicionem evitaret Lutheraniſmi. Librum vero

" [d] Pole, who was of the royal blood, was in great eſteem for A. D. 1525.
" his learning, and other excellent virtues.—The King had given
" him the Deanery of Exeter, with ſeveral other dignities, to-
" wards his maintenance beyond ſea; and ſent him to Paris,
" where he ſtayed ſeveral years. There he firſt incurred the
" King's diſpleaſure.—After that, he came over to England, and,
" as he writes himſelf, was preſent when the Clergy made their
" ſubmiſſion, and acknowledged the King *Supreme Head:* in
" which, ſince he was then Dean of Exeter, and kept his
" Deanery ſeveral years after that, it is not to be doubted, but
" that, as he was by his place obliged to ſit in the Convoca-
" tion, ſo he concurred with the reſt in making that ſubmiſſion.
" From thence he went to Padua, where he lived long, and was

 " received

vero ſumtu ſuo curavit Romæ procudi, ſicuti ferunt, et ad ſe receptis omnibus exemplis, Pontifici tantum, atque Cardinalibus, et intimis amicis legendum dabat: nam et illis probare ſeſe volebat, et ſimul verebatur, ut eſt credibile, ne ſi vulgo legeretur, in eorum reprehenſionem incurreret, qui longe diverſum ab ipſo non ſemel audiviſſent. *Sleidanus.*

When Pole with ſolemn gravity acted the farce of abſolving the Engliſh, and of reconciling them to the Pope, and drew tears from the tender-hearted Queen Mary, *qui Polum antea noverant ex colloquiis vitæque conſuetudine, valde ſunt hoc illius factum admirati, longeque diverſum ſibi de illo promiſerant.* Sleidan L. XXV. p. 765.

Uxor Petri Martyris obiit in Anglia. Huic cuncti eam laudem tribuerunt, quæ præſtantiſſimæ matronæ debetur.—Hujus defunctæ corpus Polus Cardinalis effodi et in ſterquilinium abjici juſſit: et cum aliud, ut jure agere videretur, accuſare non poſſet, hanc cauſam prætendit, quod juxta corpus Sanctæ Frideſuidæ humata eſſet, et hæretici uxor fuiſſet. Etenim Cardinalis hic, qui aliquando præcipuus Martyris amicus fuerat, poſt ejus diſceſſum ex Italia, non modo ab ipſius amicitia diſceſſerat; verum etiam ſtudium veræ religionis, quod ad tempus ſimulaverat, penitus abjecit, et acerrimus noſtrorum hominum hoſtis et perſecutor factus eſt. Itaque cum Martyrem, quod optabat, et majore cum voluptate aſpexiſſet, flammis abſumere non poſſet, in mortuum cadaver uxoris ejus ſæviit, &c. *Melchior Adam* Vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 20. Strype's Life of Parker, B. II. ch. 5.

What a vile action was this? and what eſteem can one have for the man who was guilty of it?

[d] Burnet.

A. D. 1525. " received into the friendſhip and ſociety of ſome celebrated per-
" ſons, who gave themſelves much to the ſtudy of eloquence,
" and of the Roman authors. ——

" The King called him oft home, to aſſiſt him in his affairs;
" but he ſtill declined it. At length, finding delays could prevail
" no longer, he wrote the King word, that he did not approve
" of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce, nor
" his ſeparation from the Apoſtolic See. To this the King
" anſwered, deſiring his reaſons why he diſagreed from him, and
" ſent him over a book which Dr. Sampſon had writ in defence
" of the proceedings in England. Upon which he wrote his
" book *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica*, and ſent it over to the King, and
" ſoon after printed it in 1536: in which book he condemned
" the King's actions, and preſſed him hard to return to the obe-
" dience he owed the See of Rome, with many ſharp reflections;
" but the book was more conſidered for the author, and the wit
" and eloquence of it, than for any great learning, or deep
" reaſoning in it. He alſo did very much depreſs the Royal,
" and exalt the Papal authority: he compared the King to
" Nebuchadonoſor, and addreſſed himſelf in the concluſion to
" the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather againſt
" the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecences of his
" expreſſions againſt the King, not to mention the ſcurrilous
" language he beſtows on Sampſon, whoſe book he undertakes
" to anſwer, are ſuch, that it appears how much the Italian air
" had changed him.

" —— Some believe that the ſpring of this oppoſition he
" made to the King was a ſecret affection he had for the Lady
" Mary. —

" * Upon the death of Paul III, all the Cardinals being gathered
" from Bologna, Trent, and other neighbouring places, entered
" the Conclave. — Cardinal Pole was ſet up by Farneſe, as a

2 " moderate

* Burnet.

" moderate Imperialiſt, who had carried it ſo well at Trent, that A. D. 1525.
" they ſaw he would not blindly follow the Emperor. He
" had lived many years at Viterbo, where he was made Legate,
" after he had given over his practices againſt England. There
" he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of divinity, not without
" ſome imputations of favouring hereſy. For one Antonino Fla-
" minio, that was alſo ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm, lived with him.
" Tremellius, that learned Jew, who had been baptized in his
" houſe, was alſo known to incline that way; and many, who
" left their monaſteries, and went to Germany, uſed to ſtay
" ſome time with him on their way, and were well received by
" him: nor would he proceed againſt any ſuſpected of hereſy.
" There was cauſes enough to raiſe ſuſpicion in a leſs jealous
" people than the Italians. Yet the vaſt zeal that he had ſhewn
" for the exaltation of the Papacy made all thoſe things be over-
" looked. He was ſent one of the Pope's Legates to Trent,
" where he aſſerted the German doctrine of Juſtification by faith.
" But upon the Emperor's ſetting out the *Interim*, he wrote
" freely againſt it. — Caraffa, who hated him, did all he could
" to alienate the Conclave from him; but prevailed little, and
" the next night the number was complete: ſo that the Cardinals
" came to adore him, and make him Pope; but he receiving
" that with his uſual coldneſs, ſaid, It was night, and God
" loved light better than darkneſs, therefore he deſired to delay
" it till day came. The Italians then ſhrunk all from him; and,
" after ſome intrigues, choſe the Cardinal *De Monte*, afterwards
" Pope Julius the third, who gave a ſtrange omen of what
" advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own
" hat, according to the cuſtom of the Popes, who beſtow their
" hats before they go out of the Conclave, on a mean ſervant of
" his, who had the charge of a monkey that he kept; and
" being aſked what he obſerved in him to make him a Car-
" dinal, he anſwered, as much as the Cardinals had ſeen in him

A. D. 1525. " to make him Pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret " of his promotion was an unnatural affection to him."

" [f] In the year 1554, it was taken into conſideration what " way to proceed againſt the heretics. Cardinal Pole had been " ſuſpected to favour the Proteſtants, but ſeemed now to be " much alienated from them: and therefore when Tremellius, " who had declared himſelf a Proteſtant, came to him at Bruſſels, " he would not ſee him, though he was his god-father. He " came over into England much changed from that freedom of " converſation he had formerly practiſed: he was in reſerves to " all people, ſpoke little, and had put on an Italian temper as " well as behaviour. He brought over two Italians, Priuli and " Ormaneto, who were his only confidents. He was a man of " a generous and good diſpoſition; but knew how jealous the " Court of Rome would be of him, if he ſeemed to favour " heretics; therefore he expreſſed great deteſtation of them. " Nor did he converſe much with any that had been of that " party. ——

" He profeſſed himſelf an enemy to extreme proceedings. " He ſaid, Paſtors ought to have bowels, even to their ſtraying " ſheep: Biſhops were fathers, and ought to look on thoſe that " erred as their ſick children, and not for that to kill them. — " Therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a ſtrict reform- " mation of the manners of the Clergy carried on. —I have not " found that he propoſed the receiving the Council of Trent; " which is the more ſtrange, ſince he had been himſelf one of " the Legates at the firſt ſeſſion of it: but it ſeems, it was not " thought ſeaſonable to propoſe it, till the Council were firſt " ended and diſſolved.

" On the other hand, Gardiner, who had no great ſenſe of " Eccleſiaſtical matters, but as they ſerved intrigues of State, " and being himſelf of ſuch a temper, that ſevere proceedings " wrought

[f] Burnet.

" wrought much on him, judged that the executing the laws A. D. 1525.
" againſt the Lollards was that in which they were chiefly
" to truſt, &c. Between theſe two counſels the Queen would
" have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encou-
" raged Pole to go on in the correcting the manners of the
" Clergy; and likewiſe preſſed Gardiner to proceed againſt the
" Heretics."

" Pole ſhewed the weakneſs of his ſpirit in one thing, that,
" being againſt cruel proceedings with heretics, he did not more
" openly profeſs it, but both ſuffered the other Biſhops to go on,
" and even in Canterbury, now ſequeſtered in his hands, and
" ſoon after put under his care, he left thoſe poor men to the
" cruelties of the brutal and fierce Popiſh Clergy. In this he
" was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend
" with ſo haughty a Pope as [s] Paul IV was, who thought of no
" other way of bearing down hereſy, but by ſetting up the In-
" quiſition every where.

" One remarkable thing of Pole was, his not liſtening to the
" propoſition the Jeſuits made him of bringing them into
" England."

" [h] The very day after Cranmer was burnt, Pole was conſe-
" crated Archbiſhop of Canterbury: — ſo that the words of
" Elijah to Ahab concerning Naboth were applied to him, *Thou*
" *haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion.* — When the Pall was put on
" him, he went into the Pulpit, and made a cold ſermon about
" the beginning, the uſe, and the matter of the Pall, without
" either learning or eloquence. The ſubject could admit of no
" learning; and for eloquence, though in his younger days,
" when he writ againſt King Henry, his ſtyle was too luxuriant
" and florid, yet being afterwards ſenſible of his exceſs that
" way, he turned as much to the other extreme, and cutting off
" all

[s] Caraffa. See Thuanus L. XV. 466, who gives him a bad character.

[h] Burnet.

A. D. 1525. " all the ornaments of ſpeech, he brought his ſtyle to a flatneſs " that had neither life nor beauty in it."

" [i] Pole died in the year 1558, aged [k] fifty-nine.—He was not a " man made to raiſe a fortune, being, by the greatneſs of his " birth, and his excellent virtues, carried far above ſuch mean " deſigns. He was a learned, modeſt, humble, and good-natured " man; and had indeed ſuch qualities, and ſuch a temper, that, " if he could have brought the other Biſhops to follow his " meaſures, or the Pope and Queen to approve of them, he might " have probably done much to have reduced this nation to Popery " again. But God deſigned better things for it: ſo he gave up " the Queen to the bloody counſels of Gardiner, and the reſt of " the Clergy. It was the only thing in which ſhe was not led " by the Cardinal. But ſhe imputed his opinion in that parti- " cular rather to the ſweetneſs of his temper, than to his wiſdom " and experience: and he, ſeeing he could do nothing of what " he projected in England, fell into a languiſhing, firſt of his " mind, that brought after it a decay of his health, of which he " died. I have dwelt the more copiouſly on his character, being " willing to deny to none, of whom I write, the praiſes that are " due to them: and he being the only man of that whole party, " of whom I found any reaſon to ſay much good, I was the " more willing to enlarge about him, to let the world ſee how " little I am byaſſed in the account I give, by intereſt or opinion. " —Pole had a vaſt ſuperſtition to the See of Rome; and though " his being at the Council of Trent had opened his eyes to many " things, which he had not obſerved before, yet he ſtill retained " his great ſubmiſſion to that See, and thought it impoſſible to " maintain the order and unity of the Church, but by holding " communion with it; which carried him, in oppoſition to many " apprehenſions himſelf had of ſome theological points, ſtill to " ſupport the intereſts of the Papacy. His neglect of the offer

" of

[i] Burnet.

[k] Fifty-eight and ſix months, ſays the writer of his life.

" of it, when it was made to him, ſhewed that this flowed from A. D. 1525.
" no aſpirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: ſo that
" what miſtakes ſoever his education, and heats with King Henry,
" and the diſaſters of his family, might have involved him in, it
" cannot be denied that he was a man of as great probity and
" virtue as moſt of the age, if not all of that Church in which
" he lived."

" [1] Bonner had condemned ſixteen to be burnt. But Cardinal
" Pole heard that there was ſome hope of working on three of
" them; ſo there came an order to put them into his hands, and
" he prevailed ſo far on two of them, that a pardon was granted
" to them, they being perſuaded by the Cardinal to abjure;
" which was a very extraordinary thing, *(exemplo licet rariſſimo)*
" as it is mentioned in the Pardon.

" But here I muſt leſſen the character of the Cardinal's mild-
" neſs towards heretics; for this year (1557) he ſent orders to
" proceed againſt the heretics of his dioceſe, and afterwards
" ſent a *Significavit* of ſome heretics to be delivered to the
" ſecular arm.

" I find likewiſe by other evidences ſuggeſted to me by the
" laborious Mr. Strype, that Pole was not ſo mild as I had repre-
" ſented him. Parker in his Britiſh Antiquities calls him *Eccleſiæ*
" *Anglicanæ Carnifex et Flagellum*, the Scourge and the Execu-
" tioner of the Church of England: and Calfhil, a Canon of
" Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in a letter to Biſhop Grindall,
" mentions the proceedings of the Viſitors ſent to Oxford by
" Pole, who were Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter, Cole Dean of
" St. Paul's, and Ormanet: he ſent them thither, not only to
" reſtore the Pope's authority, but diligently to inquire if there
" were any who neglected the Pope's ceremonies; and if there
" were any found that were under the leaſt ſuſpicion, *(leviſſi-*
" *ma ſuſpicio)* they were without any delay to eject them. He
" writes

[1] Burnet.

A. D. 1525. " writes that there was nothing eminent in Ormanet, but into-
" lerable inſolence; nothing could be imagined more arrogant
" than he was. They raged, as he adds, againſt a great many
" in the Univerſity, and burned in the open market-place an in-
" finite number of Bibles, and other books. The like ſeverity
" was practiſed at Cambridge, of which Mr. Strype promiſes an
" account in the Life of Whitgift."

" [m] I think I can [n] clear Pole from the ſuſpicion of having
" procured Cranmer's death, by his own manuſcript [o] letters to
" Cranmer.

" [p] It is obſerved of Pole, that though he was very rigid in
" his principles, yet he was not of a perſecuting temper. He
" was a man of good abilities, though accounted very prolix and
" tedious in his compoſitions."

Seckendorf reckons the Cardinals Sadolet, Contarenus, and Pole, as well diſpoſed to ſome reformation. *Præloq.* Melchior Adam repreſents Contarenus as a half-Proteſtant. *Vit. Petr. Martyris*, p. 18.

Eraſmus deſires Aldrige to get him a collation of Seneca the Philoſopher from a Manuſcript of King's College. He adds, that there are many very ancient Manuſcripts at Cambridge, and particularly at Peter-Houſe, and that Froben and he would be thankful and grateful to any that would procure them ſuch collations as they wanted [q]. Ep. 782.

" Robert

[m] Appendix to Burnet by an anonymous Writer.

[n] *Vita Poli*, p. 71.

[o] *Ea eſt mea ſalutis tuæ cura ac ſtudium, ut ſi te ab horribili illa, quæ tibi, niſi reſipiſcas, impendet non ſolum corporis ſed animæ etiam mortis ſententia, ullo modo liberare poſſem, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vita contingere poſſint, (Deum teſtor) libentiſſime anteponerem.*

I cannot think that theſe expreſſions in Pole's letter clear him ſo much as this Annotator imagines. It was eaſy to appear generous and charitable, as far as words would go.

[p] Knight.

[q] He ſends his ſervice to Nicolaus and Joannes Siburgus, printers and booksellers. They wrote their name *Siberch*.

"Robert [r] Aldrige, or Aldriſius, was another of Eraſmus's A. D. 1525.
"Cambridge acquaintance, with whom he correſponded while
"in England, and after he left it. Aldrige was admitted into
"King's College, and in the year 1523 was one of the Univerſity
"Preachers, that is, ſent out by the Univerſity to preach in diffe-
"rent parts of the nation, as the Judges now go their circuits,
"there being at that time great need of able men in every county.
"This learned man was afterwards Maſter of Eaton School,
"Fellow of that College, and at laſt Provoſt of the ſame, as alſo
"Canon of Windſor, and then removed from theſe preferments
"to the Biſhoprick of Carliſle. We may ſee by thoſe his
"Epiſtles which were written to Eraſmus, that he had a moſt
"elegant pen; which alſo may be collected from the province
"aſſigned him of writing letters from the Univerſity to the King;
"and although the [s] reward for that ſervice may now ſeem
"very ſmall, yet at that time it was no doubt a good *præmium*.
"When Eraſmus made his pilgrimage to the Lady of Walſing-
"ham, he took with him his friend Aldrige from Cambridge,
"who, in the want of the Engliſh tongue, ſerved him for an
"interpreter. Mr. Strype ſays he was a complier in the reign of
"King Edward, but was not well affected to the Reformation."

Eraſmus wrote to his adverſary Otho Brunsfeld, giving him good advice, exhorting him to behave himſelf more like a Chriſtian, and treating him with contempt enough. Ep. 786.

In other letters of this year we find a repetition of the old complaints againſt the Reformers and the Romaniſts. Ep. 787, &c.

He [t] ſpeaks of the ill health of his old friend Pace. Melanchthon, ſays he, labours at preſent under the ſame diſtemper, of

[r] Knight, p. 143.

[s] Anno 1527. Magiſtro Aldryg, pro tribus literis miſſis ad Dominum Regem, 10s. *From the Proctor's Book, by the Reverend Mr. Baker.*

[t] Spero Pacæum noſtrum jam convaluiſſe: male ſit iſtis legationibus ac relegationibus :

A. D. 1525. lying [x] awake, to whom Frederic of Saxony hath lately bequeathed a thouſand gold florins. This deſerves notice for the rarity of the thing; it being as uncommon for Princes to leave legacies to Scholars, as it is for Scholars to leave legacies to Princes. Ep. 790.

He ſends his ſervice to John the Gun-ſmith, an old acquaintance. He [x] gave me a *ſword*, ſays he, and I gave him a *book*, the *Enchiridion* or *Spiritual ſword*. I have not as yet made any uſe of his preſent, nor he, I fancy, of mine. Ep. 791.

He wrote a letter of complaint and expoſtulation to Albertus Pius, Prince of Carpi, who was one of his calumniators at the court of Rome. This Epiſtle is polite, elegant, and full of ſpirit; and indeed he always ſhines in his apologies for himſelf, being animated with the ſubject. Ep. 333. c. 1709.

Eraſmus, on many occaſions, hath laſhed and ridiculed Albertus, who ſeems to have very honeſtly deſerved it. Paul Jovius hath beſtowed great commendations on this Prince. Elog. p. 154.

[y] Aldus Manutius dedicated an edition of Ariſtotle *De Animalibus*, and an edition of Homer, to Albertus, to whom he had been tutor, and to whom he had many obligations. This Albertus was nephew to the illuſtrious Joannes Picus of Mirandula. Concerning his controverſy with Eraſmus, there is a large account in Von der Hardt *Hiſt. Lit. Ref.* p. 107—180.

More

relegationibus: illud Ingenium Muſis erat natum; *vereor autem ne nonnullam mali partem addiderint τὰ δαιμόνια*. Perſecutatur et Philippus Melanchthon eodem inſomniæ, ut ferunt, morbo, cui Fredericus Dux moriens legato reliquit mille florenos aureos.

[a] *Inſomnia*, a diſtemper too well known to ſtudious people.

[x] Quum erit commodum, ſalutabis mihi Joannem Bombardarum opificem, vicinum tuum, veterem amicum meum, quicum olim arma commutavi, in amicitiæ ſymbolum, nec id multo congruentius, quam fecerunt Glaucus ac Diomedes. Dedi *Enchiridion*, noſti librum jam olim per omnes orbis plagas volitantem, Latine, Gallice, Germanice, Hiſpanice, Tuſce loquentem: ille contra dedit gladiolum, quo non magis adhuc ſum uſus, quam ille libro.

[y] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 89, 90. Maittaire I. p. 230, 239, 241. II. 43, 163.

2

More ſent Eraſmus a letter containing much ſpite and acrimony againſt the Reformers, and preſſing exhortations to him to publiſh his *Hyperaſpiſtes* againſt Luther. Ep. 334. c. 1711. A. D. 1525.

The [a] Sorboniſts perſecuted Faber Stapulenſis to ſuch a degree, that this learned man was obliged to fly from France.

[a] Luther, who had anſwered the book of Henry VIII in a rough way, now wrote him a [b] very humble letter, being exhorted to it by his friends, and not without hope that the King would favour the Reformation. Henry returned him a very churliſh and haughty anſwer: upon which, Luther, who had too much ſpirit to bear affronts even from crowned heads, declared publicly, that he was very ſorry for having demeaned himſelf ſo far, and that he would never more throw away any civilities and ſubmiſſions upon Henry VIII, or Cardinal Cajetan, or George of Saxony, or Eraſmus, who had all repaid his humility with inſults.

He wrote a reply to the *Diatribe* of Eraſmus, in a treatiſe intitled *De Servo Arbitrio*. He tells Eraſmus that his *Diatribe*, as to the manner and the compoſition, is very elegant; and, as to the matter, is very [c] contemptible; and reſembles *an excrement in a golden diſh*. He mixes compliment, praiſe, ſcorn, inſult, ridicule, and invective all together, and flings them at his head. Though he makes apologies for his own ſtyle, yet it is really ſuch, that it hardly wanted any. See Seckendorf L. I. 311, &c.

Eraſmus was much provoked at this treatment, which was rude enough, and in ſome meaſure unexpected. He immediately wrote a reply, which was the firſt part of his *Hyperaſpiſtes*; and he publiſhed the ſecond part in 1527.

[a] Sleidan L. V.

[a] Sleidan L. VI.

[b] *Demiſſe admodum.* Sleidan. Seckendorf L. II. 37.

[c] Incredibile eſt, quam faſtidiam libellum (Eraſmi) de libero arbitrio: nec ultra duos quaterniones ejus legi. Moleſtum eſt tam erudito libro reſpondere tam eruditi viri. *Luther.* Ep. ad Spalat. T. II. p. 238. *It ſhould be, I think,* moleſtum eſt tam *inerudito* libro reſpondere tam *eruditi* viri.

A. D. 1525. He alſo wrote an angry [a] letter to the Elector of Saxony, deſiring him to puniſh Luther, or at leaſt to reprimand and to muzzle him. This letter is not printed: we are obliged to Seckendorf for an account of it.

[c] Eraſmus ſuſpected that Luther, in his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, was aſſiſted by ſome learned friends, who had corrected and poliſhed

[a] Exſtat Eraſmi autographon ad Joannem Electorem Sax. datum, in quo incredibilem bilem adverſus Lutherum, a quo famam ſuam capitalibus mendaciis læſam eſſe queritur, effundit, et animadverti in eum, aut ſaltem commonefieri petit, ne ſimili petulantia debacchetur. Irarum maximum ſtimulum habet, quod atheiſmi ſive Epicureiſmi a Luthero inſimulatus fuerit. Subſcripſit illis Eraſmus his verbis: E. S. C. T. (id eſt, *Electoralis Sereniſſimæ Celſitudinis tuæ*) *addictiſſimum mancipium, Eraſmus Roterodamus mea manu ſubſcripſi.*

Non invenio communicatæ hæ literæ Eraſmi cum Luthero fuerint, necne; exſtant tamen eodem faſciculo Lutheri literæ, quæ quadrare ad epiſtolam illam videntur —— Scribit autem: "Sibi et "collegis conſultum non videri, ut "Elector in cauſam hanc ſe ingerat, "quippe Eccleſiaſticam, in qua ille "judex nec velit, nec poſſit eſſe; et "Eraſmum decuiſſe, ut Electorem hac "in re non moleſtaret. Præterea et-"ſi cauſa eſſet politica, ab Eraſmo ita "tractandam eſſe, ſcriptis in univer-"ſum orbem publicatis, quæ majus "judicium quam Principis alicujus re-"quireret. Denique non eſſe juſtum, "ut aliquis puniatur ex accuſatione per "epiſtolam; opus eſſe actione, excep-"tione, et aliis ad proceſſum pertinen-"tibus." *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 312.

[c] Vindicandus eſt liber iſte Luthero, adverſus Eraſmi ſuſpicionem (quam Cochlæus ut veram adoptavit) quod non ſaltem impellentibus, ſed et juvantibus aliis, Lutherus ſcripſerit. Conjectura ex ſtylo nitidiori capta eſt. Lutherus enim, etſi pleraque extempore, et animi quodam impetu ſcriberet, et verborum delectum parum curaret, quoties tamen majori diligentia uteretur, ſatis monſtrabat, quid etiam in politiori valeret literatura. Hoc ejus ingenium vireſque ignorans Eraſmus, ſiniſtre de labore ejus judicavit. Impulſores autem fuiſſe ſuſpicatus eſt Juſtum Jonam et Guilielmum Neſenum, quem olim ſibi amiciſſimum, et Pyladis comparatione honoratum, poſt mortem diris laniavit convitiis. Nam in ſecundo adverſus Lutherum ſcripto (quod ipſe *Hyperaſpiſten*, Lutherus *Hyperaſpidem*, Philippus Melanchthon plane *Aſpidem* vocavit) Thraſonem et Gnathonem, et indignum vocat, cujus gratia vel epiſtolam Lutherus ſcriberet. Modeſte hoc ei poſtea exprobravit Melanchthon, et Neſenum ad extremum uſque ſpiritum Eraſmi cultorem fuiſſe aſſerit. Philippum vero ipſum cum omnibus eruditis qui Wittenbergæ eſſent, adjutores

poliſhed his ſtyle. Seckendorf, in the paſſage which we have cited, ſhews himſelf too favourable to Luther, and ſhould have conſidered, that any man, in the ſituation of Eraſmus, would have taken it very ill to be called, without ceremony, an Infidel, a Lucian, an Atheiſt, and an Epicurean. He ſhould rather have ſaid in behalf of Luther, that, there being no ſuch thing as *free-will*, Luther was neceſſitated to write as he did: A. D. 1525.

Sic erat in fatis. ——

Luther [f] obſerves, that Juſtus Jonas and others had adviſed him to treat Eraſmus very gently: but he adds, that Eraſmus did not deſerve ſuch courteſy; and that Juſtus Jonas was at laſt [g] convinced of it.

It

adjutores fuiſſe Luthero conjectabat Eraſmus. Negavit id non ſolum Philippus in epiſtola modo allegata, ſed et ad familiariſſimum Camerarium ſcribit: *Me plane immerentem magna invidia onerat Eraſmus, cum mihi partem operis, et quidem odioſiorem imputat.* Falſus etiam eſt Eraſmus, cum Lutherum in ipſis nuptiis librum de ſervo arbitrio ſcripſiſſe, Epiſt. ad Volſeium et ad alios, queritur, et ſpe ſua falſum ſe eſſe dicit, quod putaſſet Lutherum magis cicurem ab uxore redditum iri. Interim ingenua ejus confeſſio eſt, quod librum Lutheri dicat *ſumma cura elaboratum. Quicquid*, ait, *Eccleſia Wittenbergenſis vel eruditione, vel maledicentia potuit, id totum in eum librum collatum eſt.* Mirari vero licet, quæ de maledicentia — publice queritur, ipſique Luthero, anno ſequenti, humaniſſimis literis eum demulcenti, implacabili animi æſtu, exprobrat, Ep. 806. Fallitur ſane aperte, cum Lutherum in neminem quam in ſe, ne in Cochlæum quidem, acerbiorem fuiſſe contendit. *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 29.

[f] Memorat Juſtum Jonam ſibi auctorem fuiſſe, ut Eraſmum mitibus verbis tractaret; dixiſſe enim, *Domine Doctor, tu non credis, quam bonus et venerabilis ſenex ſit Eraſmus.* Idem antea Neſenum feciſſe; ſe quidem, ex Apologia Eraſmi adverſus Stapulenſem, diverſum collegiſſe, ſed obſecutum eſſe humanis conſiliis, *infelici, ut par eſt*, (ait) *eventu. Nos enim omnes probe excepit Eraſmus; Neſenum maxime, tam charum ſibi olim.* Seckendorf L. II. p. 81.

[g] Eraſmi aculeos patienter ſatis tulit Lutherus, gaviſus, quod D. Juſtus Jonas, Eraſmum alias ſemper laudans, ingenium ejus tandem melius cognoviſſet. Scribit enim:

" Gratulor tibi, optime Jona, de tua " palinodia, qua nunc tandem Eraſ- " mum illum tuum ſuis pingis colori- " bus,

A. D. 1525. It hath been ſaid by many, that Luther departed from his rigid notions of the [h] *ſervum arbitrium*, and changed his mind; but others deny it.

Eraſmus

" bus, viperam illum lethalibus aculeis " refertam recte cognoſcis, quem ante " multis nominibus prædicabas. Gau- " deo te ex unius *Hyperaſpiſtæ* lectione " tantum profeciſſe, et tuum de illo " mutaſſe judicium." *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 88.

[h] Lutherus ipſe tanti fecit hunc librum, ut de eo tanquam invicto gloriatus ſit, et ad Wolfgangum Fabricium Capitonem ſcripſerit, Nullum ſe agnoſcere juſtum ſuum librum, niſi forte *De Servo Arbitrio*, et *Catechiſmum*. Eundem librum in pretio magno habuerunt germani Lutheri diſcipuli.—Chriſtophorus Lazius primus fuit, quod ego ſciam, qui A. 1568, Flacii dogmata libellis aliquot oppugnans, affirmaret, Lutherum tandem ſervum ſuum arbitrium revocaſſe. Quem Lazium falſi poſtulat Flacius.—Tubingenſes Theologi, A. 1586, in Colloquio Montpelgardienſi, et a ſervo arbitrio Lutheri, et a ſeipſis diſceſſerunt: quorum diſcipuli Ægidius Hunnius, Georgius Mylius, et alii nonnulli Lutherum propter ſervum arbitrium erroris et calumniarum reum peregerunt. Hodie omnes fere Ubiquitarii in illa ſententia ſunt, Lutherum revocaſſe ſervum ſuum arbitrium, quibus, A. 1616, Lutheraniſſimus Theologiæ Doctor Cunradus Schluſſeburgius publice contradixit, fortiterque confirmavit Lutherum nunquam librum, de quo agimus, revocaſſe. Muſſitant quidem nonnulli, revocationem illam factam Commentario Lutheri in Geneſin cap. 26. At, inquiunt alii, Lutherus ibi tantum damnat abuſum doctrinæ de prædeſtinatione et præſcientia Dei, &c.

Vix prodierat *Servum Arbitrium*, cum Eraſmus edidit *Hyperaſpiſten Diatribes*. De quo Melanchthon, Ep. 39 ad Camerarium, ait: *Ecquid unquam legiſti ſcriptum acerbius, Joachime, quam Eraſmicum ὑπεραπιστὴν? Eſt is plane* aſpis.

Sunt tamen qui exiſtimant Melanchthonem, lectis Eraſmi de libero arbitrio libris, ſuam de ſervo arbitrio et prædeſtinatione ſententiam mutaſſe. Et ſane ſi editiones Locorum Communium Philippi poſteriores cum prioribus conferas, Melanchthonem in poſterioribus et a ſe et a Luthero receſſiſſe deprehendes, &c. *Scultet. Annal.* in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 102.

In the *Colloquia Menſalia*, publiſhed by Bell, it is affirmed, that Luther changed his opinion touching Conſubſtantiation, and the corporal preſence in the Euchariſt, for that of the ſpiritual preſence. See p. 287, as alſo Epiſt. Dedicatory, p. 4, 5. Bell's Narrative, p. 3, 4.

Quinetiam his de rebus (ſcil. de prædeſtinatione et libero arbitrio) ita ſcribere cœperat Philippus Melanchthon, ut quamvis antea Calvini adverſus Pighium libro diſerte ſubſcripſiſſet, tamen *Genevenſes Stoicum Fatum invehentes* notare quibuſdam videretur. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Calvini, p. 43. G. Brandt, Vol. I. p. 55.

Eraſmus recommends [1] Petrus Toſſanus to the favour of Budæus. A. D. 1525.
Ep. 765.

[k] A Proteſtant miracle was wrought this year, as good an one, and as well atteſted, as the Popiſh miracles. Thus much at leaſt is evident, that a Lutheran was murdered by the Perſecutors.

Eraſmus publiſhed [l] Chryſoſtom *de Sacerdotio*, in Greek only, with a prefatory [m] Epiſtle to Pirckheimerus, which is not in our Collection.

A. D. MDXXVI. Ætat. LIX.

[n] Pellicanus having ſaid that Eraſmus was in the ſame ſenti- A. D. 1526.
ments with Oecolampadius concerning the Euchariſt, Eraſmus expoſtulated

[1] Melch. Adam Vit. Dan. Toſſani.

[k] Ex inferiori Germania ſcribebatur nonnullis Principibus, Bernardum Carmelitam, ætate quinquagenarium, virum pium et eruditum, et fortem Evangeliſtam, in oppido Britz quinque aut ſex milliaribus a Mechlinia martyrem factum Chriſti. Nam reliquos Monachos, falſos fratres et filios Belial, tantas homini paraſſe inſidias, ut adductum in invidiam tanquam hæreticum ad ignem raperent. In ignem autem ter fruſtra conjectum: nam ignem ſemper extinctum; donec inventus ſit, qui malleo caput ejus percuſſum interemerit. Poſtea cadavere denuo in ignem injecto, ignem ut antea reſtinctum, et cadaver ex oculis adſtantium diſparuiſſe, ſecuta conſtanti fama, virum Dei ad cœlum tranſlatum eſſe. *Spalatinus*, in the *Amœn. Liter.* T. IV. p. 417.

[l] Maittaire II. 661.

[m] Appendix.

[n] Beza Icon. Seckendorf L. I. p. 132. Melchior Adam. Maittaire I. 291. Thuanus L. XVI. p. 498.

Anno 1499, providentiâ Dei, bibliopola Tubigenſis attulit Biblia Hebraica integra, minima forma impreſſa Piſauri in Italia, quæ nemo curabat. Pellicanus id audiens, rogavit virum, fineret opus aliquot diebus inſpicere: conceſſit librarius, dicens floreno cum dimidio poſſe emi. Audito tam parvo poſſe comparari, exultavit Pellicanus: adiit ſuum Gardianum Paulum, orans, pro ſe fidejuberet. Quod ubi feciſſet, Croeſi divitias ſe adeptum putavit, ſtatimque Spiram ad avunculum ſcripſit, orans ut duorum florenorum munere vel eleemoſyna dignaretur, quibus pro libris comparandis pauper egeret. Statim miſit, ea conditione, ne ſe emacem ad alienam crumenam exhiberet. *Melchior Adam.*

Pellicanus rogatus ab amicis, quænam Eraſmi, quo Baſileæ familiariſſime uſus

A. D. 1525. expoſtulated roughly with him. He pretends to have been calumniated, and ſays many ſevere things of the Reformed; and becauſe Pellicanus threatened him with an attack from Zuinglius, he declares that he feared not ten Zuingliuſes. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one Zuinglius about the Euchariſt; and from the manner in which he had ſpoken of the performance of Oecolampadius, it appears that he thought it not ſo eaſy a matter to refute theſe Divines. He had really too much ſenſe to hope by dint of eloquence to eſtabliſh palpable contradictions; and his clamour upon this occaſion ſeems to have been the effect of that timorous and political prudence which he obſerved in his old days. He ſays here, that he would ſooner diſſemble and conceal ten ambiguous articles, than be the occaſion of ſo many evils; and to this maxim he ſeems to have adhered pretty ſtrictly. He was of opinion, that all the efforts for reformation would come to nothing, and be ſuppreſſed; and this apprehenſion was the principal regulator of his conduct. This made him fond of conſidering the Reformers in the worſt point of view, and of exaggerating their diviſions amongſt themſelves, as if they alone were divided, and as if Eraſmus himſelf had not fallen out with moſt of the Monks and Romiſh divines!

Very true it is, that the ſtruggles of the Reformers cauſed many diſorders, and drew a terrible perſecution upon them and their ſucceſſors; but it was through the fault of that Church, to which Eraſmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. There was an abſolute neceſſity of coming to an open rupture, in which many perſons were cut off; but many Chriſtian ſocieties were formed and eſtabliſhed, which continue to read and to admire the works of Eraſmus; works cenſured, miſrepreſented, deſpiſed, mangled, and reviled in that Church, which

uſus fuerat, de coena Domini eſſet ſenſentia, reſpondit: Eraſmum ſolùm agnoſcere Chriſti manducationem per fidem. Scultet. *Annal.* ap. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 106.

which he flattered to the end of his days with too much ſervility. A. D. 1526.
Ep. 845, 846, 847.

Pellicanus hath informed us, that, before the preaching of Luther, there was not one Greek Teſtament to be found in all Germany, though a man ſhould have offered to give for it its weight in gold. *Seckendorf* L. I. 132.

Cardinal Campegius wanted Eraſmus to meet him at Augſburg, and to aſſiſt him by his counſels in compoſing the Lutheran tempeſt. But Eraſmus excuſed himſelf on account both of his bodily * infirmities, and of the little credit that he had in Germany, where the Lutherans held him for an enemy to the Goſpel. He alſo exhorts the Cardinal to proceed with mildneſs and moderation. Ep. 795.

Writing to John Henckel, Preacher to Mary Queen of Hungary, he gives him a compendious hiſtory of the diſorders in the Church, before the Lutheran controverſy, of his own endeavours to correct thoſe evils, of the oppoſition which he had experienced from the Monkiſh quarter, and of the faults committed on both ſides, which had reduced Chriſtianity to its preſent miſerable condition. He alſo complains much of the rudeneſs with which Luther had anſwered him, and of the ill language which that Reformer had given him. He ſays the ſame at the begin-

* Verum hoc corpuſculum per ſe quidem imbecille, ſed ſenectute fit imbecillius in dies. Toties impetit crudeliſſimus calculi dolor, ut ad quamvis occaſionem pericliter de vita. Porro menſe Julio et diu et graviſſime laboravi, ſic ut nulla ſpes eſſet vitæ: ſed multo etiam gravius ad natalem Chriſti, ſic ut mors in votis eſſet, vita in deſperatione. Nulla enim mors acerbior eſſe poteſt hoc cruciatu. Quibus malis ſic afflictæ fractæque ſunt hujus corpuſculi vires, ut ſumma vitæ moderatione vix ſubſiſtam. Itaque jampridem equos meos vendidi, deſperans in poſterum me laturum agitationem. Jam ſi quid adeſſet virium, hoc tempore non poteram occurrere Celſitudini tuæ, quum iter eſſet per hypocauſta, ad quorum nidorem exanimor, ſi vel uno prandio feram. Quæ res me cogit ut Baſileæ in propriis ædibus habitem, quæ aulam habent cum fumario: idque non ſine gravi meo ſumtu, nec minus gravi cura.

A. D. 1526. ning of his *Hyperaſpiſtes*, or defence of himſelf againſt Luther. The Queen and Henckel were favourers of the Lutheran cauſe. [p] Seckendorf hath criticized this letter of Eraſmus. Ep. 796.

Soon after, Eraſmus wrote a friendly letter to John à Laſco, who had been in Italy, and was returned to Poland. He complains of the two parties, and relates the diſpute which he had with Pellicanus, whom, as he ſays here and elſewhere, he had convicted of calumny. What Pellicanus had ſaid about him, we know not very clearly: but it provoked Eraſmus exceſſively, ſo that he declared, that Pellicanus was the laſt of all the Evangelic party, to whom he would truſt any thing. It ſhould ſeem that Pellicanus had judged, from the converſation of Eraſmus, that he did not believe the *real preſence*, though he had not ſaid it in ſo many words. And it appears that Eraſmus had ſometimes talked a little this way. Eraſmus alſo ſays, in this letter, that [q] Jacobus Faber was then at Stratſburg, where he went by another name, like the old fellow in Terence. Ep. 798.

He ſays that Luther had written againſt him, but had kept back the publication of his book till the Fair of Frankfort was approaching; ſo that Eraſmus had only twelve days before the Fair to peruſe it, and to write a reply, and to get it printed. This reply is the firſt book of his *Hyperaſpiſtes*, which contains eleven ſheets, cloſely printed, in the Edition of Leyden. Eraſmus and his printers muſt have laboured with extraordinary diligence, to

[p] Eraſmus Lutheraniſmum maligne depingit, (et) hæc habet: *Quin inſuper addebat nonnihil læti ominis ipſum* Lutheri *cognomen, quod Germanorum lingua* repurgatorem *ſonat. Id habet ex patris opificio, qui rudes æris maſſas officina ſua repurgat.*—Fallitur tamen Eraſmus, Germanicæ linguæ non admodum gnarus, in reddenda etymi ratione. *Luther* enim non ſignificat Germanis niſi *liquidum*, non autem *eum qui liquidum facit*. Denique, ut ſupra dixi, pater Lutheri cognomen ſuum non ab opificio, ſed a familia habuit. L. I. p. 68. *See alſo* L. II. p. 57.

[q] Faber Gallia profugus, Argentinæ exſulat, ſed mutato nomine, *quemadmodum Comicus ille ſenex Athenis*, ut jocatur in re minime jocoſa Eraſmus. *Scultet. Annal.* Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 114.

to write and to print ſuch a book in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time: A. D. 1526.
yet he affirms the ſame in his Preface to that Treatiſe. And indeed there is little method obſerved in it: he only follows Luther's book, replying to his objections as they offered themſelves; and he ſeems not to have thoroughly underſtood the ſentiments of Auguſtin, which at the bottom were the ſame with Luther's, although there was ſome difference of expreſſion.

Eraſmus, it is to be hoped, had too much ſenſe, to value himſelf for reading and compoſing faſter than other people: but there have been writers, who have ſhewed their vanity and their infirmity, in boaſting of their inconceivable abilities this way. The deſign of ſuch Braggards is ſometimes partly to aſſure us, how much they deſpiſe, and how eaſily they can confute their antagoniſts: but the trick is as ſtale as a rotten egg, and the Learned World is not to be ſo duped. Θαύματα μώροις. Ep. 800.

Soon after, Luther wrote to Eraſmus, who anſwered him roughly, and reproached him for his haughty airs, and his reviling language. But Eraſmus for a long time had not thought fit to ſpare the Lutherans or Evangelics; and therefore had the leſs reaſon to complain of their reſentment. Yet he owns, in Ep. 800, that he found ſometimes in Luther ſomething [r] that was *Apoſtolical.* Ep. 806.

Ep. 808 is to Hadrianus Barlandus. Barlandus, beſides other books, publiſhed an [s] Epitome of the Adages of Eraſmus.

In a letter to Cardinal Wolſey, as in other [t] letters, he unſays, what he had obſerved, that Luther's marriage had ſoftened him.

[r] In Luthero demiror duas tam diverſas perſonas: quædam ita ſcribit, ut ſpirare videatur Apoſtolicum pectus: rurſus in dicteriis, in ſannis, in conviciis, in ſalibus, quem non vincit ſcurram? Magno animo contemnit Cæſares et Pontifices, et ad leviſſimorum abjectiſſimorumque hominum ſuſurros ſic debacchatur in quemlibet, velut oblitus quam agat fabulam, et quam perſonam induerit.

[s] Melch. Adam. Vit. Barlandi.

[t] At ego ſperabam fore ut Lutherum uxor redderet magis cicurem. Verum ille

A. D. 1526. In the very time of the nuptials, ſays he, he wrote this furious book; and yet the good man thinks it compoſed with ſo much decency, mildneſs, and moderation, that in a letter to me he hath almoſt required me to return him thanks for ſparing me in ſo many places; and he proteſts, and expects me to believe, that he is in a moſt friendly diſpoſition towards me. Thus his ſpouſe hath tamed him!

He complains alſo of the Monks, ſome of whom had written lampoons againſt him, and ſome had cauſed his Colloquies to be prohibited in England; whilſt others, much greater knaves than the former, interpolated and corrupted them, ſo as to make him affirm the very contrary to what he had ſaid. Of this vile forgery he accuſeth one Lambertus Campeſtris.

If he may be credited in this, he was invited to France, to Spain, and to Italy, and the Cardinal preſſed him to come to England: but he ſays, that his very bad ſtate of health did not permit him to take the voyage. He had probably another reaſon equally cogent: he feared leſt the Divines and the Monks ſhould do him an ill turn, whereſoever he went; and from theſe fears he was ſecure at Baſil. Indeed he complains of thoſe, who ſaid that Baſil was his city of refuge, but he only anſwers them with a figure of Rhetoric; and certain it is, that at Baſil he had friends in whom he could confide, and that the Reformed Divines in that city, though they diſapproved his political conduct, were far from deſigning him any real hurt. Ep. 810, 815.

He thanks John Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, for preſents of money which he had received from him. Ep. 814.

" [u] Longland was Confeſſor to Henry VIII, who, though Car-
" dinal Wolſey was the chief Favourite, yet next to him had
" the beſt intereſt of any other Prelate whatſoever. Eraſmus
" then

ille præter omnem exſpectationem emiſit librum in me, ſumma quidem cura elaboratum, ſed adeo virulentum, ut hactenus in neminem ſcripſerit hoſtilius. Ep. 801.

[u] Knight, p. 188.

" then thought that it might be to his advantage to keep fair A. D. 1526.
" with him; and tells us, that twice a year he never failed of
" receiving letters from him, which expreſſed great kindneſs and
" civility towards him. This Prelate, being a great bigot to the
" Romiſh Church, ſeems to have been diſpleaſed with Eraſmus,
" for taking ſuch freedom in his Colloquies as he had done; and
" by Eraſmus's vindication of himſelf, and promiſes of abſtain-
" ing for the future from any thing that ſhould offend him, it
" looks as if he valued his favour very much: and he ſeems to
" have had reaſon ſo to do, there being in the ſame epiſtle men-
" tion of two or three handſome preſents made to him by this
" Biſhop.—Eraſmus dedicated ſome tracts of St. Athanaſius to
" him, looking upon him as a perſon of great abilities, eſpecially
" in Theology. We have extant a large volume of Sermons in
" Latin, dedicated to Henry VIII by this Biſhop, which is valuable
" for its worth as well as ſcarceneſs. Eraſmus alſo inſcribed to
" this Biſhop an Expoſition of the LXXXVth Pſalm, and dedicated
" it to him in the year 1528."

In Ep. 818, we find a ſolemn Proteſtation, in form, addreſſed to the Helvetian nation, aſſembled at Baden, againſt a * libel written by

* Leo Judæ, Tigurinus Theologus, ut realis manducationis corporis Chriſti aſſertoribus viam muniret, quo ab errore ſuo commode diſcedere poſſent (ſic enim factum Zuinglius excuſat) Germanica lingua libellum edit, quem inſcripſit, *Doctiſſimi Eraſmi Roterodami ac Martini Lutheri opinio de cœna Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, per Ludovicum Leopoldum.* Argumentum libri eſt, Eraſmum et Lutherum, ante motum bellum ſacramentarium, in ſpirituali Chriſti et præſentia et manducatione omnia poſuiſſe.

Eraſmus quam ægre tulerit [illegible]μus Leonis ſcriptum illud fuiſſe ſparſum, non diſſimulat epiſtola ea, quam vocatus ad diſputationem Badenſem ad Legatos Helveticos perſcripſit. Hanc epiſtolam curavit Eraſmus Germanice vertendam, et utraque lingua deſcriptam, per proprium nuncium miſit ad Conventum Badenſem, ut publice recitaretur: id quod factum eſt: et paucis poſt diebus emiſit libellum apologeticum, quem in Epiſtola promittit. Putarat autem Pellicanum ejus libelli auctorem fuiſſe; cui reſpondet.

Idem

A. D. 1526. by [y] Leo Judæ, wherein it was affirmed, that Eraſmus did not believe the real preſence of the body of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Eraſmus denies the truth of the charge, and affirms the contrary in the moſt poſitive manner, and declares that he doth this, not for fear of men, but for the ſake of conſcience, and from religious principles. He ſpeaks in the ſame ſtrong manner in Ep. 847.

"[z] We ſaw in the Library of the Abbey of St. Antony, in Dau-
"phi[illegible], an original letter of Eraſmus, in which he declares in
" moſt

Idem Eraſmus acerrime cum Pellicano expoſtulat de reſponſo a Pellicano aliis dato de ſententia Eraſmi in cauſa Euchariſtica, *Chriſtum ſibi parum propitium precatus, ſi iſta ſententia umquam inſederit animo ſuo, in Euchariſtia nihil eſſe præter panem et vinum, aut non eſſe ibi verum corpus et ſanguinem Domini. Legi in ſacris literis, Hoc eſt corpus meum. Nuſquam legi, Hoc non eſt corpus meum, ſed figura corporis mei. Neque vero ratiocinationem illam aliquid ponderis habere; ſic accipi poſſunt hæc verba: igitur ſic accipienda ſunt. Nec quenquam Patrum palam loqui, ibi non eſſe corpus et ſanguinem Chriſti.*

Leo Judæ contra epiſtolam Eraſmi libellum edebat, quo profitebatur, ſe ſcripti illius auctorem eſſe, quod atteſtatur Epiſtola; nec novum eſſe dicebat, ut libri abſque nomine interpretis edantur: ſe alia quoque convertiſſe in linguam Germanicam, quibus non metu, ſed humilitatis potius gratia nomen ſuum non præfixerit: ſe non eſſe mendacem, non nebulonem, ſed illum potius, qui ſeditioſum illum Dialogum, qui *Julius* inſcribitur, non appoſito ſuo nomine publicaverit (Eraſmum notat). Probabat deinde, ſe nihil poſuiſſe in illo ſuo libello, quod non de verbo ad verbum in Eraſmi libris inveniatur.

Pellicanus (etiam) ad expoſtulationem Eraſmicam reſpondet, quid et quomodo dixerit, et quædam Eraſmi ſcripta ſi non ſolam, certe præcipuam commendare manducationem ſpiritualem. *Scultet.* Ann. ap. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 106.

Quæ in Helvetiis, habita Badenæ diſputatione, geſta ſunt, itemque ſcripta inter Eraſmum et Leonem Judæ, Theologum Tigurinum, in quæſtione ſacramentaria a ſcriptoribus rerum Helveticarum et Zuinglianarum peti debent, et compendioſe recenſita reperiuntur a Sculteto. *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 64.

Epiſtola, Thermipolin miſſa, piis omnibus placuit, ſed vehementer offendit Leonem Judæum Tigurinum, qui, libello Germanice per typographos vulgato, profitetur ſe auctorem ejus libelli, quem deteſtatur Epiſtola mea. Addidit epiſtolam ad me manuſcriptam multo virulentiorem, qua ad pugnam gladiatoriam provocat: verum obticui. *Eraſmus*, Ep. 848.

[y] Melchior Adam.

[z] Voyage Literaire de deux Religieux Benedictins. Paris 1717. Part I. p. 262.

" moſt emphatical terms, that he would ſooner be cut to pieces, A. D. 1526.
" than not believe the reality of the body and blood of Jeſus
" Chriſt in the holy Sacrament."

In Ep. 820, he makes an enumeration of all his enemies, old and new, of the two parties; and, after having obſerved with concern, that neither the expreſs commands of the Pope, or of the Emperor, could ſilence them in Brabant, he thus proceeds:

At Rome there is a certain Pagan fraternity of *Literati*, who have long murmured againſt me: the leaders are, as I hear, Aleander, and one Albert, Prince of Carpi. An outrageous book againſt me was preſented to Clemens, the author of which is [a] anonymous, but well known to me, wherein he diſcovers certain myſteries drawn from the adorable Talmud, pretious jewels not to be caſt before ſwine. This man, after having explained the word *Racha*, juſt as I, following the authority of Auguſtin and Chryſoſtom, had done before him, runs out into digreſſions, and declares his aſtoniſhment that Germany, having put ſo many perſons to death for their impiety, ſhould ſuffer Eraſmus to live, who hath been the firſt teacher of it, inſomuch that the Lutherans themſelves, impious as they are, attack him warmly, and cannot bear his impiety, &c.

Beſides all this, ſays Eraſmus, there is a new ſect ariſen of the *Ciceronians*, an old ſect indeed, now revived by Longolius, and not leſs furious than that of the Lutherans. I muſt ſtand the ſhock of theſe hoſts, alone and unarmed, for I have little or no aid and protection from the Court. The ſame complaints he renews Ep. 848, and elſewhere.

Let

[a] This anonymous author, ſays Le Clerc, is *Pfeffercorn*, or ſome other converted Jew; for Eraſmus elſewhere calls him *Verpus*. But Eraſmus means *Aleander*. Read this Epiſtle of Eraſmus, and Ep. 1094, to Sadolet, where he relates the ſame thing, and Bayle's Dict. ALEANDRE, and you will have no doubt concerning it. You will there ſee why Eraſmus calls Aleander *Verpus*.

A. D. 1526. Let us obſerve the remarkable judgment which Eraſmus hath paſſed upon the ſentiments of Oecolampadius touching the Euchariſt, in a letter to his friend Pirckheimerus, who had written a [b] book on the ſubject againſt [c] Oecolampadius.

The opinion of Oecolampadius, ſays he, would not diſpleaſe me, if the conſent of the Church did not hinder me from adopting it. For I diſcern not what good an inviſible ſubſtance can do there, or how it can profit any one, if it were diſcernible. If there be a ſpiritual grace preſent to the ſymbols, *(that ſeems to be ſufficient.)* And yet I cannot depart from the general conſent of the Church, and I never did depart from it.

Here the good ſenſe of Eraſmus ſuggeſted to him plain and ſtrong arguments againſt either tranſubſtantiation, or the real and bodily preſence, namely, that miracles ſhould be ſo wrought as to be ſeen, and that they ſhould never be wrought in vain. But this miracle would be both inviſible, and altogether uſeleſs if it could be ſeen. Suppoſe a Chriſtian was to take the real body of his Saviour, what moral influence could that poſſibly have upon his mind?

But

[b] Pirckheimerus wrote *De vera Chriſti carne et vero ejus ſanguine adverſus Oecolampadium:* at which the friends of Oecolampadius were greatly diſpleaſed. See *Epiſt. Reformatorum* by *Fuelſlinus*, p. 35.

[c] Liber tuus De Euchariſtia vehementer arridet ANTI-LUTHERANIS, Oecolampadianis mire diſplicet. — Hoc diſſidium, ſi tantum læderet nocentes, tolerabilius eſſet; nunc illis diſſidentibus erigunt caput quidam, qui nulli bono bene volunt. Optaſſem eam materiam fuiſſe tranſlatam in aliud tempus, aut ſaltem fuiſſent in vero concordes. Mihi non diſpliceret Oecolampadii ſententia, niſi obſtaret conſenſus Eccleſiæ. Nec enim video quid agat corpus inſenſibile, nec utilitatem allaturum ſi ſentiretur, modo adſit in ſymbolis gratia ſpiritualis. Et tamen ab Eccleſiæ conſenſu non poſſum diſcedere, nec unquam diſceſſi. Tu ſic diſſentis ab Oecolampadio, ut cum Luthero ſentire malis quam cum Eccleſia. Citas autem illum reverentius alicubi quam erat neceſſe, quum aliorum auctoritatem potuiſſes adducere. *Ep.* 823.

This Letter of Eraſmus is plainly an haſty and incorrect compoſition. What he means by *Anti-Lutheranis*, I know not. It ſhould be perhaps *Lutheranis*.

But the conſent of the Church —— A. D. 1526.

One would think that Eraſmus had ſtudied the holy Scriptures and Chriſtian Antiquities too well, and knew too well what is vulgarly called *the Church*, to entertain ſo high an opinion of the conſent of the Church in the later ages, if he himſelf had not thus aſſured us of it. Fear prevailed over his judgment, and threw duſt in his eyes; and if they, who accuſed him of being a Zuinglian and an Oecolampadian, were miſtaken as to the fact, they paid rather more honour to his diſcernment than he merited. Such ſtrange diſcourſes as theſe made them ſuſpect that he would not be in earneſt, when he profeſſed to believe *tranſubſtantiation*, (though I think he hath never adopted that word as a part of his Creed) or a *bodily preſence*. For to found one's belief, not upon the nature of the thing itſelf, nor upon the teſtimony of revelation, but upon the conſent or conſpiracy of a few dark, ſtupid, ignorant, wicked, ſcandalous, factious ages of Chriſtianity, and to pay ſuch a deference to their deciſions, as to believe impoſſibilities and contradictions in complaiſance to them, this is a thing ſo remote from the knowledge, the diſcernment, and the free-thinking of Eraſmus, that it appeared incredible to ſeveral of the Proteſtants. Many Divines of the Roman party judged alſo of him, as of one who diſſembled his real ſentiments; and for this reaſon his reiterated complaints were ſlighted.

This year he alſo complained to the Parliament of Paris, and to the King: but none concerned themſelves about it, or reſtrained the French Divines from writing againſt him. Ep. 842, 826.

Though grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone, yet he was able to publiſh the works of Irenæus, which he dedicated to Bernard, Biſhop of Trent, in Ep. 831. In this dedicatory Epiſtle, he confines himſelf to his Author, and to the heretics whom that author combats. It is by no means equal to his Dedication of Hilary.

A. D. 1526. " The firſt Edition of Irenæus was that of Eraſmus, made " from a copy, which was ſent to him from Rome, and which " he collated with two other manuſcripts. Although we be " much obliged to him for the uſeful pains which he took on " this occaſion, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that his Edition is very " defective, and full of faults, either becauſe he was not furniſhed " with good manuſcripts, or becauſe it is impoſſible, in the firſt " edition of ſuch an author as Irenæus, to ſet all to rights. It " is known that we have only an old Latin verſion of him, the " barbarous ſtyle of which makes it extremely difficult to under- " ſtand it, or to correct it where it is corrupted." *Bibl. Choiſ.* XXV. 239.

The laſt and beſt edition of Irenæus is by Maſſuet, who would have obliged the Proteſtants more, if he had preached leſs, and had abſtained from Controverſial diſcourſes, which have converted none of us. But, to do juſtice to this Benedictin, let us obſerve that he was a learned and ingenious man, and that he wrote Latin very well.

Shortly after, Eraſmus addreſſed his Book of *Chriſtian Marriage* to Catharine of Auſtria, Queen of England. He makes ſome remarks upon [a] Longolius, in a letter to Pole, who had been a ſingular

[a] Doleo Longolium immatura morte præreptum ſtudiis, quanquam in me videtur iniquior, idque ſine cauſa. Excepi eum Lovanii, qua per occupationes et valetudinem licuit, humanitate. Epiſtolam illius Galliæ Regis Orator ad me miſerat: eam honoris ipſius gratia, ita me bene amet Chriſtus, curaram edendam, tantum abeſt ut me offenderit. In his quæ prodierunt, apparet anxia Ciceronianæ dictionis affectatio, ſed interim frigentibus interdum ſententiis, ſubolet juvenilis quidam amor gloriæ. Malueram prodiſſe commentarios illius, licet minus exprimentes phraſim Ciceronis. Id ſi tu curaris, non mediocrem, mihi crede, gratiam inibis apud Senatum populumque ſtudioſorum. Ep. 799.

Longolius ante diem nobis ereptus, præclaram opinionem reliquit apud Italos, quod fuerit Ciceronianus. Et tamen neminem ex illis prodire video, qui vere referat Ciceronem, niſi bracteas duntaxat orationis, ac verbulis aliquot ſelectis. Ep. 803.

—Eruditionem

a ſingular friend to Longolius, and in letters to other perſons; A. D. 1526.
and he complains of the Ciceronians to Budæus, to Nicolaus, to Tuſſanus, &c. Budæus was as little liked by the Ciceronians, and liked them as little, as Eraſmus.

——Eruditionem his temporibus gratulari licet permultis, quum candorem animi non perinde probes in omnibus, quem certe in Longolio nonnunquam deſidero, quum me ſemper habuerit eruditionis ingeniique ſui tum fautorem propenſiſſimum, tum præconem haudquaquam malignum. Sed undecunque concepit ille hoc in me ſtomachi, doleo virum ante diem ereptum, liberalibus ſtudiis vel ornandis, vel provehendis. Quaſi parum ſit in orbe factionum, revixit nova factio Ciceronianorum, nimirum quo Budæum et Eraſmum ſubmoveant ex albo doctorum, et e manibus hominum excutiant. Ut fateor Ciceroni primam in dicendo laudem deberi, ita puto ridiculum, tota vita nihil aliud agere, quam ut Ciceronem unum exprimas. Ep. 821. *See alſo* Ep. 817.

Eſt Romæ chorus eruditorum, qui vix ferunt nomen Germanorum aut Gallorum. Habent *coryphæum* et incitatorem tibi non ignotum, *(he means* Aleander, *I ſuppoſe)* cujus animo ut nulla ſatis eſt gloria, ita non fert præter ipſum laudari quenquam nec deorum nec hominum. Ep. 803.

Romæ Paganum illud eruditorum ſodalitium jam pridem fremit in me, ducibus, ut ferunt, Aleandro, et Alberto quondam Principe Carpenſi. Ep. 820.

Tertiam ſectam nobis peperit Italia: magnis contentionibus depugnant quidam, ſubmovendos ex albo doctorum omnes, qui non referunt phrasin Ciceronianam; quam ut fateor omnium optimam eſſe, ita non probo eos qui huic rei ſerviunt. Ep. 812.

Budæus, in anſwer to Ep. 803, *ſays of the* Coryphæus, *by whom Eraſmus and he ſeem to mean Aleander*;

Is Gallos Germanoſque ſcriptores pro poteſtate, numeris expunxit decora merentium——. Ciceroni autem uſque eo ad unguem ſimilis eſſe meditatus eſt, ut eloquentiæ Latinæ parentem etiam ſuperaverit, ac longe reliquerit, duntaxat in ea parte, quæ ad commendationem ſui pertinet. Marcus enim Tullius laudes ſuas decantavit, eamque ob cauſam ſæpe ſtomachum et Curiæ et ſubſelliis, et amiciſſimis ſuis movit, tametſi veras laudes meritaſque prædicabat. Hic longe impudentius ſuas et immeritiſſimas deprædicavit. — Longolium olim noſtrum luctuoſius deſideraſſem, niſi ipſe noſter eſſe animi deſtinatione deſiiſſet. Ep. 842.

Eraſmus replies:

De Longolio miror ſi potuit ab amicitia tua diſcedere. Sed ille ſatis magnam laudem tulit, periit Ciceronianus. Et tamen illius Ciceroniani lucubrationes pauciſſimi legunt; noſtras nænias Batavas nemo non legit. Ep. 875.

A. D. 1526. He received a [f] preſent from Polydore Virgil, and returns him thanks. Ep. 815.

He wrote a letter of congratulation to Francis I, upon his releaſe, and return to his dominions; and makes heavy complaints to him of the calumnies of Beda. In this he ſeems not to have acted judiciouſly: he ſhould have kept his own private concerns and his reſentments for another opportunity. Ep. 826.

He [g] received from Schydlovietz, Chancellor of Poland, in return for his *Lingua*, a gold watch, and other preſents. About the ſame time his friend Jacobus [h] Piſo gave him a gold and a ſilver medal. Ep. 837, 838.

Joannes Maldonatus, a Spaniard, informed him how [i] much he was eſteemed in Spain, and how fond they were of his writings, &c. Ep. 338. c. 1715.

In Ep. 840, Eraſmus gives a remarkable account of a tower at Baſil which was blown up by gun-powder, ſet on fire by a flaſh of lightning. Sleidan hath related an accident of the ſame kind at Mechlin. L. XVII. 490.

Ep. 844 is to Claudius [k] Cantiuncula, a Doctor of Law.

This

[f] Tua benignitas ſemper officia officiis accumulat, meque jam olim multis nominibus obæratum reddit obligatiorem. Dediſti quo paretur equus, utinam dare poſſis quo reparetur eques.

[g] Redditum eſt bona fide horologium aureum, cochleare aureum, et fuſcinula aurea. Mihi congruebant lutea, ſed hæc erant digna tuo vere aureo ingenio moribuſque candidiſſimis. Habeo quod oſtentem.—Tuis auſpiciis *Lingua* noſtra fuit felix: Frobenius feliciſſime vendidit, quum jam ter excuderit. Et interim a multis aliis fuit excuſa. Hoc non fuiſſet factum, niſi multis placuiſſet.

[h] Vid. Indicem Epiſt. Eraſmi.

[i] Multi eruditi viri laborant in vertendis in linguam noſtram opuſculis tuis, et jam Enchiridion Hiſpane loquens prodiit, neque valent typographi multis excuſis millibus ſatisfacere ementium multitudini. Dialogi etiam nonnulli ex Colloquiis Hiſpani facti, volitant per manus virorum feminarumque, &c.

[k] Melchior Adam.

This year Erasmus published some [l] tracts of Chrysostom, with a dedicatory Epistle to John [m] Claymond, which is not amongst the Epistles of Erasmus. A. D. 1526.

The anonymous author, who with great virulence attacked Marsollier and Erasmus, accuses the latter of having confessed to Vives, that when he wrote against Luther, he wrote against his conscience.

" [n] He says to Vives; *I have written my book of free-will, but,* " *to speak ingenuously to you, I had lost free-will whilst I was* " *writing for it, and my mind believed nothing of what my pen* " *wrote.* He was then neither a Lutheran, nor a Catholic.'

This man here ascribes to Erasmus more than he hath said; for these material words, *I have written my book of free-will,* are not in the letter of Erasmus to Vives, and the passage is not fairly represented. The affair stands thus:

Vives, in a [o] letter to Erasmus, informs him, that some critics had censured his *Colloquies,* for treating points of Divinity and Controversy,

[l] Chrysostomi Conciunculæ sex de Fato et Providentia Dei, Græce: apud Joan. Froben. 8vo, Basil. 1526. Cum Erasmi Epistola ad Joan. Claymondum, &c. *Maittaire* II. 672.

[m] See above, p. 173.

[n] Critique de l'Apologie d'Erasme, de Marsollier, p. 253.

[o] Ego ad te literas dedi ex Britannia bene longas multis de rebus, more meo. Dolerem si non crederem esse ad te perlatas: tuas jampridem nullas accepimus; occupationibus id tuis ascribo: nam tibi iter tuum recta eunti de semitis κύνες ὑλακτοῦσι. Itaque cogeris paulisper deflectere, ut molestiam dimoveas, quæ iter remoratur. Possem referre tibi præclara aliquot *hominis illius* facinora; verum malim non agi inter vos de vita, sed de sententia: *reliqua* κατὰ τοῦ Λουθήρου ἐκδέχεται. — Sunt qui ex me quærunt quo fine existimem introductam abs te disputationem illam Ἰχθυοφαγίας, de Voto, et Vi præceptorum in opere tituli puerilis, et quod videtur pueris scriptum rem tantam neutiquam intellecturis: respondeo quædam, quis ut illis satisfaciam nescio, mihi utique non satisfacio: nam alienissima videtur mihi et loco et personis illis dissertatio, ἵνα δοκεῖν μὴ τὸ πρέπον τηρηθῆναι. Itaque non videtur fuisse faciendum; præsertim cum offensione multorum, συνέως τινῶν. Sed nihil dubito, quin tibi facti tui pulcherrime constet ratio, quam non gravaberis primis literis, quas ad me dabis, uno aut altero verbo subjicere, ad eximendum et meum et *meorum amicorum* scrupulum, &c. Ep. 829.

A. D. 1526. Controverſy, which did not ſuit the characters of the ſpeakers introduced in the Dialogues, and were above the capacity of ſchool-boys, for whom that work was deſigned; and he adds very frankly, that he knew not how to anſwer theſe objections. In this letter ſomething is ſaid to the diſadvantage of a perſon not named — *hominis facinora*; ſomething is obſcurely hinted about *Luther*; and ſome alluſions are perhaps made to a former and a longer letter, which he had ſent to Eraſmus, and which we have not.

Eraſmus wrote him an anſwer, in a ſhort epiſtle; and, after [p] having gently blamed him for giving up the defence of the Colloquies, he cenſures a perſon whom he calls ὁ χωλὸς, and by whom he ſeems to mean Jacobus Latomus, who had written a Dialogue againſt Eraſmus and others. Then he adds, in a ſeemingly abrupt and unconnected manner; *But, to confeſs the truth, we have loſt free-will. There my mind dictated one thing, and my pen wrote another thing.*

Vives, in anſwer to this letter, [q] begs pardon of his friend and preceptor, declares himſelf fully ſatisfied concerning the Colloquies, ſays a word about Latomus, and then adds; *We have not loſt free-will.*

If

[p] De ſilentio meo multas tu quidem cauſas recte conjectas; unam addere debueras, quod aliquoties data non reddantur. De Colloquiis demiror tanto patrono vel in peſſima cauſa deeſſe rationes; nunc inter pueros talia diſputantur, et ὁ χωλὸς ſua pueris ſcripſiſſe videtur, tam ſcripſit pueriliter; poſtremo grandeſcunt pueri. Itaque jam adultis magis feria conveniebant. *Verum ut ingenue dicam, perdidimus liberum arbitrium. Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud ſcribebat calamus.* Tua mihi valde probantur, &c. Ep. 871.

[q] De Colloquiis recte habet, mihi plane jam pridem ſatisfactum abunde eſt, vel ipſo facto tuo, quod mihi et aliis plurimis majoris erit momenti ac roboris, quam multæ aliorum et accuratæ rationes. Illudque a primo valere apud me debere exiſtimavi, quod Pompeio ſcribit M. Tullius: *Nec ſi ego quid tu ſis ſecutus non perſpicio, idcirco minus exiſtimo te nihil niſi ſumma ratione feciſſe.* Ἀλλὰ τί μοι τῷ Λατόμῳ; aut quorſum de illo? *Liberum arbitrium non perdidimus, quod tu aſſerueris.* Non facile credas, quantopere cenſeo adjuvari me admonitionibus tuis, &c. Ep. 876.

[r] If we ſuppoſe that Eraſmus ſpake with a view to his controverſy with Luther, which I do not [r] deny, he undoubtedly meant by the words in queſtion, (though they be incautiouſly expreſſed) that he had written, not againſt his *conſcience*, but againſt his *inclination*, and ſo had loſt his *free-will*: for, firſt, he hath [s] declared this. A.D. 1526.

[r] Seckendorf is of opinion, that Eraſmus alludes to his book againſt Luther: *Ludovico Vivi candide aperit ſe perdidiſſe, dum de libero arbitrio ſcriberet, liberum arbitrium*, &c. *Patet hinc fluctuans viri animus, &c.* L. I. p. 310.

[s] Ipſe rem tractavi modeſtiſſime. Et tamen quod ſcribo (adverſus Lutherum) *non ſcribo adverſus animi ſententiam.* — Ep. 703.

Riſi ſalſiſſimam epiſtolam tuam, quanquam interim riſum ridens Sardonium. Refricuit mihi jocus tuus Mori mei dictum quoddam non illepidum: nam editis libris *De Copia*; "Emiſit, inquit, "Eraſmus utramque Copiam; quid "itaque ſibi reliquum fecit præter ſum-"mam inopiam?" Ita profecto nunc *habere deſii liberum arbitrium*, poſteaquam emiſi (librum adverſus Lutherum) in vulgus. Optabam eſſe ſpectator hujus fabulæ, non quod Eccleſiæ negotio pro mea virili pigeret adeſſe, ſed quod viderem eſſe rixam de paradoxis neſcio-quibus: tum autem divinabam futurum, ut ſi me admiſcerem actioni fabulæ, nihil aliud quam rem exaſperarem, meo pariter et cauſæ malo. Poſtremo, conſiderans vitam Chriſtianorum undique corruptiſſimam, etiamſi peſſime ſenſiſſem de Luthero, tamen propemodum judicabam illum ἀναγκαῖον κακὸν ἄνευ, quod qui tolleret, tolleret id quod hoc ſtatu temporum eſſet optimum. Verum illud erat in fatis meis, ut hoc ætatis ex muſico fierem retiarius. Deplorat Laberius Mimographus quod annos natus ſexaginta, Cæſaris auctoritate protractus eſſet in ſcenam, ut qui domo egreſſus erat Eques Romanus, rediret hiſtrio. Ego idem ferme ætatis ex cultore Muſarum fio gladiator. Vejanius, qui ſemper verſatus fuerat in arena, excuſatione ſenectutis meruit miſſionem, et armis Herculis ad poſtem fixis latet abditus agro. Ego ſemper in campis Muſarum verſatus, in hanc cruentam pugnam protrudor; non aliter licuit. Clamitabant Sophiſtæ, Convenit inter Eraſmum et Lutherum; neuter alterum impetit. Principum expectationem diutius fallere non erat tutum. Odioſe provocabant quidam Lutheri amici, ſed ipſi etiam Luthero infeliciſſimi, ut ſi me continuiſſem, viſus fuiſſem iſtorum minis territus ſiluiſſe. Quin et epiſtola Lutheri, quam per Joachimum ad me miſerat, jam habebatur Argentorati, nec dubium quin brevi proditura. In ea pollicetur ſe non ſtricturum in me calamum, ſed hac lege, ſi abſtineam a dogmatis ipſius ex profeſſo labefactandis, quemadmodum hactenus feceram. Hic nondum ſatis liquet, utrum mihi futurum fuerit turpius metu, an ex pacto quietem agere. Itaque jacta eſt alea, ſed ſic ut *ne verbum*.

A. D. 1526. this an hundred times over; and, ſecondly, he certainly picked out a ſubject in which he really differed from Luther, and could write againſt him *ex animo*. Any man of common diſcernment, who peruſes his treatiſes upon this ſubject, will ſee that he wrote as he believed. His acquaintance alſo with the ancient Greek Fathers, and his profeſſed reſpect for them, could not fail to make him a ſort of Semipelagian.

Now is it probable, or rather, is it poſſible that Eraſmus, after having declared over and over in letters to various friends, that he had written againſt Luther, though very *unwillingly*, yet very *ſincerely*, and according to his real ſentiments, ſhould have had, not only ſo much wickedneſs, but ſo much ſenſeleſs and graceleſs impudence, as to have compoſed a theological treatiſe upon a ſerious and important ſubject, againſt his conſcience, and then to have told it to a man of honour and virtue, to his friend Vives?

A. D. MDXXVII. Ætat. LX.

A. D. 1527. Vives informed Eraſmus, that his *Enchiridion* had been tranſlated into Spaniſh, and was read with great approbation. But it afterwards raiſed him enemies in that country, where Religious Liberty never took up her abode. Ep. 851.

In a letter to Polydore Virgil, Eraſmus thanks him for his kind endeavours to reconcile Lee and him together; and ſays, that

bum quidem præter animi ſententiam ſcripſerim. ——

Hic nobis hoc novum Evangelium gignit novum hominum genus, præfractos, impudentes, fucatos, maledicos, mendaces, ſycophantas, inter ſe diſcordes, nulli commodos, omnibus incommodos, ſeditioſos, furioſos, rabulas, qui mihi adeo diſplicent, ut ſi quam noſſem civitatem ab hoc genere liberam, eo demigrarem. *De libero arbitrio nihil ſcripſi præter animi ſententiam:* in multis aliis a Luthero diſſentiebam, ſed verebar impugnare, ne fructus hujus tumultus mea periret opera. Et iſti ſtolidi jactitant me ſentire cum Luthero, cæterum metu diſſimulare. Egregius vero futurus ſim martyr, ſi in gratiam talium nebulonum mentiar in caput meum. Ep. 715.

that the ſhorteſt way to do it would be a mutual amneſty. He adds, that he ſtood upon a very good foot with the Great. Clemens VII, ſays he, hath already given me two hundred ſicrins, and promiſes me all things. The Emperor and his Chancellor have lately written to me in the moſt friendly manner. I have drawers full of letters, from Kings, Princes, Cardinals, Dukes, Nobles, Biſhops, written with the utmoſt civility. I receive uncommon and valuable preſents from many of them. Only a few ſorry fellows, like bugs and lice, faſten upon me to bite me: for neither the Emperor nor the Pope can protect a man from ſuch vermin, whilſt they are protected by their own meanneſs and obſcurity. A. D. 1527.

It is very true, that perſons of the higheſt rank paid all theſe honours to Eraſmus, as this Collection of Letters ſufficiently ſhews: but then it muſt be confeſſed, that the good man paid his court to them alſo, and frequently declared that he would be a true Churchman, and never quit the Romaniſts. In the mean time, the Divines and the Monks waged open and inceſſant war with him in France, and in the Low Countries, as he complains in following epiſtles. From a letter of Alphonſus Fonſeca, Archbiſhop of Toledo, who kindly promiſed him his protection, it appears that he was warmly attacked in thoſe regions; and his old enemy Lee, who was ſent by Henry VIII to Spain, blew the the fire there, and did him all the miſchief that lay in his power. Ep. 854, 862, 870.

" [t] Nicolas Clenard tells us in one of his [u] Epiſtles, that in " Spain, where the knowledge of the Latin tongue was ſo very " low that few were able to read it, ſome had determined to " burn the Colloquies of Eraſmus, as a moſt peſtilent book; " and that his friend Vives had like to have ſuffered by the ſame " mad zealots. And at Louvain there was a perſon who, to " render Eraſmus contemptible, gave out with great confidence

 " that

[t] Knight, p. 265.

[u] Clenardi Epiſt. p. 231.

A. D. 1527. " that he was, as to learning a dunce, and as to religion an " heretic; and that a poor hungry Scot, that had pretended to " teach in that Univerſity, had an hundred times more learning " than he."

Eraſmus therefore, to augment the number of his protectors amongſt crowned heads, wrote to Sigiſmund King of Poland, by the advice of John à Laſco, to whom Eraſmus gives the title of *Præpoſitus Gneſnenſis*. In this letter he compliments the King, and recommends peace to Chriſtian Princes. He wrote alſo to the Chancellor of Poland, and to the Biſhop of Ploſco. Ep. 860, &c.

In his letter to John à Laſco, he ſays that ſome of his enemies were gone to the other world, that [x] Egmond the Carmelite died at Louvain of a [y] vomiting, and that the Dominican Vincentius was alſo departed: Hochſtrat likewiſe died at Cologn. Eraſmus rejoiceth that Jacobus Faber was recalled to France, and that Louis Berquin was delivered from the Divines, his perſecutors, by the return of Francis I. Theſe two worthy men were of the Reformed party, or very nearly ſo.

In Ep. 864, he endeavours to perſuade one D' Haffelt, a Franciſcan, to ceaſe from reviling him, and ſets before him the examples of thoſe of his own Order, who in Hungary, Poland, and Spain had laboured in vain to tarniſh his reputation, and had only expoſed themſelves. Whether this expoſtulation had any effect

[x] Some Lutheran, I ſuppoſe, honoured Egmond with this Epitaph, in Monkiſh ſtyle;

Hic jacet Egmondus, telluris inutile pondus:
Dilexit rabiem, non habeat requiem.

[y] Aliquot ex hoſtium numero perierunt: Lovanii Egmondanus Carmelita vomitu præfocatus, quum ipſe paulo ante publice vociferatus eſſet in Joannem Nævium, quod paralyſi correptus, intra ſex horas efflaſſet animam. Periit et Vincentius Dominicanus, in quem eſt una mea epiſtola titulo *pertinaciſſimi obtrectatoris*. — Coloniæ periit Jacobus Hochſtratus, coryphæus hujus tragœdiæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidiſſe parum ſinceram conſcientiam. His omnibus precor Domini miſericordiam, &c. Ep. 862.

effect upon the man, we know not: but certain it is, that Eraſmus never wanted Franciſcans to teize and inſult him. After all that he had ſaid concerning the Monks and their devotions, in vain did he expect that they would ſome time or other give over their attacks; and he was like the man in Horace, A. D. 1527.

——— *Exſpectans dum defluat amnis; at ille*
Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

They purſued him living and dead, and got his books to be condemned in Italy and Spain, *until they ſhould be purged*, that is, until half of them ſhould be cancelled and ſuppreſſed by Eccleſiaſtical authority.

" [z] Ep. 866 is to Leonard Cox, of Monmouthſhire, who " ſtudied at Cambridge and at Oxford, and then travelled into " France, Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and taught the " learned languages, and became more eminent abroad than at " home, where he had no preferment. Then he returned, and " taught ſchool in Wales, and died, and was buried, no one " knows where and when. Leland, the Antiquarian, wrote a " copy of verſes in commendation of this learned man."

This year Eraſmus ſent Cannius of Amſterdam, one of his Copiſts, to England, to gather up his revenues and penſions, and any free-will offerings that he could collect. He gives Cannius ſome inſtructions, in a ludicrous manner, how he ſhould proceed upon this begging errand; whence it appears, that the Mendicant Friers, his good friends, were not better ſkilled in this trade than he was. This might be one of the reaſons for which they hated him ſo heartily, ſince, as old Heſiod obſerved, [a] Poets and beggars envy one another. Ep. 868.

Vives informs him of the efforts of the Spaniſh Monks to get his works condemned, and of the reſiſtance made to them by his friends and favourers. Ep. 876.

[z] Knight, p. 229.

[a] Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

A. D. 1527. Eraſmus publiſhed the works of [b] St. Amboſe, and dedicated them to John à Laſco, Archbiſhop of Gneſna, drawing up an *elogium* of Ambroſe, and defending him againſt the cenſures of Jerom. Ep. 878.

Le Clerc thought it a miſtake in the Editors of the Epiſtles of Eraſmus to give à Laſco the title of Archbiſhop; but it is plain from the Dedication itſelf, that the perſon to whom it is addreſſed was a Prelate; and this Prelate was a different man from John à Laſco, who was his nephew, and a particular friend of Eraſmus. Eraſmus, in Ep. 862, hath made mention of two others of the ſame illuſtrious family, Hieroſlaus and Staniſlaus à Laſco; and in Ep. 1167, he ſpeaks of a John à Laſco (Joannes Laſcanus) a young man, who died in Germany.

He alſo dedicated the *Babylas* of Chryſoſtom to the Preſident of the College of Buſleiden at Louvain. In this dedication he hath given a [c] wrong account of the martyrdom of Babylas, by following and adopting ſome miſtakes of Chryſoſtom. Ep. 880.

His New Teſtament and his Colloquies were both attacked at London, and he defends himſelf in a long Epiſtle addreſſed to Robert Aldrige.

Some malevolent and impertinent Divine had preached againſt him at London, at Paul's Croſs, for having tranſlated John vii. 39. *Nondum enim erat Spiritus ſanctus*, inſtead of, *Nondum enim erat Spiritus* DATUS. Eraſmus defends his verſion very well. In our Bibles we have, *The Holy Ghoſt was not yet given*; and we put the word *given* in Italics, to ſhew that it is not in the original: but

[b] Bullinger, having given his opinion that the books of Ambroſe *De Sacramentis*, *&c.* were ſpurious, adds; "Eraſmus ſuo more diſſimulat et occu- "lit ſuum judicium: non enim horum "librorum vel verbo meminit. Reje- "cit tamen in poſtremum tomum, ut "non dubitem illum ſentire mangonis "cujuſpiam illud eſſe opus. Noluit "tamen cenſura ſua notare illos libros "ſubdolus, ne fortaſſis crederetur cul- "tor eſſe noſtræ de Sacramentis ſenten- "tiæ, qui ſcilicet non niſi duo aut ad "ſummum tria confitemur." *Centur. Epiſt. Goldaſti.* Ep. 55. p. 231.

[c] Bayle's Dict. BABYLAS.

but it would be better to leave it out, for reaſons which Eraſmus hath aſſigned. Ep. 882. A. D. 1527.

Soon after, his ſecond [d] *Hyperaſpiſtes* againſt Luther made its appearance, in which he proceeded to anſwer ſuch objections as he had not leiſure to refute in the firſt book. He ſent it, and a letter with it, to George Duke of Saxony. Ep. 889.

He ſent another letter to this Prince, wherein he returns him thanks for a ſilver cup, and foretels that the Reformed party, which George abhorred, would be diſſipated of itſelf, and come to nothing; but he warns him to take care, leſt the Monks, thoſe enemies to literature, ſhould find their advantage in it. Ep. 891.

His penſion of Counſellor was ſtill detained from him, and promiſed on condition that he would return to Brabant: and yet the Emperor himſelf had twice given orders that it ſhould be paid. Theſe men, ſays he, had rather obey the Emperor, when he bids them exact too much, than when he bids them diſburſe. But probably Charles V was not much diſpleaſed at their delays and diſobedience. Ep. 890.

Eraſmus returns thanks to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and to engage that Prelate to continue his patronage, he tells him how many

[d] Abſolvimus ſecundum Hyperaſpiſtæ librum, quod facere non poteramus, niſi prius diligenter perlectis Lutheri ſcriptis, in quibus tantum eſt ſcommatum, ſannarum, conviciorum, gloriarum, inſultationum, ovationum, ac triumphorum, ut me minimo minus tædio enecarint, et priuſquam chartæ calamum admoverem. Prorſus illic ſenſimus ἀλμυρὸν λόγον, ut habet proverbium, nec ullum abſinthium amarulentius. Ep. 894.

Melanchthon, upon this diſagreeable occaſion, wrote thus to Eraſmus:

Utinam non eſſet tam atrox certamen inter vos ſuſceptum. Neque ſatis enim habuit fortaſſe tuæ dignitatis rationem Lutherus. Et tu viciſſim eum mirifice deformaſti, quem quidem virum ego meliorem eſſe judico, quam qualis videtur facienti de eo judicium ex illis violentis ſcriptionibus ipſius. Plus profutura erant Eccleſiæ utriuſque veſtrum ſtudia, ſi ad ſananda hæc diſſidia conferrentur. Et faciat Chriſtus ut conſileſcat hæc inter vos contentio, ἵνα μὴ ἔδει ἀγωνοθέτας εἶναι, ἐ τῶν διχοστασιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιδειγμάτων. Epiſt. Melanch. p. 90.

A. D. 1527. many civil letters and meſſages he daily received from the Great. He ſeems to have applauded himſelf a little upon theſe marks of honour, becauſe he ſo frequently mentions them; and upon this account he hath been reproached, as guilty of vanity and inſolence, by Eccleſiaſtics, who ſaw not the beam that was in their own eye. It may be alledged, by way of excuſe, in behalf of Eraſmus, that his vexatious enemies compelled him to this *folly* of extolling himſelf, and to make uſe of this ſmall ſtratagem in his own defence. Ep. 892.

In Ep. 894, addreſſed to John Vergara, a Spaniard, he takes notice how violently the Spaniſh Monks attacked him, on account of his treatiſes, which had been tranſlated into their language; and gives him a ſuccinct narrative of the troubles in Germany. He writes on the ſame ſubject to Francis Vergara, brother to John, and Greek Profeſſor at Alcala of Henarez. He complains alſo much of the Ciceronians, who hated him and reviled him at Rome, becauſe he had bantered the ſervile imitators of Cicero. What he ſays on this occaſion [e] deſerves to be tranſcribed; whence it

[e] Eſt et illud hoſtium genus, quod nuper cœpit ex inſidiis erumpere. Hos male habet, bonas literas ſonare Chriſtum, quaſi nihil ſit elegans, quod non ſit Ethnicum. Iſtorum auribus lepidius ſonat, *Jupiter optimus maximus*, quam *Jeſus Chriſtus redemtor mundi*: et *Patres Conſcripti* jucundius ſonat quam *Sancti Apoſtoli*. Pontanum in cœlum tollunt laudibus, Auguſtinum et Hieronymum faſtidiunt. At ego malim unam odam Prudentii modulantis Jeſum, quam navem onuſtam verſibus Pontanicis, cujus alioqui nec eruditionem, nec facundiam contemno. Apud hos prope turpius eſt non eſſe Ciceronianum, quam non eſſe Chriſtianum: quaſi vero ſi Cicero nunc reviviſceret, de rebus Chriſtianis non aliter loqueretur, quam ætate ſua loquebatur, quum præcipua pars eloquentiæ ſit appoſite dicere. Nemo negat Ciceronem dicendi virtutibus excelluiſſe, quanquam non omne dicendi genus convenit perſonis vel argumentis quibuſlibet. Quid ſibi vult iſta Ciceroniani nominis tam odioſa jactatio? Dicam paucis, ſed velut in aurem. Hoc fuco tegunt Paganiſmum, qui charior eſt illis Chriſti gloria. Me non admodum pœnitet e Ciceronianorum albo eradi, modo ſcribar in albo Chriſtianorum. Si quis nobis virtutes Ciceronianæ dictionis cum Chriſtiana pietate conjunxerit, hunc ego vel decem præferam Ciceronibus.

it appears, that if they accounted him a Barbarian, he accounted them Pagans and Epicurean Atheiſts; and that, whilſt he honoured and eſteemed Cicero, as a fine writer, he thought it not abſolutely impoſſible to write better in ſome reſpects, in a manner more expreſſive and ſolid, and not ſo lax and wordy. As to [f] Jovianus Pontanus, Eraſmus was willing to do juſtice to his abilities, though the Italians, in his opinion, extolled him too much. A. D. 1527.

In a letter to Charles Duke of Savoy, he accuſes ſome Franciſcan, who had made it his buſineſs to defame him in the dominions of that Prince. Ep. 900.

[g] He wrote a letter in anſwer to [h] Gardiner, whom he had known at Paris, and with whom he was willing to keep up an acquaintance.

Ciceronibus. Ego tantum abfui ſemper ut Ciceronianæ phraſeos figuram exprimerem, ut etiamſi poſſim aſſequi, malim aliquod dicendi genus ſolidius, adſtrictius, nervoſius, minus comtum, magiſque maſculum. Quanquam alioqui leviter mihi curæ fuit verborum ornatus, etiamſi munditiem, quum ultro præſto eſt, non adſperner. Nunc adeo non vacat expolire quod ſcribo, ut crebro nec relegere liceat. Sint germani ſi libet Ciceroniani, quibus per otium licet trimeſtrem operam unis, nec his prolixis, literis dare. Mihi nonnunquam uno die liber abſolvendus eſt. Illis itaque probro dent iſti, quod non exprimant Ciceronem, qui id ſedulo quidem, ſed parum feliciter affectant. Poſtremo, ſi fas eſt fateri verum, nec iſtorum qui nihil mirantur præter Ciceronem, quiſquam adhuc Ciceronem feliciter nobis refert. Nihil enim moror inanem orationis bracteam, et decem verba hinc atque illinc ex Cicerone emendicata: totum Ciceronis pectus requiro. Hæc, mi Franciſce, non eo ſpectant, ut alius ſit magis proponendus eloquentiæ candidatis quam Cicero, ſed ut iſtos rideam ſimios, quibus nihil pulchrum niſi quod Ciceronem refert, quum nulla fuerit unquam forma tam felix, in qua nihil deſideres. Ut formæ pictor, ita dictionis rhetor abſolutum exemplum a multis petat oportet. Ep. 899.

[f] P. Jovius Elog. p. 94. Pope Blount, p. 352. Eraſmus Ciceronian.

[g] Agnoſco nunc eandem ingenii dexteritatem et in literis et in gravioribus negotiis obeundis, quam Lutetiæ præſtabas in œconomicis. Nec tuæ literæ minus recrearunt meum animum abs te ſcriptæ, quam tum lactucæ delectabant palatum meum arte tua decoctæ. Gaudeo nobis patronum eſſe communem. Ep. 896.

By this common Patron *he means* Henry VIII.

[h] Burnet I. 172. II. 36, 254, 267, 273.

A. D. 1527. acquaintance. Eraſmus eſteemed him a ſkilful œconomiſt, or what we call *a notable fellow*. Burnet hath given a large account of the life and exploits of this Biſhop, who had a tolerable ſhare of erudition, good political ſkill, and a bad mind. He had abilities; and ſo hath the Devil.

" [i] Gardiner was a crafty and politic man, and underſtood " the King well, and complied with his temper in every thing: " he deſpiſed Cranmer, and hated all Reformation."

" [k] In 1547, Gardiner oppoſed the Reformation and the book " of Homilies. He wrote a letter that hath more of a Chriſtian " and of a Biſhop in it, than any thing I ever ſaw of his, ex- " preſſing in handſome terms a great contempt of the world, and " a reſolution to ſuffer any thing rather than depart from his " conſcience.— He ſaid Eraſmus's Paraphraſe was bad enough in " Latin, but much worſe in Engliſh; for the Tranſlator had oft " out of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrendered him pal- " pably, and was one that neither underſtood Latin nor Engliſh " well. — He gathered many things out of that Paraphraſe that " were contrary to the power of Princes, and ſeveral other cen- " ſurable things in that work, which Eraſmus, ſaid he, wrote " when he was young, being of a far different ſtrain from what " he writ when he grew older, and better acquainted with the " world."

" [l] By an act of Parliament Gardiner performed his promiſe to " Queen Mary of getting her illegitimation taken off — but, in " the drawing of it, he ſhewed that he was paſt all ſhame. — " The laying it all upon Cranmer was as high a pitch of malice " and impudence as could be deviſed, &c."

" [m] He

273, 279, 287, 297, 299, 303, 312, 314, 315, 320, 321. III. 80, &c. 105, 143, 152, 187, 191. Appendix 411. Du Pin XVI. 25. Knight, p. 194. Melchior Adam Vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 29. Strype's Life of Parker, L. I. c. 5.

[i] Burnet. [k] Burnet. [l] Burnet.

" [m] He had thirty years experience in affairs, a great knowledge A. D. 1527.
" of the Courts of Chriſtendom, and of the ſtate of England, a
" great ſagacity with a marvellous cunning, which was not always
" regulated by the rules of candour and honeſty. — In drawing
" up the articles of the Queen's marriage, he deſigned to exclude
" the Spaniards from having any ſhare in the government, which
" he intended to hold in his own hands. — And it muſt be
" acknowledged, that the preſerving of England out of the
" hands of the Spaniards at that time ſeems to be almoſt wholly
" owing to him."

" [n] He was much ſet againſt Lady Elizabeth, and thought all
" that they did about religion was but half work, unleſs ſhe were
" deſtroyed. For he knew that her education had been wholly
" under the Reformed: and, which was more to him, who
" judged all people by their intereſt, he reckoned that intereſt
" muſt make her declare againſt the Papacy, (ſince otherwiſe
" ſhe was a baſtard) if ever ſhe ſhould outlive her ſiſter."

" [o] He examined and treated Dr. Taylor (an aged Divine,
" who was burnt at Hadley) with his ordinary civilities, of
" Traytor, Villain, Heretic, and Knave, &c."

" [p] He ſent ſecretly to Rome, to give an ill character of
" Pole; he deſigned to be made a Cardinal, and to get Pole
" recalled, and himſelf made Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and
" the Pope was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to take the Legan-
" tine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner. But Pole was
" ſo much in the Queen's favour, that this required ſome time
" to bring it about. This made Gardiner ſtudy to preſerve
" Cranmer as long as Pole lived, though he had no kindneſs
" for him, &c."

" [q] Gardiner had ſtayed long for dinner, that day that Ridley
" and Latimer were to be burnt, till one ſhould bring him word
" that the fire was ſet to them: but the meſſenger coming poſt

[m] Burnet. [n] Burnet. [o] Burnet. [p] Burnet. [q] Burnet.

A. D. 1527. " did not reach London till four in the afternoon, and then he " went cheerfully to dine; but was at dinner ſtruck with the " illneſs of which he died. He had great remorſe for his former " life — and often repeated theſe words, *Erravi cum Petro, ſed* " *non flevi cum Petro.* He was of a nobler deſcent than is com- " monly known, — and of kin to Henry VIII. — He was well " ſkilled in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divi- " nity. He had a good ſtyle in Latin, and underſtood the Greek " well: but his ſtrength lay in deep diſſimulation, a quickneſs " of apprehenſion, a great proſpect of affairs, a cloſe and arti- " ficial way of concealing his mind, and inſinuating himſelf into " the affections and confidences of other perſons. — And now, " when a Cardinal's hat was like to fall on his head, he was " carried off, and all his ambitious projects fell with him, &c."

" [r] If your Lordſhip has ſeen this picture with the ſeals, &c. " it muſt be Gardiner's: though I have ſeen two pictures at " Trinity-College and Trinity-Hall, ſaid to be Gardiner's, very " unlike this. — Poinet, his ſucceſſor, deſcribes him thus: *He* " *had a hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within the head,* " *a noſe hooked like a buſſard, wide noſtrils like an horſe, a ſparrow* " *mouth,* &c. and truly by this deſcription, it may be Gardiner's."

[s] When Smith and Cheke attempted to correct the pronunciation of the Greek language at Cambridge, Gardiner, the Chancellor of the Univerſity, who hated all Reformation, ſtuck to his *mumpſimus*, and ſet forth an abſurd and an impudent [t] decree, forbidding all ſuch innovations. Thus he obliged the Academics to follow the corrupt and barbarous pronunciation introduced by the modern Greeks.

Much

[r] Appendix to Burnet, p. 411.

[s] See Strype's Life of Parker, B. I. c. 5. Life of Cheke, p. 17, 202. Life of Smith, p. 13. Baker's Reflections, p. 32, &c.

[t] Quiſquis noſtram poteſtatem agnoſcis, ſonos literis ſive Græcis ſive Latinis ab uſu publico præſentis ſeculi alienos privato judicio affingere ne audeto, &c.

Ne multa. In ſonis omnino ne philoſophator, ſed utitor præſentibus.

Much about the ſame time the Doctors of the Theological Faculty at Paris maintained, that [a] *Quis*, *Qualis*, &c, ought to be ſounded *Kis*, *Kalis*, &c. and perſecuted the Profeſſors, and others, who called it *Quis* and *Qualis*: they alſo contended moſt zealouſly, that *Ego amat* was as good Latin as *Ego amo*. Well might ſuch folks hate the Grammarians. A.D. 1527.

Gardiner, in the reign of Queen Mary, favoured and protected Sir Thomas Smith, and Roger Aſcham, though both theſe learned men were Proteſtants. [x] *This muſt be remembered to this Biſhop's commendation, among the many evil things that aſperſe and blacken his name to this day.*

The remaining part of this year, Eraſmus poured out his complaints to heaven and earth againſt the Monks and the Reformers; ſo that it is not eaſy to ſay, which of the two parties ſtood the loweſt and the worſt in his opinion. When we read his deſcription of the Monks, we cannot think that viler men were to be found upon the face of the earth than the *Religious* of thoſe days; and when we ſee how he cenſures the immoral lives of the Lutherans and the Reformed, we cannot conceive how ſuch men could ſupport themſelves and their cauſe, and eſcape the contempt and the horror of mankind. But, with all the reſpect that is due to the memory of Eraſmus, it may be affirmed, that men of this ſtamp would hardly have ſuffered martyrdom themſelves, or have animated ſo many to die in like manner for their religion, which we know to be fact, from the hiſtory of thoſe times. He was extremely irritated againſt them, becauſe he thought that they had given occaſion to the Monks to accuſe him of opening the way to the Reformers. Therefore he repented of having advanced ſome bold truths concerning Evangelical liberty, of which, in his opinion, the Reformers had

[a] Bayle RAMUS, Not. G.

[x] Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith, Ch. 6. p. 65.

A. D. 1527. made an ill uſe, and he began in his old days to act the Zealot and the Miſſionary with an ill grace.

Pirckheimerus had rallied him for having ſaid, that he preferred the ſentiment of Oecolampadius upon the Euchariſt to that of others. He replies; [r] I never ſaid that his ſentiment was the beſt: I only ſaid to ſome friends that I could adopt it, if the authority of the Church had approved it; but that I could by no means quit the ſentiments of the Church. I call the Church, the conſent of the body of Chriſtian people. I know not how the hypocrites of whom you ſpeak have repreſented my words. For my part, I ſpake this with ſincerity, and I never doubted of the truth of the Euchariſt. What weight the authority of the Church may have with others, I know not; but with me it weighs ſo much, that I could be of the opinion of the Arians and Pelagians, if the Church had approved their doctrines.

What ſtrange language is this from ſuch a perſon as Eraſmus! and how open did it lie to rebuke! For one might have replied to him, Do you then find nothing at all in the Scriptures contrary to the doctrines of Arius or Pelagius? or what you find, is it ſo obſcure that you cannot underſtand it, and muſt take it upon truſt, and believe it only becauſe the Church tells you ſo? If this be the caſe, your old friends the Fathers were bold and wrong-

[r] Opinionem (Oecolampadii) longe meliorem nunquam dixi. Illud inter amicos dixi, me poſſe in illius ſententiam pedibus diſcedere, ſi probaſſet eam auctoritas Eccleſiæ; ſed adjeci, me nullo pacto ab ea poſſe diſſentire. Eccleſiam autem voco totius populi Chriſtiani conſenſum. An idem dixerint hypocritæ, quorum meminiſti, neſcio. A me certe ſine fuco dictum eſt et ex animo, nec unquam de Euchariſtiæ veritate vacillavi. Quantum apud alios valeat auctoritas Eccleſiæ, neſcio; certe apud me tantum valet, ut cum Arianis et Pelagianis ſentire poſſim, ſi probaſſet Eccleſia quod illi docuerunt. Nec mihi non ſufficiunt verba Chriſti; ſed mirum videri non debet, ſi ſequor interpretem Eccleſiam, cujus auctoritate perſuaſus credo Scripturis Canonicis. Fortaſſe plus vel ingenii vel roboris eſt aliis; ego nulla in re tutius acquieſco, quam in certis Eccleſiæ judiciis. Rationum et argumentationum nullus eſt finis. Ep. 905.

wrong-headed Divines, to pretend, as they did, to refute the Arians and Pelagians, and to eſtabliſh contrary doctrines from the clear teſtimony of the Scriptures. This Eraſmus knew better than any man in his time to have been the procedure of thoſe Fathers. Well then; if we affirm, with the Fathers, that all orthodox ſentiments are evidently ſet forth in the Scriptures, how can we poſſibly pretend to be ready to believe the contrary, if the Church ſhould decide it ſo? Is there no reaſon for believing any doctrine, except the conſent of the Society wherein we are born and bred? No one ſhould dare to ſay it, becauſe it is certain that the Chriſtian religion hath characters of truth and divinity, by which it converted Jews and Pagans, characters which have no dependency at all upon the authority of the Church. Of this Eraſmus could not doubt, if he had conſidered it. He proceeds: A. D. 1527.

Not that the words of Jeſus Chriſt are not ſufficient for me; but none ſhould be ſurpriſed, if I follow the interpretations of the Church, upon whoſe authority my faith and belief of the Canonical Scriptures is founded.

True it is, that the Church hath put into our hands thoſe Scriptures; and yet we believe them, not barely becauſe the Church commands us ſo to do, but becauſe her teſtimony on this occaſion hath all the characters of truth that can be required, and, above all, becauſe the books themſelves are worthy of her teſtimony, which teſtimony elſe would be of ſmall weight. To judge otherways upon this point, would be to make the votes of the Many a ſure character of truth; and this would give a ſanction to all the falſe religions in the world, in thoſe places where they are uppermoſt, and have the multitude on their ſide.

Others, ſays he, may have more wit, more diſcernment, and more courage than I; but there is nothing wherein I acquieſce more ſecurely than in the aſſured judgments of the Church. Of reaſonings and arguments there is no end.

This

A. D. 1527. This laſt maxim is a bad one: for certainly by reaſoning juſtly we arrive at truth; and by implicit belief in the deciſions of others, without examination, we take the way to fall into error. The moſt abſurd religions might thus be defended, and Unbelievers might ſay to Chriſtian Miſſionaries, who ſhould offer to diſpute with them; Good people, of reaſonings there is no end: let each of us hold faſt the religion of his father and of his country.

But how are we to come at theſe aſſured judgments of the Church? I ſuppoſe, by examining Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities from the beginning; becauſe falſe doctrines may have been introduced, and Eraſmus himſelf was of opinion that ſome ſuch had crept in. And how can this inquiry be made without reaſoning? Therefore it is not ſafe, in point of conſcience, to truſt blindly to the preſent opinions of the Church; in other reſpects it may be the ſafer way, the way to avoid ill uſage, and to receive courteſies from the World. Ep. 905.

In a civil letter to Martin [a] Bucer, Eraſmus ſets forth his reaſons why he could not join with the Reformed, and gives them a very bad character, though he declares his [b] eſteem for Bucer.

Bucer, like Eraſmus, endeavoured to pacify the religious diſputants, and bring things to an accommodation; and, like Eraſmus, he was inſulted by both parties. The famous Chancellor De L'Hoſpital

[a] Verheiden Effig. Theol. p. 74. Melchior Adam. Beza Icon. Burnet II. 164. Knight, p. 348. Bayle Bucer. Voſſii Epiſt. p. 403. Seckendorf L. I. p. 130, 132. Pope Blount, p. 405. Vitæ Bateſii, p. 250. Thuanus L. VIII. p. 264. Strype's Life of Parker, B. I. ch. 7. Life of Cheke, p. 74, &c.

[b] Audio te præclaris dotibus præditum ad prædicandum Evangelii verbum, ac moribus etiam civilioribus quam ſint multi. Quare velim tuam prudentiam vel nunc dare operam, ut conſtantia moderationeque doctrinæ et morum integritate res utcunque cœpta perveniat ad exitum Evangelio dignum. Ad hoc habebitis me pro viribus adjutorem. Ep. 906.

L'Hoſpital [b] reſembled them both, in this reſpect. Luther [c] could not endure Bucer; and Boſſuet [d] hath thought fit to treat him as an inſincere and diſingenuous ſhuffler. A. D. 1527.

" [e] Bucer was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate " perſon. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers " for learning; but for zeal, for true piety, and a moſt tender " care of preſerving unity among the foreign Churches, Me- " lanchthon and he, without any injury done to the reſt, may " be ranked apart by themſelves. — At Ratiſbone he had a con- " ference with Gardiner, who was then King Henry's Ambaſ- " ſador: in which Gardiner broke out into ſuch a violent paſſion, " that, as he ſpared no reproachful words, ſo the company " thought he would have fallen on Bucer and beat him. He " was in ſuch diſorder, that the little vein between his thumb " and fore-finger did ſwell and palpitate, which Bucer ſaid he " had never before that obſerved in any perſon in his life."

It is related, that Bucer reprimanded his friend Calvin for his vehemence and partiality, writing thus to him upon ſome occaſion; *We judge as we love or as we hate, and we love or hate as we liſt.* This is too often the character of contentious and overbearing men, and is to be found in ſome, who have all Calvin's acrimony and prejudice, without having one quarter of his abilities and erudition. To ſuch an one it may juſtly be ſaid; *Judicas prout amas vel odiſti; amas autem vel odiſti prout lubet* [f].

The

[b] Bayle HOSPITAL.

[c] Marpurgum venit Lutherus, A. 1529. A prandio ſalutarunt Lutherum Oecolampadius et Bucerus. Et cum Oecolampadio quidem Lutherus perquam amice et modeſte collocutus eſt: a Bucero autem ſalutatus, ſubridens aliquantulum, reſpondit, *Tu es nequam et nebulo.* Scultet. Annal. A. 1529.

[d] Peras impoſuit Jupiter nobis duas:
Propriis repletam vitiis poſt tergum dedit;
Alienis ante pectus ſuſpendit gravem.

[e] Burnet.

[f] Bucero tamen, quantacunque induſtria pacem illam Eccleſiaſticam et modeſtiæ ſtudii laudem quæreret, male ſucceſſerunt omnia, ita ut ſemper majus apud adverſarios odium, et apud ſuos verſipellis

A. D. 1527. The Emperor wrote Eraſmus a letter, and thanked him in pompous terms for having been the cauſe that Lutheraniſm began to decline. Probably Eraſmus had ſent ſuch an account to the Imperial Court, either to win their favour, or perhaps becauſe he had been deceived himſelf by falſe rumours. But the Emperor adds, that the Spaniſh Inquiſition had ordered his works to be examined; that however he had nothing to fear, becauſe if he had fallen into any errors, he might correct them, when he ſhould be admoniſhed of it in the ſpirit of mildneſs; or, if he had ſaid any thing ambiguous, he might clear it up; and that, if no cenſurable propoſitions could be laid to his charge, it would add to his glory. But, notwithſtanding all theſe fine words, he had little reaſon to be pleaſed and ſatisfied, that his works ſhould ſhould be blown upon by the ſtinking breath of the Inquiſition. Ep. 915.

It happened at this time, unfortunately [g] for Eraſmus, that the Faculty of Theology, of the Univerſity of Paris, paſſed a very rough cenſure upon a multitude of propoſitions extracted from

verſipellis et mobilis animi ſuſpicionem graviorem incurrerit. Adeo nempe verum eſt, quod ſupra — dixiſſe audivimus Lutherum, *Impoſſibile eſſe, verbo Dei, ut conſcientia exigit, nihil detrahere, et ſimul favorem et applauſum apud mundum conſequi et retinere.* Seckendorf L. III. p. 559.

In Zuinglio agreſte quoddam eſt et arrogantulum; in Oecolampadio mira bonitas naturæ et clementia; in Hedione non minor humanitas ac liberalitas ingenii; in Bucero callidita vulpina, perverſe imitata acumen et prudentiam. *J. Jonas* Relat. de Convent. Marpurg. *But Jonas was a Lutheran, and the Lutherans were offended at Bucer.*

Tanta autem fama erat Theologorum Argentinenſium, Capitonis inprimis et Buceri, ut Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis et Gerardus Rufus clam e Gallia profecti, Capitonem et Bucerum audirent, et de omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum his differerent, miſſi a Margareta Franciſci Regis ſorore, Navarræ Regina, &c. *Scultet.* Annal. *in* Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 68.

Adeo male pingebat Bucerus, ut quæ ſcriberet, a typographis, imo ab ipſomet Bucero, difficillime legerentur. *Melch. Adam,* Vit. Muſculi. Bayle Muſculus, Not. A.

[g] See his Ep. 807, to the Sorbonne; 808, to the Parliament of Paris; and the three following; and his anſwer to the Faculty, T. IX. c. 814.

from his works. [h] Du Pin hath given a large account of theſe cenſures or anathemas; and they well deſerve to be peruſed, as they may ſerve to ſhew what ſort of juſtice and charity is to be expected from ſuch [i] Eccleſiaſtical Cabals. A. D. 1527.

Thus the Catholic Divines were as little favourable to Eraſmus as the Reformed; and if the votes of both parties had been collected concerning him, he would have been judged not greatly attached to the Romiſh faith. This was the effect of his pacific ſcheme of Reformation, which ended in offending the Papiſts, without obtaining from them even the ſmalleſt change, or the ſhadow of a compliance; and then in making a ſort of aukward ſubmiſſion to them, in declaring that he was ſorry for having vented ſome bold truths which they abhorred, and in cenſuring their adverſaries, who inſiſted upon thoſe very truths, and puſhed them farther than he had done.

He hath given us a very pretty elogium of John [k] Froben, the famous Printer at Baſil, and a man of great honour and probity, with

[h] H. E. XIV. 77.

[i] Audacior quam unquam antea Sorbona — auſa fuit facinus, quod mirum videri poſſet Epiſcopos, aut ipſum ſaltem Pontificem pati potuiſſe, — nullo neque divino neque humano jure fulta, *Fidei Chriſtianæ Articulos* præſcribere; ejuſmodi quidem ut tum ſua falſitate, tum illis præcipue ineptiis, quæ ſunt illi Sodalitati familiares, omnem ſibi prorſus auctoritatem apud homines non prorſus amentes merito derogare potuerint. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Calvini, p. 39.

This was A. 1542, or thereabouts.

[k] Baillet I. 178. Maittaire Ann. Typ. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Proleg. p. xxvii. Melch. Adam.

Quum huc ætatis pervenerim, — tamen ipſa re comperi, me mihi nondum ſatis notum eſſe. Siquidem exiſtimabam me tum philoſophiæ præceptis, tum diutina peneque perpetua malorum ferendorum aſſuetudine, ſatis inſtructum adverſus iſtos vulgares, ac prope quotidianos caſus, quos a mulierculis etiam videmus moderate ferri. Cæterum amici Joannis Frobenii mors inopinata ſic afflixit animum meum, ut mœrorem nullis avocamentis potuerim eximere præcordiis. Jam tempus, quod acerbiſſimis etiam doloribus mederi ſolet, adeo non leniit ægritudinem, ut paulatim magis ac magis increverit dolor, quemadmodum ſolet lentum et inſidioſum quoddam febris genus obrepere, quo non aliud aiunt immedicabilius eſſe. Exedebat

A. D. 1527. with whom he had contracted an intimate and an agreeable friendſhip.

me reluctantem cura penitus medullis inſita. Tanto potentius eſt quod conglutinavit animi inductio, mutuaque benevolentia, quam quod natura conjunxit. Quam hic mecum litigavi, quibus conviciis meam mihi mollitiem exprobravi? Ubi nunc eſt, inquam, ille Rhetor, qui ſplendidis dictis ſolet aliorum mœrorem vel eximere, vel objurgare? Ubi Philoſophus ille Stoicus, domitor humanorum affectuum? Ubi Theologus, qui docere conſuevit, piorum hominum mortem non luctu lacrimiſque, ſed gratulationibus plauſuque proſequendam eſſe? Quid multis? Nuſquam me magis puduit mei. Nunquam enim antehac expertus ſum quantam vim haberet ſincera amicitia, ac mutuus animorum nexus. Fratris gremani mortem moderatiſſime tuli; Frobenii deſiderium ferre non poſſum. Non iraſcor dolori meo, nimirum juſtiſſimo, ſed immodicum nimiſque diuturnum eſſe indignor. Porro, quemadmodum non erat ſimplex amor, quo vivum proſequebar, ita nec erepti ſimplex me cruciat deſiderium. Magis enim amabam illum ob liberalia ſtudia, quibus ornandis promovendiſque vir ille fatorum providentia datus videbatur, quam ob animum in me propenſum, moreſque candidiſſimos. Quis enim tale non amet ingenium? Solus erat amico amicus, tam ſimplex ac ſincerus, ut etiamſi quid voluiſſet ſimulare aut diſſimulare, non potuiſſet repugnante natura: tam promtus et alacer ad benemerendum de omnibus, ut indignis etiam ex ipſo beneficii quippiam acceſſiſſe gauderet. Unde et furacibus ac decoctoribus erat et gratus et idoneus. Ereptam furto, aut a malæ fidei debitoribus interceptam pecuniam, ea ſolet alacritate commemorare, qua lucrum præter ſpem objectum, alii. Fide tam incorrupta, ut in neminem magis congruat illud, *Dignus quicum in tenebris mices:* atque ut ipſe fraudem nemini machinabatur, ita de nullo tale quicquam ſuſpicari poterat, tametſi non raro deluſus. Quid eſſet invidiæ morbus, nihilo magis imaginari potuit, quam ii, qui cæci naſcuntur, animo fingere poſſunt, quid ſit color. Offenſas, quamvis capitales, prius condonabat, quam rogaret is qui offenderat. Nec ullius omnino injuriæ poterat meminiſſe, contra nullius quamlibet vulgaris officii poterat oblivi ſci. Atque hic ſane, mea ſententia, melior erat interdum, quam expediebat vigilanti patrifamilias. Admonebam interdum ut in ſinceros amicos eſſet qualem eſſe deceret, in impoſtores verbis duntaxat benignus eſſet, interim ſibi cavens, ne damnum cum ludibrio lucrifaceret. Arridebat humaniter, ſed ſurdo canebam fabulam. Vicit omnia monita naturæ candor. Mihi vero quas non tendebat inſidias, quas non venabatur occaſiones, ut aliquid obtruderet muneris? Nec unquam vidi lætiorem, quam quum vel dolo perfeciſſet, vel precibus impetraſſet, ut aliquid acciperem. Hic adverſus hominis captiones erat opus cautione maxima, nec uſquam magis opus erat mea Rhetorica, quam ad excogitandum colorem,

quo

friendſhip. If Eraſmus brought him no ſmall advantage by giving A. D. 1527.

quo citra moleſtiam amici, recuſarem quod ingerebat: triſtem enim illum videre non ſuſtinebam. Si forte pannus ad veſtem erat emtus per famulos meos, ille ſubodoratus, me nihil ſuſpicante, jam ſolverat. Nec ullis precibus adigi potuit ut reciperet. Arte ſimili fallendus erat, ſi voluiſſem illum eximere damno. Tale certamen inter nos fuit aſſidue, ionge diverſum a vulgi moribus, dum alter hoc agit ut abradat quamplurimum, alter agit ut det quam minimum. Ne quid omnino daret, efficere non potui: certe moderatiſſime illius benignitate uſum eſſe me, teſtabitur, ut arbitror, omnis illius familia. Mihi quicquid laborum ſuſcipiebatur, amore ſtudiorum ſuſcipiebatur. His cum ille cohoneſtandis, illuſtrandis, provehendiſque natus videretur, nec ullum defugeret laborem, nullas vigilias, ſatis magnum quæſtum eſſe ducens, ſi bonus Auctor cum dignitate prodiret in manus hominum, qui potuiſſem in hominem ſic animatum prædonem agere? Si quando nobis ac cæteris amicis oſtendebat primas paginas magni cujuſdam Auctoris, ut geſtiebat gaudio, quæ vultus alacritas, qui triumphi? Diceres illum jam tum totius operæ fructum cumulatiſſime percepiſſe, nec aliud exſpectare præmium. Non hic attollam Frobenii laudes aliorum vituperatione. Nimis notum eſt, quos Auctores quam mendoſe, quam ſordide excuſos nobis typographi, quidam etiam e Venetia Romaque miſerint. Ex hujus autem domo paucis annis, quæ volumina, quanta cum dignitate, prodierunt? Eoque ſuam officinam a contentioſis libellis, unde quæſtum haud mediocrem fecerunt alii, ſemper immunem ſervavit, ne literas ac diſciplinas aliqua contaminaret invidia. Hieronymum bis excuderat. Ab Auguſtino pari cum dignitate rurſus excudendo, quum amici complures, in quibus et ipſe, deterrerent, tamen totum animum ſic huc appulerat, ut inter familiares ſubinde dicere ſolitus ſit, ſe non optare longius vitæ ſpatium quam quod abſolvendo ſufficeret Auguſtino. Primum ac ſecundum Tomos vidit abſolutos. Pium erat hominis votum, et erat animus ille dignus immortalitate; ſed aliter viſum æterno Numini, cujus in abdito ſunt conſilia, quæ nobis ſcrutari fas non eſt, reprehendere nefas. Ætas erat provectior, ſed valetudo ita proſpera, vegeta, ut per omnem vitam nunquam morbo decubuerit. Ante annos ſex e ſummis gradibus in ſolum lateritium decidit; caſus erat pluſquam lethalis, convaluit tamen, ſed ut ſolet, mali reliquiis in corpore reſidentibus, utcumque diſſimulabat ille: tam erat animi generoſi, ut puderet dolere. Anno priuſquam moreretur, corripuit illum graviſſimus cruciatus circa talum dextri pedis. Ibi præſto erant medicorum officia, quæ nihil aliud quam exaſperabant malum, dum de morbi genere diſſentientes, alii aliud admovent remedium, nec deerant qui auctores eſſent pedem reſecandum eſſe. Tandem aliunde venit medicus, qui dolorem hactenus ſedaret, ut et tolerabilis eſſet, et ſomni cibique ſumendi permitteret facultatem.

A. D. 1527. giving him his copies and his labour, as he often aſſures us, Froben was grateful to him, and did him no leſs honour, by publiſhing

cultatem. Demum ita confirmatus eſt, ut bis equo proficiſceretur Francfordiam, malo in dextri pedis digitos relegato, quos ſolos flectere non poterat, cætera valens. Tum a me, tum a medico frequenter monitus, ut rarius prodiret in publicum, aut veſtitu contra frigus munitior prodiret, non obtemperavit, pudendum eſſe ratus, ſi quicquam omnino priſtinæ conſuetudinis omittens, morbi ſpeciem præ ſe ferret. Jam et duos manus dextræ digitos ſtupor occuparat, morbi imminentis præludium. Diſſimulavit et hoc, parum virile ducens quicquam morbo concedere. Denique dum in ſublimi agit neſcio quid, correptus, ut eſt probabile, vi morbi, in pavimentum decidit pronus, non ſine gravi cranii vulnere. Delatus in lectum nec oculos attollebat, nec ullum ſenſus indicium dedit, nec ullam omnino vitæ ſignificationem, niſi quod manum ſiniſtram movebat, nam dextrum latus omne diſſimulata paralyſis ſtupefecerat. Ita biduum conſopitus, ſub mortem experrectus eſt, ægre paulum diductis oculi ſiniſtri genis, lingua tamen immobili, nec ſupervixit ultra ſex horas. Ita noſter Frobenius rebus humanis exemtus, ad vitam tranſiit feliciorem, uxori, liberis, amicis, acerbo luctu, toti civitati notiſque omnibus gravi ſui deſiderio relicto. Ob hujus mortem decebat omnes, qui colunt bonas literas, pullatos, lacrimas et luctum ſumere, apio floſculiſque ſepulcrum ornare, lymphas adſpergere, odores adolere, ſi quid talibus officiis proficeretur. Certe illud erit gratitudinis, ut omnes defuncto bene precemur, memoriamque laudibus debitis celebremus, officinæ Frobenianæ faveamus, quæ non ſolum non ceſſabit ob heri ſui deceſſum, ſed ſumma vi adnitetur, ut quod ille inſtituit ſemper in majus meliuſque provehatur. *Ep.* 922.

Then follow two epitaphs of Froben, made by Eraſmus, the one in Latin, the other in Greek verſe.

In this elogium of Froben, Eraſmus, as we obſerved elſewhere, makes mention of his own brother, who was dead. Amongſt the Epiſtles of Eraſmus there is a very friendly one, which ſeems to be to this brother, *Eraſmus Domino Petro germano ſuo S.* Ep. 470. c. 1859.

Paul Merula, in a Letter prefixed to the third Tome of Eraſmus, ſays:

In Epiſtola ad Lambertum Grunnium, ſub nomine Florentii ita ſe deſcribit Eraſmus, ita ſuam pandit fortunam, talibus averſiorem ab vita Monaſtica animum depingit coloribus, ut clarioribus non poſſet. — Antonius, Florentii frater, qui inibi triennio fere major, vere eſt Petrus, ad quem Germanum ſuum ſcribit Eraſmus, (Ep. 470. c. 1859) cuique Carmen Sapphicum dedicavit de Laude Amicitiæ Gulielmus Gaudanus, cum hac epigraphe; *Ad Petrum Gerardum Roterodamum, Eraſmi germanum, virum tum perhumanum, tum eruditiſſimum.*

See above, p. 4 and 71.

publiſhing his works in the moſt elegant and correct manner for thoſe times. Ep. 922. A. D. 1527.

" [l] Maittaire, in his *Annales Typographici*, hath related many " particularities concerning Froben and Eraſmus. If Eraſmus " in one of his Epiſtles hath made a funeral oration for Froben, " it was no more than he was bound to do in every reſpect: " for Froben, before he was intimate with Eraſmus, having heard " a report that he was dead, made an [m] Elogium of the ſame kind " for him, and prefixed it to an edition of his Adages, A. 1513. " It muſt have been very agreeable to Eraſmus to receive ſuch " commendations from an honeſt man, which could be aſcribed " neither to flattery, nor to ſelf-intereſted views. And indeed " he ſhewed his love and eſteem of Froben upon all occaſions, " and recommended him to his friends in the warmeſt terms.

" As Eraſmus was acquainted with many printers, he hath " informed us of many things relating to them."

Ep. 923 is to Hieronymus Emſerus, a friend of Eraſmus, and an enemy to Luther, a man of ſome erudition, and much vanity, who wrote againſt Luther with great malignity, and wanted to have his work commended by Eraſmus. Luther would not condeſcend to anſwer him, but diſdained him as an impertinent prater, *ſaccum verborum*, a mere *Bag of words*, and abhorred him as a prevaricator, who acted againſt his own conſcience. *Seckendorf* L. I. p. 207.

In a letter to George of Saxony, Eraſmus beſtows great commendations on [n] Carlevitzius. Ep. 919.

In a letter to a Monk, Eraſmus hints that he expected no great [o] good from a General Council. It was an amazing error in the Princes and Politicians of thoſe times to imagine otherways.

He

[l] Le Clerc Bibl. A. & M. XVIII. 404.

[m] It is inſerted in the *Ann. Typ.* V. II. p. 8.

[n] Melch. Adam.

[o] Nec eſt quod ſpectemus Concilium. Sero veniet, obſtante Principum diſſidio; et ſi fuerit inſtitutum, ſedecim annis agetur de rebus longe aliis quam de ceremoniis. Ep. 902.

A. D. 1527. He [p] recommends the ſtudy of ancient Hiſtorians and Moraliſts, as proper for Senators, Magiſtrates, Counſellors, and all who are employed in public ſtations. But theſe are antiquated directions: [q] *Cards* and *Dice* ſeem now to ſupply the place of the *Ciceros* and the *Plutarchs*.

He gives ſome [r] advice to a friend, who complained of being near-ſighted.

He obſerves that his friend Henkel had refuſed a Biſhoprick. He hath his reaſons, I ſuppoſe, ſays Eraſmus; but, as things go, it is rather better to be a [s] hog-driver than a hog.

Vives [t] loved the Monks as little as Eraſmus, and expreſſeth his ſentiments concerning them in pretty ſtrong terms.

In

[p] Præcipuam ſtudiorum partem impende hiſtoriographis et ethicis. Prioris generis ſunt T. Livius, Vitæ Plutarchi, Cornelius Tacitus: poſterioris, Libri Ciceronis de Officiis, De Amicitia, De Senectute, De Tuſculanis Quæſtionibus, et Plutarchi Libri de Moribus. Ex his potiſſimum ea prudentia colligitur, quæ decet virum in Republica verſantem. Ep. 853.

[q] —— Patriciis *hæc Exemplaria* noſtris
Nocturna verſata manu, verſata diurna!

[r] Si medicus eſſem, mihi primum eſſem, cui nunquam non res eſt cum immaniſſimo calculi malo. Quum legamus multos eruditiſſimos viros plane cæcos fuiſſe, demiror te levius incommodum tam impotenti animo ferre, quod non cernas niſi propius admota; quod vitium ſi verum eſt, comperi in pleriſque qui ingenio præcelluerunt, quanquam alii levius, alii magis obnoxii ſunt. Alexander, Jacobi Scotorum Regis filius, quem opinor noſſe te ex Adagiis, adeo laboravit hoc malo, ut ni naſo contingeret librum, nihil cerneret. Proinde ſi naturæ vitium eſt, noli pugnare pharmacis, ſed adhibe vitrea conſpicilla in hoc attemperata, ut qui pene cæci ſunt, cernant etiam procul diſſita. Nec tamen omnia congruunt omnibus oculis. Eligenda ſunt e multis, quæ conveniant. Sin caſus adduxit vitium, leniri poteſt variis remediis. Sed præcipuum eſt fuga eorum quæ lædunt oculos, inter quæ eſt ſtudium a cœna et ad lucernam. Proderit aſſueviſſe, ut, quam licet, auribus ſtudeas potius quam oculis. Ep. 874.

[s] Quod Epiſcopen recuſat, non dubito quin illi conſtet ſui conſilii ratio; tamen ut nunc res ſunt mortalium, præſtat eſſe ſubulcum quam ſuem. Ep. 921.

[t] Exiſtimo tumultus hos ex Enchiridio tuo verſo natos eſſe: nam ſi id frequens ſit in hominum manibus, ut eſſe audio, multum τῆς παλαιᾶς τυραννίδος detrahet *Fratribus*; et fortaſſis jam cœptum

In a letter to Gacchus, a Franciſcan, Eraſmus hath drawn up an excellent defence of himſelf againſt this Monk, who was one of his calumniators. But we find not that theſe apologies and expoſtulations ever reclaimed and ſoftened any one of theſe Sycophants: whence, methinks, we may learn, that when we are attacked by ſuch ſort of adverſaries, it is beſt, for the moſt part, not to diſpute with them, which only makes them more ſaucy and ſcurrilous, but to leave them to rejoice, if they can rejoice, over their own works, and to fancy themſelves conquerors. Ep. 345. c. 1724.* A. D. 1527.

This year Rome was [u] ſacked in a moſt barbarous and brutiſh manner; and the poor inhabitants were

Vel Priamo miſeranda manus:

For [x] Proteſtant Hiſtorians have ſpoken of their ſufferings with due pity and indignation. P. Jovius, who was there himſelf, hath given a moſt melancholy account of it. *Vit. Pomp. Columnæ*, p. 165, 166.

A prodigy

tum eſt fieri, videlicet excitatis ea lectione multorum animis ad cognitionem magnarum et pulcherrimarum rerum, quæ tamdiu fuerant occultatæ, tum etiam quod cœpit permultos pigere indigniſſimæ ſervitutis, qua quidam hactenus preſſerunt miſeram plebem, quæ ſervitus cum ubique, quacunque Chriſtianum nomen patet, graviſſima eſt, tum vero in noſtra natione ne ſervis quidem aut aſinis tolerabilis. Ep. 340. c. 1720.

[u] See Seckendorf L. II. p. 78.

[x] Quanta fuerit militum Germanorum ac Hiſpanorum atrocitas et inſolentia Romæ, verbis explicari vix poteſt. Nam præter horrendas lanienas, direptiones, libidines, devaſtationes, contumeliæ ac ludibrii genus nullum in Pontificem, Cardinales, reliquamque turbam prætermiſſum fuit. *Sleidan* L. VI. p. 145.

Milites omne genus ſævitiæ, libidinis, avaritiæ, in quoſvis homines, et loca ſacra æque ac profana exercuerunt. Hiſpani tamen longe magis quam Germani, licet hi maximam partem cum duce ſuo Fronſbergio Lutheri doctrinæ inhærerent. *Perizonius*, p. 153.

A. D. 1527. A [y] prodigy is related to have happened this year at the Cathedral Church of Magdeburg.

Leonardus Cæſar, a Proteſtant Martyr, was burnt in Bavaria. Seckendorf hath given an account of his ſufferings and conſtancy. L. II. p. 84.

A. D. MDXXVIII. Ætat. LXI.

A. D. 1528. From the beginning of this year, Eraſmus was afraid that he ſhould be obliged to ſhift his quarters, on account of the commotions which threatened the place where he dwelt, the city of Baſil. He ſays that Ferdinand, elected King of Bohemia and Hungary, had publiſhed an edict, which he would not call unjuſt, but which, at leaſt, was ſevere. However, he wiſhed that it might produce ſome good effects. Ep. 925, 932.

Sigiſmond, King of Poland, ſent him a very courteous letter, and a preſent, and invited him kindly to Poland. The Biſhop of Cracow alſo wrote to him, and ſent him a preſent of ſixty ducats; and Eraſmus afterwards much commended the learned men of that nation for their civility to him. Ep. 930, 960.

Some perſon had detained part of his penſions from England, and he was obliged to ſend thither Quirinus Taleſius, one of his Copiſts. Ep. 932, 940.

He received an invitation to England from Henry VIII, and returned him thanks by More. Ep. 936.

Having

[y] Prodigium nocte ante feſtum circumciſionis ibi accidiſſe conſtanter narrabatur. De quo hæc ſunt Lutheri verba: "Scribit mihi Nicolaus Amſ- "dorf, Magdeburgæ, nocte circumci- "ſionis, ſub matutinis, in ſummo tem- "plo omnes candelas et lampadas "ſubito extinctas eſſe, excepta una "coram Sacramento. Sunt autem "valde multæ, præſertim, quæ ſub "Officio accenduntur, deinde tot an- "guli Capellarum abditi, ut impoſſibile "ſit vento, cui non patet iſthuc acceſ- "ſus, extingui. Interpretantur qui- "dam, portendi obitum Canonicorum. "— Deus viderit." *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 83.

Having been incommoded at Burgundy, the year before, of his old diſtempers, he had ſaid jeſtingly that his ſtomach was Lutheran, but his heart was Catholic; he meant that he could not bear fiſh. A. D. 1528.

It happened to him, at the table of the Procurator of the Archdeacon of Bezançon, to talk whilſt after dinner a grace of an immoderate length was ſaying, which he thought was ended. So he wrote a letter to excuſe himſelf for it. Ep. 933.

And now he was obliged to take up the trade of an Apologiſt in good earneſt, and to anſwer the various cenſures of the French and Spaniſh Divines. See his Apologetical works.

As Eraſmus did not ſpeak the language of the School-men, or reverence their deciſions as articles of faith; he had departed from their ſentiments, and from their jargon. He had ſtudied divinity at the fountain-head, and in his interpretations of the Scriptures he had followed the manner of the Fathers, and not of the Moderns; and it is well known that even the moſt orthodox Fathers could not eſcape the cenſures of a modern Inquiſition, if their works were examined in the ſame manner as the works of later writers. So Eraſmus had laid himſelf open enough to the Monks in a multitude of places, both for doctrine and for expreſſion, and they ſoon collected a conſiderable number of ſcandalizing propoſitions. He defended himſelf like an able man, and would have carried his cauſe, if he had pleaded before judges endued with candour, equity, good ſenſe, and learning; but, as the Divinity of thoſe times was purely Scholaſtic, his defences gave no ſatisfaction to his perſecutors. He continued to complain as much of them, as they did of him; and he obſerves, that the Monks of Spain and France were greatly vexed that ſome of his works, being tranſlated into the vulgar tongues, had undeceived the common people, and had taught them to deſpiſe the ſuperſtition and the falſe devotion which had been recommended to them. In France, ſays he, a man of learning, merit, and

A. D. 1528. excellent qualities (Berquin) hath eſſayed to tranſlate ſome of my writings with the ſame free ſpirit and honeſt deſign; but it hath been profitable neither to him nor to me. Twice he was in danger of loſing his life for it; and he had inevitably periſhed, by the mercy of the Monks, if the King had not reſcued him; and, as for me, every day I am fighting with the Eccleſiaſtics, or rather with the Beddaics; for in Bedda alone there are [illegible] thouſand Monks. Theſe men ſwarm every where; but in this place have they been able to perform what they have accompliſhed in Spain. He means, that they had cauſed the reading of his works to be prohibited in that kingdom. Ep. 941.

Soon after, he wrote to the Archbiſhop of Cologn, and propoſed to him a certain medium to be purſued between the extremes of Monkery and Reformation, and continues to exclaim againſt the one and the other.

In another place he ſays; I abhor the Evangelics, as for other reaſons, ſo becauſe it is through them that literature is declining in every place, and entertained with coldneſs and contempt, and upon the point of periſhing. And without letters what is life? They love money and women, and deſpiſe all other things. We have been ſtunned long enough with the cry of *Goſpel, Goſpel, Goſpel.* We want *Goſpel manners.*

But in reality there was no compariſon to be made between the Monks and the Reformers in point of literature, which the former totally neglected, and the latter cultivated with tolerable ſucceſs and application, as it plainly appears from the treatiſes which they compoſed in thoſe days. There were perſons amongſt them, who underſtood the learned languages full as well as Eraſmus, though in genius and vivacity they did not equal him. Melanchthon, for example, and Camerarius were not inferior to him in this ſort of literature. We will ſay nothing of thoſe who aroſe afterwards, becauſe Eraſmus could not look into futurity. What he ſays of money and women is levelled at thoſe Prieſts

Prieſts and Monks who embraced the Reformation, and with it the ſtate of matrimony. And yet in reality Eraſmus himſelf made an apology for their conduct, when he complained of the diſorderly life of the unmarried Monks and Clergy of thoſe days. As to the morals of the Reformed; doubtleſs they had their faults, as well as other people; and what ſect or party was ever irreproachable? But nothing ſeems to be more Chriſtian, than to endure the worſt of torments, and the moſt cruel ſufferings, rather than to act againſt conſcience, which was the caſe of multitudes amongſt them. Such perſons ſurely deſerve to have ſmaller faults rather overlooked than exaggerated. Ep. 946. A. D. 1528.

He received a polite letter from Melanchthon, who owns that he did not approve Luther's violent ways, but reproves Eraſmus alſo for expreſſing his reſentments too ſtrongly. Ep. 952.

He wrote to George Duke of Saxony, reminding him of the reaſons for which he had adviſed gentle methods of reclaiming heretics, rather than violence. He alſo proteſted to Clemens VII his attachment to the Roman party, and prayed him not to give credit to the calumnies ſpread againſt him, in which he was repreſented as a ſecret favourer of Lutheraniſm. Ep. 953, 957.

[a] This year he publiſhed two treatiſes, in form of dialogue, which are in the firſt Tome of his works; the former one of the moſt learned, the latter one of the moſt lively and ingenious of his compoſitions, namely, *The pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages*, and *the Ciceronianus*. In the firſt are contained very curious reſearches into the pronunciation of vowels and conſonants: in the ſecond he moſt agreeably rallies ſome Italian Puriſts, who ſcrupled to make uſe of any word or phraſe, which was not to be found in Cicero. Noſoponus is the perſon, who in this Dialogue acts the Ciceronian, defends the ſect, and then paſſeth a judgment upon the ſtyle of ſeveral learned men, both

[a] Maittaire II. 361, &c. who hath a long diſſertation concerning Eraſmus and his adverſaries.

A. D. 1528. living and dead; complimenting ſome of them, but deſpiſing them all in compariſon of Cicero. This ſcrutiny and cenſure excited great complaints and murmurs againſt Eraſmus.

The hereſy of the Ciceronians ſeems to have ariſen towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, and when Eraſmus was a boy. It laſted for about a century, and then expired; for the Plodingers of the following times, aiming at a moſt extenſive erudition, found that they had not leiſure to play the fool in anxiouſly forming their ſtyle upon that of Cicero.

Paulus [a] Corteſius, an Italian, was of the ſect; and Politian, who abhorred ſuch bondage, in an [b] elegant letter to him declared his

[a] See Menckenius Vit. Polit. p. 197.

[b] Remitto epiſtolas diligentia tua collectas, in quibus legendis, ut libere dicam, pudet bonas horas male collocaſſe. Nam præter omnino paucas, minime dignæ ſunt, quæ vel a docto aliquo lectæ, vel a te collectæ dicantur. Quas probem, quas rurſus improbem, non explico. Nolo ſibi quiſquam vel placeat in his, auctore me, vel diſpliceat. Eſt in quo tamen a te diſſentiam de ſtylo nonnihil. Non enim probare ſoles, ut accepi, niſi qui lineamenta Ciceronis effingat. Mihi vero longe honeſtior tauri facies, aut item leonis, quam ſimiæ videtur, quæ tamen homini ſimilior eſt. Nec ii, qui principatum tenuiſſe creduntur eloquentiæ, ſimiles inter ſe, quod Seneca prodidit. Ridentur a Quintiliano, qui ſe germanos Ciceronis putabant eſſe, quod his verbis periodum clauderent, *eſſe videatur*. Inclamat Horatius imitatores, ac nihil aliud quam imitatores. Mihi certe quicunque tantum componunt ex imitatione, ſimiles eſſe vel pſittaco vel picæ videntur, proferentibus quæ nec intelligunt. Carent enim quæ ſcribunt iſti, viribus et vita, carent actu, carent affectu, carent indole, jacent, dormiunt, ſtertunt. Nihil enim verum, nihil ſolidum, nihil efficax. Non exprimis, inquit aliquis, Ciceronem. Quid tum? Non enim ſum Cicero; me tamen, ut opinor, exprimo. Sunt quidam præterea, mi Paule, qui ſtylum quaſi panem fruſtillatim mendicant, nec ex die ſolum vivunt, ſed in diem: tum niſi liber ille præſto ſit, ex quo quid excerpant, colligere tria verba non poſſunt, ſed hæc ipſa quoque vel indocta junctura, vel barbaria inhoneſta contaminant. Horum ſemper igitur oratio tremula, vacillans, infirma, videlicet male curata, male paſta, quos ferre profecto non poſſum, judicare quoque de doctis impudenter audentes, hoc eſt, de illis quorum ſtylum recondita eruditio, multiplex lectio, longiſſimus uſus diu quaſi fermentavit. Sed ut ad te redeam, Paule, quem penitus amo, cui multum debeo, cujus ingenio plurimum tribuo, quæſo

his diſapprobation of this troubleſome and inſipid pedantry. His letter is not dated, but we may gueſs it to have been written between 1480 and 1490. A. D. 1528.

Corteſius wrote an anſwer to Politian, defending himſelf as well as he could. Eraſmus hath made remarks on both theſe epiſtles, towards the concluſion of his *Ciceronianus*, in which he extols Politian, and ſets Corteſius infinitely beneath him.

[c] Hermolaus Barbarus was of the ſame opinion with Politian in this point. Muretus, who wrote Latin extremely well, declared himſelf an Anti-Ciceronian, in a pretty chapter of his *Variæ Lectiones*, XV. I. p. 384. *De ſtultitia quorundam qui ſe Ciceronianos vocant.* We will give an [d] extract from it.

Jac.

quæſo ne ſuperſtitione iſta te alliges, ut nihil delectet, quod tuum plane ſit, et ut oculos a Cicerone nunquam dejicias. Sed cum Ciceronem, cum bonos alios multum diuque legeris, contriveris, edideris, concoxeris, et rerum multarum cognitione pectus impleveris, ac jam componere aliquid ipſe parabis, tum demum velim, quod dicitur, ſine cortice nates, atque ipſe tibi ſis aliquando in conſilio, ſolicitudinemque illam moroſam nimis et anxiam deponas effingendi tantummodo Ciceronem, tuaſque denique vires univerſas pericliteris. Nam qui tantum ridicula iſta, quæ vocatis lineamenta, contemplantur attoniti, nec illa ipſa, mihi crede, ſatis repræſentant, et impetum quodammodo retardant ingenii ſui; currentique velut obſtant, et, ut utar Plautino verbo, remoram faciunt. Sed ut bene currere non poteſt, qui pedem ponere ſtudet in alienis tantum veſtigiis; ita nec bene ſcribere, qui tanquam de præſcripto non audet egredi. Poſtremo ſcias infelicis eſſe ingenii, nihil a ſe promere, ſemper imitari. Vale. *Epiſt.* L. VIII. p. 113.

[c] P. Jovius Elog. Naugerii, p. 145.

[d] Diu et ipſe in eo errore verſatus ſum, ut niſi qui aut Ciceronis ætate, aut paulo ante vixiſſent, aut certe illi ætati ſuppares fuiſſent, non ſatis dignos eſſe arbitrarer, quorum exemplo qui Latine aut ſcribere aut loqui vellent, niterentur. Sed poſtea, re tota mecum accuratius conſiderata, viſus ipſi mihi ſum nimio plus mihi ſumere, qui de Seneca, Livio, Valerio, Celſo, Quinctiliano, Columella, utroque Plinio, Tacito, Suetonio, Velleio, Q. Curtio, Lactantio, aliiſque ejuſmodi ſcriptoribus, quos et ab iis ipſis temporibus, quibus Latina lingua floruiſſe diceretur, propius afuiſſe, et ſuo quemque ſæculo, diſertiſſimos habitos eſſe conſtaret, temere pronuntiare auderem. Certe enim neque quiſquam unquam

A. D. 1528. Jac. Thomaſius, in a Preface to the works of Muretus, hath taken notice of this chapter, and of the fantaſtical refinement of Scioppius,

quam veterum eos male Latine locutos eſſe dixit: neque nos, tam longo intervallo, valde boni ejus rei exiſtimatores ſumus. At multa ſimplicia vocabula, multa etiam loquendi genera in eorum libris leguntur, quæ apud Ciceronem et ejus æquales nuſquam reperias. Primum quis hoc præſtare audeat? Ciceronis ſcriptorum vix decimam partem reliquam habemus, eamque multis partibus mancam ac mutilam, multis vulneribus, multis cicatricibus deformatam: Salluſtii vix centeſimam, Varronis tantundem, Catonis e tam multis voluminibus unum de re ruſtica commentariolum: tot philoſophorum, tot oratorum veterum, tot poëtarum, tot hiſtoricorum, tot juriſconſultorum ſcripta perierunt; et ex illis fractis ac laceris, quæ ad nos pervenerunt, Romani ſermonis reliquiis adfirmare audemus, ſiquid in eis non reperiatur, id apud veteres in uſu non fuiſſe? Quanto credibilius eſt, nova multa atque inuſitata nobis videri, quæ ſi eorum libri exſtarent, in frequentiſſimo uſu poſita fuiſſe conſtaret? Illi autem, quos ſtulte et arroganter, ut minus eleganter locutos, deſpicere audemus, cum et bibliothecas haberent omni genere librorum inſtructiſſimas, et eas diligentiſſime pervolutarent, et acerrimo judicio præditi eſſent; quis ſcit, an ea ipſa ex vetuſtioribus ſumſerint, quæ fruſtra nobis aut novitatis aut peregrinitatis nomine ſuſpecta ſunt? cum ſæpe contingere videamus ut multæ voces diu ab iſtis cenſeantur inter novas, quæ poſtea uſque ab ultima antiquitate a nobiliſſimis auctoribus proditæ ac propagatæ reperiuntur. [illegible] in iſtis ipſis Ciceronis reli[illegible] ſunt, quæ ſemel tantum legunt[illegible] ſi paullum chartæ aut mus [illegible] adroſiſſet, aut ſitus et caries [illegible] aut ſcintilla e lucerna in certa[illegible] libri partem incidiſſet, hodi[illegible] et *controverſandi* verba, multaque alia iſtis delicatis barbara eſſent: quæ nunc ita non refugiunt, ut inculcent. Et ut magis intelligas totum hoc e ſtulta quadam opinione pendêre, ſcito multos ex iſtis inepte faſtidioſis, quibus qui quid dicunt, quod Ciceronis non ſit, meros lapides loqui videntur, quibus, ut olim athletis in arenam deſcendentibus, circumdandæ eſſent amphotides, quoties in publicum prodeunt, ne delicatæ ipſorum aures vocum non Ciceroniarum ictibus contunderentur, ſæpe eſſe a me magna cum voluptate deluſos. Nam cum voces quaſdam obſervaſſem, Ciceronis quidem illas, ſed minus contritas, neque a Nizolio in illum præclarum indicem, qui iſtorum obruza eſt, relatas; admiſcebam eas de induſtria orationi meæ, cum ad me audiendum amici quidam hoc, de quo loquor, morbo laborantes veniſſent. Illi ut earum quamque audierant, cervicem contorquere, humeros attollere, frontem contrahere, alius alii in aurem inſuſurrare, excuti ſibi cerebrum, perire aures, cum talibus vocibus verberarentur.

Scioppius, who pretended that Muretus ever remained a true Ciceronian, A. D. 1528.

tur. Quin etiam cœtu dimisso, cum me, ut fit, officii caussa domum reducerent, male se a me habitos atque acceptos esse conquerebantur. Ego aliquamdiu eos ambiguo sermone frustratus, tandem sponsione lacessebam, ni illæ ipsæ voces, quibus auditis caput sibi condoluisse dicerent, ipsius Ciceronis essent. Quid quæris? cum id ita esse pervicissem, jam voces illæ omnem duritiam atque asperitatem deposuerant; jam lenes, suaves, jucundæ auditu factæ erant; et ut lupini aqua macerati, omnem amaritiem exuerant, simulatque eas Ciceronis esse constiterat. Meministine cum vox *illustrissimus* apud istos censores in urbe jus togæ tueri non poterat, sed pro peregrina habebatur?

Nec miseræ prodesse in tali tempore quibat, quod Gellius *illustrissimas orationes*, et *illustrissimos philosophorum* alicubi dixisset. Itaque siquis Latine loquens, Cardinalem quempiam *illustrissimum*, ut fit, vocaverat, in eum ὅλῳ τῷ μυκτῆρι, ut Græci dicunt, utebantur. Neque extorqueri eis poterat, ut non *maxime illustrem* pro *illustrissimo* dicerent, nisi, postquam ex Varrone audierunt, *illustrissimum quemque ex veteribus pastorem fuisse*. —

Sed ut me ad propositum referam, etiam si hoc demus, novata esse multa ab iis qui post Ciceronem fuerunt, quid causæ est, cur ea rejicere debeamus? Quorsus igitur illud Horatii? *Ut* [a] *folia in silvis*: et illud;

—— —— *licuit, semperque licebit*
Signatum præsente nota [b] *producere nomen.*

Nonne Cicero et multa novavit ipse, et Catonem, Varronem, Brutum, aliosque ut idem facerent hortatus est? An fortassis personale illud privilegium fuit; ut cum Cicerone, et cum iis,

Qui tum vivebant homines atque ævum agitabant,

extinctum esse videatur? *Incomprehensibile* Ciceroni fingere licuit: quidni aliis alia ad eundem modum postea licuerit? Equidem existimo Ciceronem, si ad Quinctiliani et Plinii et Taciti tempora vitam producere potuisset, et Romanam linguam multis vocibus eleganter conformatis eorum studio auctam ac locupletatam vidisset, magnam eis gratiam habiturum, atque illis vocibus cupide usurum fuisse. Nam istorum quidem audire est operæ pretium amentiam. Ad Taciti aut Suetonii voces nauseant: ipsi eas scriptis suis intexunt, quæ ne in culina quidem illorum patienter audiri potuissent. Mentior, nisi tibi, cum voles, in scriptis quorundam, qui hujus sectæ coryphæi habentur, *speculationem*, *ingratitudinem*, *contrarietatem*, aliaque ejusdem generis plurima ostendero.

Sed satis est dixisse, ego pulchra poëmata pango.

Cum semel in hanc disciplinam nomen dederis, quocumque modo et scribas, et loquare, dicas licebit;

Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι.

Fuit

[a] Art. Poet. 60, where see Bentley.

[b] Read *procudere*.

A. D. 1528. Ciceronian, and on this occaſion did not ſpeak his real ſentiment. It is pleaſant enough to obſerve, that the * Ciceronians could not

Fuit hæc de principio laborioſa quædam, et exquiſita diligentia: Nunc in ignaviam vertit. Quid enim magis in promptu eſt, quam, cum quid ſcribere ingreſſus ſis, de ſingulis vocibus Nizolium conſulere? Quid tu igitur? inquies: ex omnibus antiquis Scriptoribus, nullo diſcrimine, verba quibus utare, depromes? Imo vero adhibebo judicium, habebo dilectum, et cum ex iis potiſſimum qui antiquitatis quoque ipſi principes viſi ſunt, Cicerone, Cæſare, Terentio, aliis, quamplurima ſumpſero: cum orationis meæ genus ad eorum exemplar quam maxime potuero, conformaro, ex aliis quoque belliſſimum quodque carpam: et quo quiſque maxime excelluiſſe videbitur, id imitari atque exprimere conabor: neque in iis modo quos paulo ante nominavi, ſed in Tertulliano, Arnobio, Hieronymo, Auguſtino, Ambroſio, et quod magis mireris, Apuleio, Caſſiodoro, Martiano etiam et Sidonio Apollinari multa reperiam, quibus ſuo loco poſitis oratio uberior et ornatior fiat. Tibi quoque, Dari, auctor ſum, ut idem facias, in primiſque ut ne eorum ſtultitiam imiteris, qui uſque eo antiquitatis ſtudioſi ſunt, ut voces quoque Chriſtianæ religionis proprias refugiant, et in earum locum alias ſubſtituant, quarum nonnullæ etiam impietatem olent: qui non *fidem*, ſed *perſuaſionem*; non *ſacramentum corporis Dominici*, ſed *ſanctificum cruſtulum*; non *excommunicare*, ſed *diris devovere*; non *Angelos*, ſed *Genios*; non *baptizare*, ſed *abluere* dicunt; aliaque eodem modo depravant; qui, ut opinor, niſi ſibi metuu[illegible] pro Chriſto, *Jovem optimum* [illegible] dicerent: eſt enim magis Ci[illegible]. Quæ autem inſania eſt, cum *portentum*, cum *impetrire*, cum *tripudium ſolſtimum*, cum *pateras* et *ſympinia* legi[illegible], [illegible] ea tanquam dicta ſapienter, quæ ex auguralibus et pontificalibus libris deprompta ſint; propria Chriſtianæ fidei, et Chriſtianorum rituum verba, ut non ſatis Latina contemnere? —

Muretus hath alſo cenſured the Ciceronians in ſome of his Orations; L. I. *Orat.* 21. L. II. *Orat.* 4 and 15.

* In eo quidem certe admoneri te patiere, ut cum aut totum quiddam, aut generatim omnia complecti voles, aut etiam mentis tuæ ſenſus aientibus verbis confirmare, duplicatis negationibus aliquanto parcius utare: cujus quidem generis ſunt illa, nemo non, nullus non, nihil non: quæ ut orationi modice aſperſa jucunditatis afferunt plurimum, ſic crebrius repetita ſatietatem pariunt atque faſtidium. Nam quod totidem verbis ex M. T. Cicerone tibi tam multa impune ſumere non liceat, ne tu quidem ipſe, puto, negas. Sed non animadvertis ſcilicet, qui aſſidua ſummi illius oratoris librorum et accurata lectione hoc conſecutus es, ut etiam imprudenti tibi et invito integræ ipſius non modo ſententiæ, ſed multi ſimul interdum verſus excidant atque effluant. Quod ipſum mihi

not write ſo as to ſatisfy one another. Thus Longolius finds fault with A. D. 1528.

mihi ut ſummæ eſt admirationi, ſic haud ſcio an illis probaturus ſis, qui Æſopi graculum nobis objicere non deſinunt, nec Publ. Vergilii autoritatem atque judicium hac in re accipiunt. Equidem quod ad me attinet, ita ſtatuo: Dirigendam quidem eſſe nobis et formandam ſcribendi rationem putavi ad illius dicendi genus: ſed ita ut virtutes ejus oratione noſtra exprimere conemur, non item ut paſſim omnia ab eo mutuemur, aut quod multos facere jam videas, quaſi Centones quoſdam ex Ciceronis verbis conſuamus. Sed hoc toto de genere alias. Nunc tantum habeto, dandam tibi eſſe in primis operam, ut quæ in manus hominum a te pervenient, plane tua eſſe, non aliena et aliunde corrogata videantur. — *C. Longolius A. Naugerio*, p. 34.

Obſecro te, Sauli, qui judicio excellis, quid tibi de Chriſtophoro Longolio videtur? Equidem, ſi quando quid de ſcriptis illius exiſtimem, interrogor, ita ſoleo reſpondere, exilem eſſe in ſententiis, non luculentum in verbis; ut tamen de eo, ſi vitæ contigiſſet ufura diuturnior, bene cenſeam ſperandum fuiſſe. Sed ut nunc eſt, mea quidem ſententia nullus eſt. Quid enim affert exquiſitum, quid ſingulare, non vulgatum, non ex quotidiana conſuetudine uſuque ſumtum? At ſcribit interdum et de rebus familiaribus, et ad familiares. Quid tum? quaſi non vel in obſcuro argumento poſſit ingenii lumen elucere. Nam quod in eo verborum circuitus ſæpe a Cicerone totus eſt; ſi conſulto fecit, quod inde laudem ſperaret, judicium requiro: etenim aliena quæ ſunt, ad nos tranſlata ſtulte jactamus: ut neminem laudare ſolemus quia pulcher (quod accipitur a natura) at quia temperatus, quia juſtus, quæ poſita ſunt in nobis ipſis. Sin, (quod potius exiſtimo) inops a Latina lingua, explicare animi ſenſa aliter non potuit; neceſſitatem excuſo. Nec tamen, quod faciebat, diutius eum puto facturum fuiſſe. Qui enim in illo otio Patavino nihil ageret aliud quam ut ſe tum eloquentiæ copiis, quæ philoſophiam ornant, tum earum artium inſtrumento, ſine quibus muta ſilet eloquentia, locupletaret; utriuſque ſtudio facultatis conſecutus eſſet ut, ſuis quaſi opibus abundans, de alieno quotidie parcius aſſumeret. Cujus autem generis ea, quæ moriens reliquit, ſcripta ſunt, abeſſe cum judico ab ea ſpecie quæ eſt in ſcribendo optima, longiſſime. Qua de re cum aliquot abhinc annis in conventu amicorum ſermo eſſet ortus, memini diſſentire a me amicum hominem et eruditum; qui Ciceronis in libris diu multumque voluntatus, tamen Longolium ſuſpicit. Aurea videlicet cum aſſidue tractet, ærea non intermoſcit. Itaque, paucis poſt illum ſermonem diebus interjectis, cum epiſtolam ad me miſiſſet, in qua ita ſcripſit, nihil ſibi tam accidiſſe mirandum, quam quod a me audiſſet, cum dicerem, mihi Longoliana ſcripta non admodum probari; nihil reſcripſi, quod homini quinquagenario inſitam opinionem non ſperavi me poſſe evellere. — *P. Manutius St. Saulio*, p. 112.

A. D. 1528. with [f] Naugerius, and [g] Manutius finds fault with Longolius. Majoragius had attacked Cicero, as Nizolius pretended; and Nizolius wrote him a letter, in which he defends [h] Cicero, and takes occaſion to blame Eraſmus.

One thing is obſervable in all the profeſſed Ciceronians, namely, the uſing a multitude of words to expreſs their meaning. This they learned from their Maſter, ſince it cannot be denied that Cicero is rather *verboſe*. Unleſs therefore they have, like Cicero, a fine imagination, and a mind ſtored with knowledge, they are of all writers the moſt languid and tireſome: when they have barren brains, they never fail to give us, according to the Greek proverb, a river of words and a ſpoonful of ſenſe.

There have been two ſorts of Ciceronians. The one were thoſe, whom Eraſmus rallies very pleaſantly, who were ſuperſtitious, pedantic, and ſervile followers and copiers of Cicero: the ſecond aimed at a more [i] liberal and genteel kind of imitation, and

[f] P. Jovius Elog. p. 145. Bayle *Supplém.* NAVAGIERO.

[g] Paulus Manutius vir Romane ſcribens ſi quis alius hoc noſtro ſeculo, Longolio omnino contrarius: cum enim hic Ciceronis verbis et phraſi adeo alligatus fuerit, ut Ciceronis ſenſu, non ſuo, cogeretur ſcribere; ille contra ſuo ſenſu ſcribit, Ciceronis, Terentii, et ejuſmodi excellentium virorum verbis et ſtylo utens, quem ſuo inſtituto optime accommodare novit. *Scaligeran.* p. 254.

See a large account of Paul Manutius in Maittaire III. 497, &c.

[h] Hæc ſunt, mi Majoragi, quæ ad te nunc mittenda exiſtimavi, ut ea diſſolvas, ſi velis et ſi poteſ, in quibus ſi te alicubi acrius atque acerbius punxi, quam tu fortaſſe velles, et amicitia noſtra pati videatur, noli quæſo mirari nec ægre ferre, cum Ciceronem multo acrius et acerbius non ſolum punxeris, ſed etiam confoderis, idque immeritiſſimo, cujus vulnera quanto tandem cum dolore a me legi putas? Itaque te etiam atque etiam moneo, ut videas quemadmodum ſcribas in Topica illius, et in libros de Finibus, quod facturum in hoc libro, ſi recte meminî, quodam in loco ſcribis. Non enim impune feres, ſed idem tibi accidet quod Eraſmo, qui dum Ciceronem et Ciceronianos injuſte inſectatur, ipſe a Ciceronianis juſte et optimo jure confoſſus fuit. *Gudii et aliorum Epiſt.* p. 137.

See Bayle MAJORAGIUS.

[i] Amongſt the Epiſtles of Muretus, there is a pretty one of Julius Pogianus, a Ciceronian, who recommends this ſort of imitation. L. II. Ep. 24.

and endeavoured to adopt his turn and manner more particularly, and alſo to acquaint themſelves thoroughly with other elegant authors, ſuch as Terence, Livy, Salluſt, and a few more; they made uſe of any expreſſion, which was pure and claſſical; and, as to ſingle words, they did not ſcruple thoſe of lower times, when better were not to be had. A.D. 1528.

Now to write Latin with perfect correctneſs in this ſecond manner, though it be a deſirable accompliſhment, yet is ſo very difficult, and takes up ſo much time, and diverts the mind ſo much from the ſtudy of *things*, that it may be made a queſtion, whether it deſerves the pains, which muſt be beſtowed upon it. They who undertake to write Hiſtory in Latin, ſeem of all perſons to be moſt concerned to acquire ſuch ſkill, and ſhould ſpend much time and pains in forming a polite and perſpicuous ſtyle upon the beſt models of antiquity. Such an Hiſtorian was Maffei [k], the Jeſuit, who wrote extremely well: but then he was ſo ſlow and ſo accurate in his compoſitions, that he could not diſpatch above ten or fifteen lines in a day; and if he had undertaken a large work, his whole life would not have ſufficed for accompliſhing it, though he lived ſeventy-three years. Such an author was Michael [l] Brutus, no ſcrupulous Ciceronian, but a correct and polite writer. Such alſo was Paulus Manutius.

But although it may not be adviſeable for a ſcholar to grow old in the ſtudy of words, and to give too much of that time to the poliſhing of his periods, which might be better ſpent in acquiring real knowledge; yet ſhould our young ſtudents be exhorted to learn to write Latin ſo as to be able, upon occaſion, to compoſe a few pages with correctneſs and perſpicuity, without ſolœciſms and barbariſms, and in a ſtyle better than that of *Magiſter Noſter Paſſavantius*, and the *Epiſtolæ Obſcurorum Virorum*. A *Scholar* ſhould be capable, at leaſt, of performing thus much:

[k] Bibl. Choiſ. XXV. 345.

[l] Bayle BRUTUS.

A. D. 1528. A *Genius* is more at liberty, and may accoutre himſelf as he thinks fit; every dreſs becomes him.

Illum quicquid agit, quoquo veſtigia movit,
Componit furtim, ſubſequiturque Decor.

Whilſt *Ciceronianiſm* was ſtill ſubſiſting, another ſmaller hereſy aroſe, of the *Grammatical Antiquaries*. Their folly conſiſted in writing Latin after the manner of the ancient Romans, before the language was formed and poliſhed, and of employing all the obſcure and obſolete words and phraſes that they could find. [n] Paſſeratius cenſured this wretched and ridiculous taſte, which was far worſe than that of the Ciceronians, who at leaſt imitated a very good writer, though with too much ſervility.

Mariangelus Accurſius wrote a Dialogue againſt theſe pedants, about the year 1531. See more in Bayle RAYNAUD, Not. I. ACCURSE (M.) Not. F.

Eraſmus alſo [o] cenſured this folly in his Dialogue *de Pronunciatione*.

Olivarius,

[n] Exorti ſunt his annis viginti proximis, non diſſimili laborantes inſania, novi quidam Antonii, utinam minus multi, quorum cauſſa, ne quid diſſimulem, hanc præfatiunculam inſtitui. Siquidem me facturum operæ pretium putavi, ſi iſtum animi morbum vel arte aliqua perſanarem, quod in iis difficillimum eſt, qui ſic ægrotare malunt quam valere, vel aliqua ex parte imminuerem: idque ſaltem aſſequerer, ne hæc apud noſtros latius ſerpat contagio. —

Sordent nobis Tullius, Cæſar, Terentius: Valerii Antiatis, Cincii, Cælii, Piſonis, Fabii Pictoris, Quadrigarii, Siſennæ Annales requirimus. Unde tam delicatum faſtidium? Cato et Varro vix ad ſtomachum faciunt; vix aviditatem noſtram explent primi Conſulum faſces, et faſtorum incunabula. Decemvirales tabulas, leges Regias, Saliare carmen, icta cum Sabinis fœdera, Fecialium jura formulaſque tranſcendimus, ut penetremus in ſermonem Aboriginum, tanquam ſimus cum Egeria Numæ, aut cum Evandri Carmenta loquuturi.

[o] Iſti non minus abſurde faciunt quam faciunt ii, qui verbis jam olim deſitis delectantur: perinde quaſi cum priſcis Aboriginibus, aut Evandri matre loquantur. T. I. c. 925.

Olivarius, in a letter without a date, informs Eraſmus how the Italian [o] Ciceronians railed at his barbarous ſtyle, and how he took his part againſt them. A.D. 1528.

[p] After Eraſmus had written his *Ciceronianus*, and had been much abuſed on that account, he was engaged by Froben to reviſe a new

[o] Balthaſarus Comes Caſtilioni, Orator Pontificis, vir utcunque eruditus, Navagerus Venetus, vir utriuſque linguæ eruditiſſimus, et Andreas Neapolitanus in dies debacchantur in ſtylum tuum. Non poteſt ferre hæc natio, quod unus Germanus oſtentationem Italorum depreſſerit. Nunquam ſum apud eos, quin illico faciant mentionem de ſtylo Eraſmi: Eraſmus, inquiunt, tuus ex Latino factus eſt Barbarus. — Objiciunt uni Eraſmo Jovianum Pontanum. — Copiam verborum in te et facilitatem, velint nolint, meis argumentis laudant, &c. Ep. 469. c. 1858.

[p] Atque hujus diſpendii adeo non pœnituit, ut in votis ſit, ſi liceat, ad veteres illos amicos remigrare, ac menſes aliquot cum illis familiariter vivere. Tantum fructus me ſenſi percepiſſe ex his libris relectis, non tantum ob ſtyli rubiginem abſtergendam (quanquam hoc quoque nonnihil eſt, meo quidem judicio) verum multo magis ob animi cupiditates moderandas refrenandaſque. Quoties inter legendum exſpuebam in ſtolidos iſtos, qui in Cicerone nihil præclarum eſſe dictitant, præter verborum phaleras? Quam illic eſt varia lectio voluminum, quæ doctiſſimi Græci de recte beateque vivendo reliquerunt? quanta vis? quanta copia ſalubrium ac ſanctiſſimorum præceptorum? quanta cognitio, quantaque memoria priſcarum ſimul et retentarum hiſtoriarum? Tum autem, quam altæ cogitationes de vera hominis felicitate, quæ plane declarant illum hoc egiſſe, quod docebat? Jam vero in explicandis rebus procul a communi ſenſu ac ſermone populari ſemotis, quaſque multi deſperabant Romana lingua tractari poſſe, quæ perſpicuitas, qui candor, quæ facilitas, quæ copia, quæ denique feſtivitas? Philoſophiam, quæ primum in rerum naturalium contemplatione occupata, procul aberat a vita communi, Socrates primus in terras atque etiam in domos deduxiſſe legitur. Plato et Ariſtoteles conati ſunt eam et in aulas Regum, et in Senatum, et in ipſa tribunalia producere. M. vero Tullius mihi videtur eam etiam in proſcenium perduxiſſe, cujus opera ſic loqui didicit, ut promiſcuum etiam vulgus poſſit applaudere. Atque hujus generis tam multos libros ſcripſit vir ille difficillimis temporibus, ſummoque Reipublicæ tumultu, quoſdam etiam rebus in ſummam deſperationem adductis. Et non pudet nos noſtrarum confabulationum atque conviviorum, quum videamus homines Ethnicos tam ſanctis commentationibus et otium, quod dabat Reipublicæ calamitas, tranſegiſſe? nec ab ineptis voluptatibus quæſiviſſe mentis avocamenta, ſed a ſanctiſſimis philoſophiæ præceptis petiiſſe remedium?

A. D. 1528. a new edition of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, and he prefixed to

remedium? Quid aliis accidat, nescio; me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene vivendo disserit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Atque hoc meum judicium mihi magis blanditur, quoties animo reputo, quam immensa sit, quamque inæstimabilis æterni Numinis benignitas, quam quidam ex ingenio, opinor, suo nimis in angustum contrahere conantur. Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani judicii pronuntiare. Me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere. Nulli dubium esse potest, quin crediderit aliquod esse Numen, quo nihil esse posset neque majus, neque melius. Porro quid senserit de animorum immortalitate, quid de diversa sorte præmiisque vitæ futuræ, tum quanta fuerit sinceræ conscientiæ fiducia, si non satis declarant tot ejus libri, certe vel una * illa epistola satis arguit, quam ad Octavium scribit, jam, ut apparet, destinata morte. Si Judæis ante proditum Evangelium sufficiebat ad salutem rudis quædam et confusa de rebus divinis credulitas, quid vetat quo minus Ethnico, cui ne Mosi quidem Lex erat cognita, rudior etiam cognitio profuerit ad salutem, præsertim quum vita fuerit integra, nec integra solum, verum etiam sancta? Perpauci Judæi ante lucem exortam Evangelii noverant exacte Filium ac Spiritum Sanctum: multi non credebant resurrectionem corporum, nec tamen ideo de illorum salute desperatum est a majoribus. Quid si Ethnicus tantum hoc credat, Deum, quem persuasum habet esse omnipotentem, sapientissimum, et optimum, aliqua ratione subventurum bonis, et ulturum malos, quæ ipsi videatur quam maxime accommoda? Quod si quis objiciat vitæ maculas, equidem arbitror nec Job, nec Melchisedec omnibus omnino vitiis caruisse per omnem vitam. Sed excusandum non est, quod immolavit idolis. Id fortasse fecit, sed non ex suo judicio, verum ex consuetudine publica: quæ quoniam legibus etiam erat confirmata, non poterat convelli. Nam esse conficta quæ de Diis ferebantur, vel ex Ennii Sacra Historia poterat cognoscere. Sed oportebat vel vitæ jactura populi stultitiam coarguere. Tantum roboris nec ipsis aderat Apostolis, priusquam hauserant cœlestem Spiritum, ut impudens sit hoc exigere a M. Tullio. Verum hac de re liberum esto suum cuique judicium. Ad illos crassos redeo, qui præter inanem verborum tinnitum, nihil magni credunt esse in libris Ciceronis. Qui fieri potest, ut tot res eruditas, tam dilucide, tam copiose, tanto cum affectu explicet, nisi penitus intelligat quod scribit? Quis autem sumsit hujusmodi libros in manum, quin surrexerit animo sedatiore? Quis tam accessit mœrens, qui non abierit hilarior? Geri videtur quod legis, nec secus afflat animum tuum quidam orationis ἐνθουσιασμὸς, quam si ex vivo ipsius pectore, ac felicissimo illo ore manantem audires. Quamobrem

* It is spurious.

to it an elegant Preface, wherein, his imagination being fired by the careful perusal of that excellent treatise, he highly extols Cicero both for his style and for his moral sentiments, and almost makes a Saint of him. Erasmus, I dare say, wrote as he thought; and yet he might be the more inclined to express himself in this strong and lively manner, with an innocent view to appease the clamour, and silence the calumnies of the frantic Ciceronians. [a] Julius Scaliger (of whose quarrels with Erasmus we shall speak hereafter) A. D. 1528.

Quamobrem mihi sæpe videri solet, inter omnia, quæ in usum vitæ mortalium industria reperit, nihil esse utilius, quam usum literarum, nec ullam artem præstantiorem opificio Typographorum. Quid enim felicius quam cum eloquentissimis simul ac sanctissimis viris, quoties lubitum est, confabulari? neque minus habere perfectum illorum, qui ante tot annos vixerunt, ingenium, mores, cogitationes, studia, facta, quam si multis annis egisses cum illis consuetudinem? Nunquam mihi magis probatum est illud Quintiliani; *Ille sciat se profeciſſe, cui Cicero valde placere cæperit.* Mihi puero minus arridebat Cicero, quam Seneca: jamque natus eram annos viginti, priusquam ferrem diutinam ejus lectionem, cum cæteri pene omnes placerent. An ætatis progressu profecerim, nescio, certe nunquam mihi magis placuit Cicero, tum quum adamarem illa studia, quam nunc placuit seni: non tantum ob divinam quandam orationis felicitatem, verum etiam ob pectoris eruditi sanctimoniam. Profecto meum afflavit animum, neque mihi reddidit meliorem. Itaque non dubitem hortari juventutem, ut in hujus libris evolvendis atque etiam edis cendis bonas horas collocent potius, quam in rixosis ac pugnacibus libellis, quibus nunc undique scatent omnia. Me vero, tametsi jam vergente ætate, nec pudebit, nec pigebit, simulatque extricaro me ab his quæ sunt in manibus, cum meo Cicerone redire in gratiam, pristinamque familiaritatem, nimium multis annis intermissam, renovare mensis aliquot. — Ep. 499. c. 1880.

[a] Hoc satis habeam, deponere me in sinu eloquentissimi viri inimicitias cum eloquente viro susceptas eloquentiæ causa: præsertim cum Erasmus ipse tandem aliquando exuerit personam illam eloquentiæ exitiabilem, pristinumque consilium repudiarit. — Equidem virum illum multis magnisque literariis virtutibus ornatum semper admiratus sum, ejus labores, vigilias, monumenta colui. Quo factum est, ut gravius tulerim depravari per eum eloquentiæ institutiones, quem nec ego ducem et mihi adolescens proposuissem, et liberis meis senex animo destinassem. — Ego vero sustentor præclara illustrique conscientia, cum id egi, quod ipsi Erasmo peragendum aliquando adversum sese fuit: quodque a me inchoatum perfecit ille tandem,

A. D. 1528. hereafter) declared in ſome of his letters, and in his haughty way, that he was willing to forgive Eraſmus his blaſphemies, and to be at peace with him thenceforward, for the ſake of this Preface, which he conſidered as a kind of penance, and of ſatisfaction made to the Manes of the Roman Orator.

" Scioppius did not ſpare even the moſt eloquent author of " ancient Rome. Read theſe words of Balzac: *The accuſer of* " *Cicero, concerning whom you inquire, is the formidable Scioppius.* " *He hath publiſhed a book at Milan, wherein he accuſeth Cicero* " *of impropriety and barbariſm. There is only one copy of it in* " *France, and Meſſieurs Dupuy lent it me when I was at Paris.* " *This injury done to Cicero would be matter of conſolation to Scaliger,* " (Joſ. Scaliger) *if he were to return again to us. But I expect* " *that this ſame Scioppius will give us another treatiſe, to prove* " *that Cato was a raſkal, and Julius Cæſar a poltroon.* — We ſhall " leſs wonder at the audaciouſneſs of Scioppius in criticizing the " ſtyle and the phraſes of Cicero, if we conſider that in all " times there have been cenſurers of this Father of eloquence. " The number of them is incredible. See the Preface of the " *Cicero a calumniis vindicatus* by Andrew Schott. It is a curious " treatiſe, the eighth chapter of which is employed in anſwering " thoſe, who impute ſolœciſms to Cicero." *Bayle* SCIOPPIUS, Not. K.

Eraſmus had at this time a vexatious quarrel with Eppendorf. A full account of this altercation may be found in his [r] Epiſtles, and in [s] Bayle's Dictionary. The caſe was thus;

Eppendorf

tandem, ut cum Cicerone rediret in graſiam. Sic enim teſtatur hoc recenti epiſtola Tuſculanis affixa Quæſtionibus. Satis igitur mihi laudis atque gloriæ partum puto, non quod tantum deturbarim imperatorem, ſed quod meum ille judicium ſit ſecutus. Itaque illam Reipublicæ calamitoſam eloquentium proſcriptionem nova prudentia cum aut ſuſtulit, aut emendavit, attulit ſane meo nomini conſolationem, &c.— An. 1536. *J. C. Scaliger.* Orat. et Epiſt. p. 58.

[r] Ep. 957, 958, and 346. c. 1730.

[s] EPPENDORF.

2

Eppendorf got into his hands a letter from Eraſmus to George Duke of Saxony, in which his character was not ſpared. He carried his complaints to the Magiſtrate of Baſil; and the Magiſtrate, not willing to judge in that affair, committed it to arbitrators, and choſe Bonifacius Amerbachius and Beatus Rhenanus, both of them zealous friends of Eraſmus. Eraſmus, in reply to the charge, ſaid that he did not acknowledge the letter to be his, and that it was not ſigned by him, or written with his hand. But yet the account which Eraſmus gives of the affair to Bilibaldus, would induce one to think that he dictated it. Thus much he owned, that he had adviſed the Duke rather to employ Eppendorf in ſome creditable way, than to let him live ſuch a lazy life. Eppendorf was not ſatisfied with this diſowning of the letter, but required, as terms of accommodation, that Eraſmus ſhould dedicate ſome book to him in token of friendſhip, that he ſhould write a letter of recommendation in his behalf to the Duke of Saxony, and, laſtly, that he ſhould give three hundred ducats to the poor. To the two firſt articles Eraſmus conſented; but to the third he would not ſubmit. The arbitrators determined that Eraſmus ſhould be only obliged to give twenty franks to the poor, and that by way of free-gift, and not as a compoſition injurious to his honour. So Eraſmus was obliged to draw up the model of a dedication to Eppendorf, and gave him an unſealed letter of recommendation to the Duke. Then they embraced each other, and promiſed mutual friendſhip. But the pacification was ſoon broken; for Eppendorf boaſted up and down, that he had reduced Eraſmus to ſubmit to terms, to which he himſelf would not have ſubmitted for three thouſand pounds. Eraſmus wrote to ſeveral of his friends, to juſtify himſelf, and to put a ſtop to theſe diſadvantageous rumours, and Eppendorf replied by a book, printed at Hagenau in 1531. We have alſo two letters, wherein they quarrel together. Eraſmus [a] declares, A. D. 1528.

[a] Ep. 1087, 1088.

[b] Ep. 957. See alſo Ep. 859

A. D. 1528. that he had complied, purely to purchaſe peace and repoſe, and to get rid of a troubleſome fellow: but he muſt have done ſomething that was not entirely juſtifiable, ſince he was condemned by his beſt friends to make a ſort of ſatisfaction. However, he was extremely angry at the Evangelics, for ſpreading rumours againſt him on this occaſion; and he threatens that he would no longer perſevere in exhorting the Princes to treat them with lenity: for I ſee no way, ſays he, to put an end to theſe commotions, except cruelty; though cruelty is a ſad thing, when it is extended to many. Theſe ſentiments are not worthy of Eraſmus; nor did he defend himſelf well, when he ſaid that he had deceived Eppendorf for his good, and with an honeſt intention, and that ſuch procedures were lawful, from the example of phyſicians, who impoſe upon their patients in like manner, and from the example of Chriſt himſelf. Better had he held his peace than defended himſelf thus, in a way which made his cauſe appear worſe than it really was, ſince in all probability he had only ſaid ſomething againſt a profligate and an impudent Bully, which he did not care to avow, although it was true. Yet hence it ſhould ſeem, that the generous candor and open ſimplicity, which adorned the youth and the manhood of Eraſmus, were ſomewhat decayed in his older days; and we ſee that from the time that he wanted to paſs for a defender of the Church of Rome, his letters are not altogether free from diſſimulation and cenſoriouſneſs.

George Duke of Saxony, hearing of this altercation, wrote a kind [x] letter to Eraſmus, in which he treats Eppendorf as a worthleſs raſkal, for whom he would do nothing; and Eraſmus [y] tells us that the Duke would not ſpeak to Eppendorf, or ſee him, when he came to beg an audience; but let him know, that he would have no communications with a man, who had the impudence to deny his own father, and to pretend to be, what he was not, of noble extraction. Eraſmus

[x] Ep. 349. c. 1741. [y] Ep. 1146.

Eraſmus [a] hath ſet him forth as one who before the quarrel had been his ſecret enemy, and his pretended friend, as a liar, a ſhuffler, a diſſipator, a beggar, who was deeply in debt, a licentious debauché, who had loſt his reputation, a gameſter, a man of conſummate vanity and impudence, who, though of a mean family, gave himſelf the airs of quality. A. D. 1528.

In the mean time, Eraſmus had the pleaſure to receive obliging letters from the Elector of Cologn, the King of England, and the Archbiſhop of Toledo. The two latter invited him to come to them; but he excuſed himſelf on account of his bad health, and he had juſt cauſe to ſhun the places where the Monks were powerful. He lived in much greater eaſe and ſecurity amongſt the Reformed, though he treated them little better than he did the Monks, whom it was impoſſible for him to appeaſe, as it appears from his letter to the Divines of Louvain. Ep. 963, 859, &c.

His *Ciceronianus* provoked the *Literati* in France, becauſe, ſpeaking of eminent men in that nation, he had unluckily [a] joined together Budæus, and [b] Badius, a Librarian, who was learned enough, for a man of his profeſſion, but in no manner equal to Budæus. Brixius wrote him, upon this occaſion, a letter of warm expoſtulation; and Eraſmus excuſed, or rather juſtified himſelf in a laboured apology. But the French were ſtill generally perſuaded, that he had been influenced by ſpleen and envy to leſſen Budæus, who, though inferior to Eraſmus in other reſpects, was better ſkilled than he in Greek literature, and was extremely beloved and eſteemed in France. Eraſmus had a great regard for Badius, and committed ſeveral of his works to the care of this

[a] See his Epiſtle to Goclenius, prefixed to the firſt Volume.

[a] Tom. I. c. 1011. See Maittaire II. 69.

[b] Bayle BADIUS. Baillet II. 261. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 547. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 121. Le Clerc Bibl. A. & M. XVIII. 408. Maittaire II. 66.

A. D. 1528. famous printer: and Budæus did the ſame. Poor Badius ſuffered the moſt in this ſilly quarrel. Ep. 968, 981, &c.

In an artful and eloquent letter to his friend Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, a man eaten up with ſuperſtition, he defends himſelf and his Colloquies, which had diſpleaſed the Prelate, who wanted Eraſmus to make Retractations, after the manner of Auguſtin. I correct my works every day, ſays Eraſmus; but St. Auguſtin, after all his retractations, left many things ſtanding in his works, which if a man had advanced in our days, he muſt have paſſed for an heretic. Then he laſhes the Monks, and relates ſome of their [c] pious frauds and ridiculous miracles to delude ſilly people. But

[c] Non pendet hodie religio Chriſtianorum a miraculis, nec obſcurum eſt quot opiniones invectæ ſunt in orbem per homines ad ſuum quæſtum callidos, confictorum miraculorum præſidio. Quæ ſunt in ſacris literis tanto firmius credemus, ſi non quibuſlibet hominum fabulis crediderimus. Atque adeo jam nunc exoriuntur qui vetus artificium revocant. Alibi viſum eſt ſpectrum, quod a preſbytero flagitaret abſolutionem, quia citra confeſſionem deceſſerat, non quod deeſſet voluntas, ſed quod negata fuiſſet ſacerdotis copia. Quid hic diſcimus, niſi abſolvi poſſe qui non confitentur, et poſt hanc vitam opus eſſe preſbytero iis quibus volentibus defuit confitendi facultas? Alibi parochus quidam ſub diem Paraſceves clam immiſit in cœmeterium vivos cancros, affixis ad latus cereolis ardentibus; qui quum reperent inter ſepulchra, viſum eſt noctu terribile ſpectaculum, nec quiſquam auſus eſt accedere propius. Hinc rumor atrox. Conſternatis omnibus, parochus e ſuggeſtu docet populum has eſſe defunctorum animas, quæ Miſſis et eleemoſynis flagitarent a cruciatu liberari. Fucus ita proditus eſt, reperti ſunt tandem unus et alter cancer inter rudera, facem extinctam geſtantes, quos parochus non recollegerat. Idem aliud machinatus eſt. Convivebat illi neptis, mulier bene nummata: in hujus cubiculum profunda nocte ſolet irrepere, lineo involuero umbram mentiens. Emittebat voces ambiguas, ſperans fore ut mulier accerſeret exorciſtam, aut ipſa loqueretur. Verum illa nimis maſculo animo, clam rogavit cognatum quendam, ut unam noctem ſecum eſſet tectus in cubiculo. Ille vero fuſte armatus pro exorciſmis, ac probe potus, quo minus expaveſceret, occultatur in lecto. Adeſt ſpectrum ſolito more, neſcio quid triſte mugiens. Excitatur exorciſta: profilit nondum ſobrius, aggreditur; ibi ſpectrum voce geſtuque deterrere parat. At ebrius ille, Si tu es, inquit, Diabolus, ego ſum mater illius, et correptum impoſtorem fuſte dolat, occiſurus,

But it is not probable that this could quite ſatisfy Fiſher, and ſet Eraſmus right in his opinion. A. D. 1528.

Writing to another friend about theſe pious tricks, he ſneers the doctrine of [d] Purgatory boldly enough.

To Martin Lipſius, a Divine of Louvain, he repeats the old ſtory, or his defence againſt the Monks. Ep. 979.

In Ep. 981 he mentions Leonardus [e] Aretinus, of whoſe abilities he ſpeaks moderately in his *Ciceronianus*.

He was at this time very buſy in publiſhing an edition of St. Auguſtin, and laboured for little or no profit, to ſerve Froben's children; elſe he declares, that he would not have undertaken ſuch a taſk for two thouſand franks.

It appears that he ſometimes did not refuſe to take young gentlemen into his houſe, as boarders. He writes to one Hermannus Caminga, who requeſted this favour of him. Eraſmus conſented, and told him that he admitted very few perſons to dwell with him, and that he ſeldom converſed with them, except at meal-times. Ep. 985, 993.

He wrote to Albertus, Prince of Carpi, who had compoſed a book againſt him, and had ſent the manuſcript to him. This Prince, who had loſt his principality, was then in France, ſpreading a thouſand calumnies there againſt Eraſmus, who on his ſide was meditating a reply. It came out the next year. See the laſt Tome of the Works of Eraſmus. Ep. 995.

He

occiſurus, ni mutata voce clamaſſet, Parce, non ſum anima, ſed ſum dominus Joannes. Ad vocem agnitam, mulier exſilit e lecto, pugnamque dirimit. Hæc præludia. Equidem ut ſemper pium exiſtimavi pro defunctis vel orare vel ſacrificare, ita talibus terriculamentis haud ſane multum tribuerim, etiamſi fucus abſit, qui vix unquam ſolet abeſſe. Certe Chryſoſtomus putat hæc omnia dæmonum eſſe ludibria. Ep. 974.

[d] Equidem pium arbitror vel orare vel ſacrificare pro defunctis: verum ſi quis omnino mihi naſus, de ſpectro fabula. Monachorum eſt commentum, quibus adeſt mentiendi voluntas, at not ſuppetit facultas. Mirum in modum amant ignem purgatorium, quod utiliſſimus ſit illorum culinis. Ep. 977.

[e] Bayle Dict. ARETIN.

A. D. 1528. He dedicated ſome piece to the Cardinal of Lorrain, who ordered a very handſome preſent to be ſent to him, which yet was detained by the knavery of ſome of the Cardinal's ſervants, as Eraſmus [f] informs him freely, though politely. But from another letter we find that it came [g] ſafe at laſt to his hands.

He was invited by Ferdinand to come and live at Vienna, and to accept of a penſion of four hundred florins. But, as he ſays, it was like going into another world. Ep. 969.

In a letter to Gattinarius, he obſerves that Luther began to lower his ſails, and make a ſort of recantation: but in this he was [h] miſtaken. Ep. 967.

[i] Gattinarius, who died in 1530, was Chancellor to the Emperor, a conſtant friend to Eraſmus, a wiſe and moderate man, inclined to a Reformation, and greatly diſpleaſed at the violent proceedings againſt the Reformers. Melanchthon and Eraſmus have highly extolled him.

Oecolampadius, ſays he, hath taken to himſelf a wife, a pretty girl. He wants, I ſuppoſe, to mortify the fleſh. Some call Lutheraniſm a tragedy: I call it a comedy, where the diſtreſs commonly ends in a wedding. Ep. 951.

He

[f] Ep. 964.

[g] Oneravit me tua benignitas tam gravi ſarcina munificentiæ, ut nec inveniam qua ratione queam aliqua ex parte reponere quod accepi, et pudeat gratias agere: pro mediocribus enim beneficiis gratias agere vulgi mos eſt. Non jam loquor modo de ſplendidiſſimo planeque regali tuo munere, ſed multo magis de ſingulari iſtius in me animi ſtudio atque favore, &c. Ep. 453. c. 1841.

[h] Mirum eſt Eraſmum in ea opinione fuiſſe, ac ſi Lutherus palinodiam caneret, cum tamen ne unicus quidem articulus in theſi ſua ſit mutatus. — Dubitandum tamen eſt, an ſatis accurate legerit Eraſmus, quæ edita ſunt, an temere potius pronunciaverit, dum ad Gattinaram ſcribit: *Indies miteſcit febris Lutherana, adeo ut ipſe Lutherus de ſingulis propemodum ſcribat palinodiam, ac cæteris habeatur ob hoc ipſum hæreticus et delirus.* Quos vero intelligat per *cæteros*, divinare nequeo, niſi ad Zuinglium aut Anabaptiſtas reſpiciat. *Seckendorf* L. II. p. 108.

[i] Seckendorf L. II. p. 157.

He again repreſents [k] Aleander as one of his moſt inveterate enemies. A. D. 1528.

To his friend Vives he hints, that he did not [l] care to meddle with the affair of the King's divorce. He had received a preſent from a [m] Queen; Queen Catharine, in all probability, who was always kind and courteous to him. He ſays, that if he were Arbitrator in that affair, he would ſooner [n] allow the King two wives than take one from him.

To Martinus Lipſius he complains of his Theological Calumniators, who declaimed againſt him from the pulpit. It was hardly worth his while to take ſo frequent notice of theſe inſults, which have been common in all times, and will be ſo, as long as pulpits and preachers exiſt. Ep. 979.

He tells us a good ſtory of a Monk, who had collected many grievous [o] errors out of the Jerom of Eraſmus, miſtaking the Father for the Editor; ſo that all the blows which he aimed at Eraſmus,

[k] Jam audio multis perſuaſum, ex meis ſcriptis extitiſſe totam hanc Eccleſiæ procellam: cujus vaniſſimi rumoris præcipuus auctor fuit Hieronymus Aleander, homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non ſuperſtitioſe verax. Ejuſdem ſententiæ videtur Albertus Carporum Princeps. Ep. 971.

[l] Negotio Jovis et Junonis abſit ut me admiſceam, præſertim incognito. Citius tribuerim uni duas Junones, quam unam adimerem. Ep. 975.

[m] Ibid.

[n] "Eraſmus, ſays Burnet, favoured "the divorce, but he would not appear "in it. He had no mind to provoke "the Emperor, and live uneaſy in his "own country." I. 92.

Whence Burnet collected this, I know not. Eraſmus in his *Chriſtiani Matrimonii Inſtitutio*, dedicated to Queen Catharine in 1526, ſeems to have her marriage in view, and to juſtify it, when he ſays:

"Prohiberis ducere — uxorem fratris "tui, fortaſſis vivo fratre: nam mortuo "fratre ſine liberis, jubetur frater ſu- "perſtes ſuſcitare poſteritatem fratri de- "functo. Et Herodes a Joanne repre- "henditur, qui fratris uxorem duxerat "vivo fratre." T. V. c. 639.

[o] In Monaſterio quodam Dominicanorum, Prior in ſuos partitus erat meas lucubrationes, ut ex his colligeret errata. Cuidam forte obvenerat Hieronymus. Is, cui non minus ignotus erat Hieronymus quam Eraſmus, cœpit promiſcue notare quicquid offenderet vel in Hieronymo,

A. D. 1528. Eraſmus, fell upon poor Jerom, who, if he had been in the land of the living, would have pulled the Monk by the noſe, for his egregious ſtupidity.

He makes ſome pretty [p] remarks on Ciceronianiſm in two letters, which deſerve to be peruſed.

He

nymo, vel in meis ſcholiis: ingentem errorum ſylvam congeſſerat ex Hieronymo. At cum in conventu proferret quiſque quæ notaret, hic multum laudis ſibi ſperabat, quod nemo plures adferret articulos. Tandem cordatior quiſpiam ſenſit hominem nullum habuiſſe diſcrimen inter Hieronymum et Eraſmum. Itaque pro ſperata laude, ludibrium retulit. Verumtamen hic caſus docuit, ex quovis Orthodoxo plures errores decerpi poſſe, quam ex meis libris, ſi quis tales animos ad illos adferat, quales illi adferunt ad meos. Ep. 980.

[p] Morbus hic primum ex Italia duxit originem, nec ulli majores ibi tumultus concitarunt, quam qui minimum habebant Ciceronis. Neque paucos noſtratium ea lues afflare coeperat, præſertim illos qui nobis ex Italia redierunt. Id quoniam perſpiciebam vehementer inutile, vel eruditioni ſolidæ, vel Chriſtianæ facundiæ, paucorum dierum opella mihi ſumta eſt, ut eam ſuperſtitionem ab animis juvenum depellerem, ab hoc ipſo quod affectatur ſubmoventem, dum et tot Auctores lectione dignos faſtidiunt, nec eum, quem unum ſibi proponunt, aſſequuntur, &c.

Suſpicor iſtic eſſe ἀλλοφύλους, quos intra ſinum urit, quod nego quicquam eſſe facundum, quod non ſit Chriſtianum. — Verum adverſus iſtos omni, quod aiunt, pede ſtandum eſt, qui moliuntur ut ſub iſto titulo nomineque bonarum literarum repullulaſcat Paganitas. Si ſumus ex animo Chriſtiani, nihil nobis eruditum, elegans aut venuſtum videri debet, quod non ſpiret Chriſtum, quoties materia poſtulat. Novi quoſdam clancularios Paganitatis fautores, qui ſi mihi ſtomachum moverint, accipientur ut digni ſunt. Pro Chriſto ſentient me non eſſe timidulum; in aliis non gravate concedo quibuſlibet, &c. Ep. 982.

Multo poſt editum *Ciceronianum*, comperi hoc ipſum argumentum fuiſſe tractatum tribus epiſtolis inter Franciſcum Picum Comitem Mirandulanum, et Petrum Bembum; quorum alter fuſius diſſerit, alter haud ita multum a me diſſentit. Negat enim ſe loqui, niſi de raræ felicitatis ingeniis: neque hic deterret a bonorum auctorum lectione, ſed ad unius Ciceronis imitationem invitat, atque adeo, quod eſt difficilius, æmulationem.

Simul atque eodem, ut ita loquar, nixu nuper edidimus duos libellos; alterum *de Pronunciatione*, alterum *de Ciceronis imitatione*: quorum ille, ſicuti neminem offendit, ita minus invenit amatorum: hic quemadmodum avide diſtractus eſt, ita apud aliquot non mediocrem offenſam incurrit, &c. Ep. 1008.

He gives us a [q] detail of his labours in publiſhing St. Auguſtin. A. D. 1528.

To the Biſhop of Liege he ſends an [r] account of a profane fellow, who was ſtruck dead for playing the fool with the *hoſt*. It is a wonder that he would venture to vouch for the truth of ſuch a ſtory.

In ſome of this year's letters he obſerves, that [s] Luther was grown more mild and moderate, when, as he ſays, it was too late.

He

[q] Septem prælis ſuppeditem oportet quod excudant. Sed cum primis enecat Auguſtinus, quem totum emendo, quum in Hieronymo præter Epiſtolas nihil mihi ſumſerim. Hoc laboris mihi manibus pedibuſque recuſanti obtruſit felicis memoriæ Joannes Frobenius, quem ſic amabam, ut pernegare nihil poſſem, etiamſi me in foro juſſiſſet reſtim ducere. Is operi immortuus eſt, quod vereor ne me quoque abſorbeat, certe minimo minus exoculavit. Nullus voluminum modus aut finis, toties legenda ac relegenda eadem. Et materiarum obſcuritas, ſermonis argutia, frequenter in longum circumactæ periodi, requirunt attentum lectorem, nec ſinunt vel ad momentum temporis dormitare. Mendarum autem tantum comperi, ut nemo ſit crediturus niſi conferat, nec hac de re quenquam hactenus queſtum eſſe mirum eſt. Nihil addidimus ſcholiorum, niſi ſicubi vocula quæpiam annotanda fuit ne rurſus depravetur. Tantum mendas ſuſtulimus non ſine veterum præſidio codicum, materias congruentes digeſſimus, notha paucis indicavimus, ea fide, eaque religione, quæ tam pio, tam erudito, tam eloquenti Eccleſiæ propugnatori debetur. — Quod ſi dabitur huic operi ſupereſſe, tum æquum fuerit te non aliter Eraſmo gratulari, quam ſolemus diu deſperatis amicis e longinqua periculoſaque navigatione proram in patrium litus impingentibus. Ep. 981.

[r] In pago quodam, cui nomen *Vetus Vicus*, ruſticus quidam in diverſorio dum Euchariſtiam irridet, ſubito exanimatus eſt. Rem ſic actam fuiſſe teſtes docuere. Ædituus quidam ruſticus perferebat ſcriniolum plenum pattibus conſecrandis quas *Hoſtias* vocant: huic comes erat alter ruſticus, qui quondam fuerat ædituus. Ubi ventum eſt ad victum modo dictum, libuit ibi bibere. In diverſorio petit comes ille ab ædituo hoſtiam dono; illo cunctante accepit, et incipit per ludibrium conſecrare: cauponaria videns increpat; ille, nihil, inquit, tua refert, abi, apporta vinum. Ubi redit mulier, offendit hominem collapſum; rogat quid habeat: reſpondent ibi potantes in alia menſa, forſitan habet illum ſyncopis. Mulier adfert acetum, admovent, ſed fruſtra, erat plane mortuus. Hæc non eſt fabula. Feruntur et alii rumores, verum nolui parum comperta ſcribere. Ep. 987.

[s] Nunc (Lutherus) ſtultorum exemplo, doctus experimentis, ita ſua moderatur, ut propemodum canat palinodiam. Ep. 1004.

A. D. 1528. He congratulates [t] Bembus [u], for having been happily abſent from the ſacking of Rome.

It is ſaid of Bembus, that he ſpake contemptuouſly of the Epiſtles of St. Paul, and that he derided the doctrine of a future ſtate. But, as theſe ſtories come not from the firſt hand, from any perſon who pretended to have heard him, we may conſider them as falſe, or at leaſt very uncertain rumours. If religion had not, yet prudence and decency would probably have reſtrained this polite Cardinal from talking at ſuch a rate.

Lipſius wrote an ingenious letter to Douza, in which he criticizes the ſtyle and manner of Bembus. Le Clerc hath inſerted this letter in his *Bibl. Choiſ.* and hath added very good remarks of his own upon Bembus, and Lipſius, and upon Scipio Gentilis, who had treated the Cardinal very ſeverely.

The ſtyle of Bembus is affected, and not always free from modern idioms: but the ſtyle of Lipſius is execrable, in his later compoſitions; for in his youth he wrote far better, till he fell into a broken, incoherent, ſententious, oracular, and figurative language, not through incapacity of doing better, but through an affected and vitiated taſte. He had a few diſciples, who imitated him, and wrote ten times worſe than he, becauſe they had not his learning, and his fancy, and vivacity; he was ingenious, and they were dull.

Vincentius

Si Lutherani abſtinuiſſent ab Euchariſtia convellenda, Miſſa abroganda, Imaginibus tollendis, — ſperari poterat lætior exitus. Nunc Lutherus tacet, Melanchthon mitigat; ſed ſero, ut ais, ſapiunt Phryges. Ep. 1006.

[t] Boiſſard Icon. p. 235. Pope Blount, p. 390. Baillet, and La Monnoye, I. 86, 313. II. 676. IV. 381. VI. 68. Bayle BEMBUS. Le Clerc, Bibl. Choiſ. T. I. p. 314 — 353. Vita Bembi per Joann. Caſam. Caſa is a polite and elegant Writer. This Life is to be found in the *Vitæ Bateſii*.

[u] Bembus et Sadoletus boni Poetæ. Bembi ſcripta fuerunt affectatiſſima. *Scaliger.* Son hiſtoire de Veniſe eſt tres-juſtement blâmée par Lipſe d'eſtre trop elegante. *Tan. Faber. Scaliger.* p. 53.

Vincentius [x] Contarenus, a Venetian Profeſſor, was highly provoked at the ſeverity with which Lipſius had treated the works of his countryman Bembus; and ſet himſelf to pull to pieces the works of Lipſius, by way of repriſals. A. D. 1528.

The 948th Ep. is to Joannes [y] Cochlæus, a noiſy Divine, who was very active againſt the Lutherans. This man teized and pelted Luther with many little books; and Luther deſpiſed him, and treated him with infinite contempt. But Cochlæus had the laſt word, and Luther fairly gave up, being tired with the conteſt and the adverſary.

" [z] Zuinglius and Oecolampadius are gone the wrong way. " —Cochlæus is not ſuch a Divine; he is a very ideot, therefore " I have hope of him. But Prince George and the Biſhop of " Mentz belong directly to the Devil."

Ep. 990 is from Ludovicus Vives, and ſhews a moſt amiable and Chriſtian diſpoſition.

Ep. 991 is to [a] Livinus Ammonius, a Carthuſian Monk, and a worthy man.

[b] Eraſmus had, for his ſeal, the god *Terminus*, with the inſcription *Concedo nulli*. Hence he was accuſed by ſome of his ſtupid and

[x] Relat. Gotting. V. III. Faſc. III. p. 251.

[y] Bayle Dict. COCHLÉE. Seckendorf I. p. 283. Thuanus L. XI. p. 349.

[z] Luther's Colloq. Menſalia, p. 280.

[a] Bayle AMMONIUS (LIVINUS.)

[b] Quod mihi pro tuo ingenio modeſtiſſime ſignificas, idem ex aliorum literis dilucide cognovi, extitiſſe qui *Terminum* annuli mei ſigillum in calumniam vocant, vociferantes intolerabilis arrogantiæ eſſe, quod adjectum eſt ſymbolum, *Concedo nulli*. — Somniant ab Eraſmo dici *Concedo nulli*. Atqui ſi mea ſcripta legerent, viderent vix quenquam eſſe tam mediocrem, ut illi me præferam, citius concedens omnibus quam nulli. Jam qui me propius ex convictu familiari noverunt, quidvis vitii tribuerent potius quam arrogantiam. — Sed fingant animum tam inſolentem eſſe mihi, ut memet omnibus anteponam, etiamne tam ſtultum exiſtimant, ut id ſymbolo profitear? — Vident illic ſculptam imaginem, inferne ſaxum, ſuperne juvenem capillis volitantibus. An hæc aliquid habet Eraſmi? Id ſi parum eſt, vident

A. D. 1528. and malicious enemies of inſufferable vanity, of repreſenting himſelf as ſuperior to all mankind. The ſeal was not of his own contrivance, but an ancient ſeal, given him by his pupil the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Eraſmus added the legend, and thought it a good ſymbolical repreſentation of Death, which every wiſe man ought to have before his eyes, and for which he ſhould hold himſelf prepared.

A. D. MDXXIX. Ætat. LXII.

A. D. 1529. The *Ciceronianus* of Eraſmus drew upon him much malevovence. Some were diſguſted, becauſe in that treatiſe they had not been complimented as much as they deſired; and others, becauſe they had been paſſed over in ſilence. Of this he informs

vident in ipſo ſaxo expreſſum, *Terminus*; in quam dictionem ſi deſinas, verſus erit, *Concedo nulli Terminus*: ſin hinc incipias, erit, *Terminus concedo nulli*, &c. — Hic forte clamabunt, Quid tibi cum fabuloſo Deo? Obvenit, non adſcitus eſt. Alexander, Archiepiſcopus S. Andreæ, cum a patre Jacobo, Scotiæ rege, Senis in patriam revocaretur, mihi Romam evocato, velut gratus et amicus diſcipulus, annulos aliquot dono dedit, habitæ inter nos conſuetudinis μνημόσυνον. In his erat, qui in gemma ſculptum habebat Terminum. Nam hoc prius ignotum indicavit Italus quidam, harum antiquitatum curioſus. Arripui omen, et interpretatus ſum admoneri me, non procul abeſſe vitæ terminum: nam id temporis agebam annum circiter quadrageſimum. Hæc cogitatio ne poſſet excidere, literis hoc ſignum imprimere coepi. Addidi carmen, ut ante dictum eſt. Itaque ex profano Deo feci mihi ſymbolum, adhortans ad vitæ correctionem: Mors enim vere Terminus eſt, qui nulli cedere novit. Atqui in ſufili imagine adſcriptum eſt Græce, Ὄψει τέλος μακρῆς βίου, id eſt, *Specta finem longæ vitæ*: Latine, *Mors ultima linea rerum*. Poteras, inquient, inſculpere defuncti cranium. Forſitan acceptaturus eram, ſi obveniſſet: ſed hoc arriſit, primum quia fortuito contigit, deinde quod geminam haberet gratiam, alteram ex alluſione ad priſcam ac celebrem hiſtoriam, alteram ex obſcuritate, quæ ſymbolis eſt peculiaris. Habes Apologiam de Termino, ſeu verius de lana caprina. Atque utinam iſti tandem calumniis ſuis terminum ponerent. Lubens enim cum illis paciſcar, ut mutem ſymbolum meum, ſi illi mutent morbum ſuum, &c. *Epiſt. ad Alphonſum Valdeſium*, A. 1528. Tom. X. c. 1757.

forms his friend Joannes [c] Vlattenus, to whom he had dedi- A. D. 1529.
cated this book. He alſo draws up an [d] elogium of his friend Jacobus

[c] Melch. Adam.

[d] Dum amicos recenſemus, unum non poſtremi loci amiſimus, Jacobum Wimphelingum Sletſtadienſem, qui quidem inter felices numerari poterat, niſi ſenectus illius in hoc ſeculum multo turbulentiſſimum incidiſſet. Nam a teneris uſque annis educatus *eſt (perhaps* eſt *ſhould be left out)* in honeſtiſſimis literis, primum Sletſtadii ſub Ludovico Dringenbergio Weſphalo, deinde Friburgi, mox Heidelbergæ, Pontificii juris peritiam cum Theologiæ ſcientia non infeliciter conjunxit, et alioqui nullius honeſtæ diſciplinæ rudis. Eloquentiæ vero tantum præſtitit tum in carmine, tum in oratione ſoluta, quantum vel a Theologo, vel ab illorum temporum homine poſſit requiri. Adſcitus Spiram, Eccleſiaſtæ munus non ſine laude geſſit. Interea hunc vir pius ardens amore rerum cœleſtium, eoque pertæſus ſeculi, quod teſte Joanne, totum in malitia poſitum eſt, de ſeceſſu cogitavit. Ejus propoſiti conſortem habebat Chriſtophorum ab Utenheim, doctum pariter et caſtiſſimæ integritatis virum. Atque ut nudus ad nudum Chriſtum confugeret, quod erat Eccleſiaſtici cenſus, erat autem quod ad vitæ mundiciem ſufficiebat, reſignavit. Cæterum hoc conſilium abrupit Chriſtophorus ad Epiſcopi munus retractus, amicis ita ſuadentibus futurum, ut ſi ad mentem tam piam acceſſiſſet auctoritas, plures Chriſto lucrifaceare poſſet, quam ſi ſe abdidiſſet. Ille tamen (*namely* Wimphelingus) ſua paupertate lætus, pergebat quod inſtituerat agere, rurſus Heidelbergæ ſacros auctores enarrare, et in his Hieronymum. Ad hæc libellis editis et adoleſcentiam inſtituit, et ſacerdotes ad pietatis caſtimoniæque ſtudium excitavit. Nec gravatus eſt amore pietatis, agere pædagogum aliquot magnæ ſpei adoleſcentibus, quorum præcipuus, nunc inter nobiles, doctrina, ſinceritate, candore, prudentia Jacobus *Sturmus*, (*read* Sturmius) cujus conſiliis plurimum debet tota pene Germania, non ſolum inclyta civitas Argentoratum. Nec invidia caruit hominis ſancta libertas. Romam excitus eſt homo et ſenio et hernia tardus, Monachorum Auguſtinenſium opera, quod alicubi ſcripſiſſet, Auguſtinum non fuiſſe Monachum, aut certe non talem, quales nunc habentur Auguſtinenſes, quum hi tamen illum in tabulis ac libellis exhibeant promiſſa barba, nigra cuculla, et zona coriacea. Hoc incendium, ex minima ſcintilla latius evagaturum, Julii ſecundi preſſit auctoritas, idque bonorum omnium applauſu. Præter alias adverſitates, quibus hominis virtus exercita fuit, hoc fatale totius Eccleſiæ diſſidium vehementer illum afflixit, ac tantum non ad vitæ tædium adegit. Itaque ſolitudinem ac ſeceſſum fruſtra tentatum, ingraveſcentibus annis egit Sletſtadii, in ædibus Magdalenæ ſororis; ex qua nepotes duos, quos paterno ſemper affectu complexus fuerat, reliquit, moribus ac literis

A. D. 1529. Jacobus [a] Wimphelingus, of Sletſtad, who died aged fourſcore years. There is a letter of his to Eraſmus, and a very pretty anſwer from Eraſmus, which is not in our Collection, and which we will put in the Appendix.

He gave a new edition of Seneca, reviſed with more labour and accuracy than the former, and dedicated it to the Biſhop of Cracow, Chancellor to the Crown of Poland. In this addreſs to the Biſhop, he gives a large account of this author, and adds many elegant and judicious remarks of the Critical kind, which deſerve to be carefully peruſed; although ſome excellent Critics have ſince laboured ſucceſsfully upon Seneca, as Lipſius, and J. F. Gronovius.

He had committed the care of the former edition to a friend, and had dedicated it to Ruthal, Biſhop of Durham. His friend, for want of care or want of ſkill, made a poor edition of it, and the book was not preſented to the Biſhop in due time, by the fault of the bookſeller; and on both accounts the Biſhop conceived a diſlike for Eraſmus, and was never perfectly reconciled to him.

In

eleganter inſtitutos. — Nondum tamen ſtatui, utrum Wimphelingi mors gratulatione dignior ſit, an deploratione. Annum attigit pene octogeſimum, diutius etiam victurus, ſi corpuſculi deficientis rationem ullam habere voluiſſet: et ſubductus eſt huic ſeculo, quo nihil ſingi poteſt inquinatius. Poſtremo nihil addubito, quin vitæ innocenter actæ præmiis jam fruatur apud cœlites. Ep. 1008.

In this, and in other epiſtles, Eraſmus hath highly commended Jacobus Sturmius: and ſo hath Thuanus L. XII. p. 377. His life is written by Melch. Adam. See alſo Bayle STURMIUS.

Wimphelingus publiſhed an edition of a poem of Mantuan, called *Faſti Sacrorum Dierum*, and recommended the uſe of it to School-maſters. In this edition (which hath not fallen in my way) there is a letter of Eraſmus to Wimphelingus, written A. 1517, and not inſerted in the edition of Leyden, wherein Eraſmus prefers Mantuan to Marullus, whom he abhorred as a debauched profane poet, and a very Pagan, and ſays, *Malo hemiſtichium Mantuani, quam tres Marullicas myriadas.*

[a] Melchior Adam. Maittaire II. 258, 269, 691.

In this Epiſtle he commends [f] Sigiſmundus Gelenius, the cor- A. D. 1529.
rector of Froben's preſs, who was of an ancient and honourable family, and not only a very learned, but, which is far better, a very good man, and who lived and died extremely poor. His father was a man of letters, and tranſlated the *Moriæ Encomium* of Eraſmus into the German language. Ep. 1010.

" [g] There is a memorable fact, which is ſaid to have haſtened " the death of Biſhop Fiſher, which, as it ſhews the treachery " of Cardinal Wolſey to him, I ſhall relate in the very words of " his [h] Hiſtorian:

" *He was commanded by the King to write a book concerning the* " *ſtate of the kingdom, and to deliver it when finiſhed to the Cardi-* " *nal. But he had written another book concerning the ſtate of his* " *own affairs, covered and ſtitched ſo exactly after the ſame manner,* " *that one of them could not upon ſight be diſtinguiſhed from the other.* " *Having ordered a ſervant to bring him a book covered with white* " *parchment, he brought that relating to the Biſhop's private affairs,* " *which, without looking in it, he delivered to the Cardinal, who,* " *afterward diſcovering the miſtake, was much pleaſed; telling the* " *King, if his Majeſty had occaſion for money, he might now know* " *where to be ſupplied: for it appeared by that Prelate's own account,* " *that he was worth an hundred thouſand pounds; an immenſe ſum at* " *that time. So ſoon as the Biſhop perceived his error, he was* " *ſeized with ſuch a grief, that it is ſaid to have haſtened his* " *death.*

" It is not ſaid, whether the King did take advantage of this " information; but this we are ſure of, that not a great while after,

[f] Huetius De Clar. Interp. p. 225. Maittaire I. 291. II. 4. Bayle GELENIUS. Pope Blount, p. 459. Thuanus L. XIII. p. 405.

[g] Knight, p. 152.

[h] Fiddes.

[i] There is a ſtory, not very unlike this, concerning Cardinal Du Prat, a man of parts, and a vile perſecutor of the Reformed. See Bayle PRAT, Not. C.

A. D. 1529. " after, in the ſame net he laid for others were his own feet
" taken. For the Cardinal's whole ſubſtance, and the vaſt
" treaſures he had amaſſed together, were all ſeized for the King's
" uſe, and he himſelf died with grief. *Nec Lex eſt juſtior ulla.*—
" Biſhop Ruthall was ſaid to be a moſt munificent benefactor
" to the palace of Aukland, belonging to his ſee; as alſo founder
" of a Free-ſchool at Cirenceſter where he was born, giving an
" houſe and ſeven pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of a
" Maſter. Though he was bred at Oxford, we find him incor-
" porated D. D. at Cambridge, of which Univerſity he was Chan-
" cellor anno 1503, as you may ſee in *Antiq. Britan.* where his
" arms are quartered with thoſe of the See of Durham."

Whilſt we deteſt the treachery of the Cardinal, we cannot afford much pity to the Biſhop, with his hundred thouſand pounds. If he had made a wiſe uſe of them, like Archbiſhop Warham, who had the honour and the glory to live and die poor, they would have been beyond the reach of the King and the Cardinal.

Extra fortunam eſt quicquid donatur amicis:
Quas dederis ſolas ſemper habebis opes.

Even a Pagan could ſay this.

Eraſmus publiſhed ſome pieces of Chryſoſtom in Greek, and dedicated to other friends a treatiſe of Georgius Agricola *de Metallis*, and a book of Lactantius *of the formation of Man*, which he corrected from an ancient manuſcript. Ep. 1010, 1011, 1014, 1015.

He now had thoughts of departing from Baſil; but knew not whether he ſhould repair to Spira, or to Friburg. He feared the laſt-mentioned city, becauſe it was too little, and becauſe the inhabitants, who were ſuperſtitious, would be offended at him for not keeping Lent, although he had a diſpenſation from the Pope. Ep. 1017, 1021.

He

He [k] mentions, amongſt his adverſaries, [l] Titelman, whom he calls a vain and conceited young fellow. But Titelman was infinitely ſuperior to Eraſmus, being a Capuchin, a Saint, and a worker of miracles, as Val. Andreas informs us, which was more than Eraſmus could pretend to do. A. D. 1529.

Whilſt Eraſmus was preparing an edition of Auguſtin, the Archbiſhop of Toledo ſent him a preſent; and this determined Eraſmus to dedicate that work to him. Ep. 1031, 1032, 1033.

He deſcribes the revolution at Baſil in this year, and in the winter; a fuller account of which may be ſeen in [m] Sleidan, and in other Hiſtorians.

In the midſt of the cold weather, ſays he, the war againſt Idols grew ſo exceedingly hot, that not one poor image hath been left in the temples. They have alſo entirely aboliſhed the Maſs, and all the Eccleſiaſtical ceremonial, ſaving that they preach to the people; and then women and children ſing Pſalms compoſed in German rhymes, and they diſtribute bread as a ſymbol of the Lord's body. The Monks and the Nuns are commanded to quit their habit, or to go and live elſewhere. But hitherto no violence hath been committed in private houſes, and not one drop of blood hath been ſhed, and I hope there never will. So many cities in Germany and Switzerland have entered into this alliance, that, if it comes to blows, I ſhould be glad to be far off. The power of Princes indeed is great: but where will you find ſoldiers willing to fight in behalf of Monks and Prieſts, and for the ſupport of their rights and profits? Ep. 1032.

He hath repeated the ſame things, and deſcribed the ſame event at large in other places; and in one epiſtle he adds [n], with more

[k] Ep. 1031.

[l] Du Pin. XVI. 1. Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. p. 290. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 62.

[m] L. VI. p. 156. Edit. Franc. Seckendorf L. II. p. 144. Scultet. Annales, A. 1529.

[n] Tantis autem ludibriis uſi ſunt in ſimulacra Divorum, atque etiam Crucifixi, ut mirum ſit, nullum illic editum miraculum,

A. D. 1529. *humour* than *unction*, They have treated the images of the Saints, and even of the Crucifix, with ſuch ſcorn and mockery, that it is a ſurpriſing thing that no miracles ſhould have been wrought upon the occaſion; eſpecially ſince the Saints in former days uſed to be very touchy, and to perform them moſt copiouſly and ſeverely, upon the ſlighteſt provocations. As to the mildneſs and forbearance of Chriſt and of the Virgin Mary, that is not to be wondered at.

It is to be ſuppoſed that the images, the fragments, and the reliques of the Saints wrought juſt as many miracles in the days of Eraſmus, as in the days of his anceſtors: but where the vouchers of thoſe wonders could no longer perſecute and maſſacre thoſe who laughed at them, there the miracles ceaſed of courſe.

He wrote at this time large apologetical letters, and ſad complaints, that he was hated and attacked with impunity by all ſorts of people. He makes ſome mention of the [o] Anabaptiſts, and of a certain [p] Fanatic of that ſect, who was burnt. He candidly obſerves,

miraculum, quum olim tam multa ſoleant edere vel leviter offenſi Divi. Ep. 1048.

Cæterum in aras, ſtatuas, et picturas ad internecionem uſque ſævitum eſt, crudeliter quidem, ſed citra ſanguinis effuſionem. Porro, quum legamus divum Franciſcum in rabiem egiſſe, qui ridebant *quinque vulnera*, quum alios Divos narrent horrendis exemplis ultos multorum irreligioſas voces, hic mihi ſubiit mirari, neminem e tam multis eſſe, qui tantæ ſtragis auctores ulciſceretur: nam de Chriſti et beatæ Virginis manſuetudine non miror. Ep. 1069.

[o] Anabaptiſtæ, tametſi magno ſunt ubique numero, tamen nuſquam obtinuerunt propriam Eccleſiam. Hi vitæ innocentia præ cæteris commendantur, ſed a reliquis quoque ſectis opprimuntur, non ſolum ab orthodoxis. Ep. 10[illegible] 1035.

[p] Accidit hic quiddam, Democriti riſu, an Heracliti lacrimis dignius, tu judicabis. Sacrificus quidam hoc advenit, is ſimulatque hoſpiti ſuo pecuniolam, quam debebat, numeraſſet, Vale, inquit, et age pœnitentiam: moxque progreſſus in publicum, exhibuit nobis alterum κεήδεμον, clara et articulata voce, ſerio vultu clamans, Agite pœnitentiam, imminet vobis manus Domini. Cum hoc præconio complures dies per omnes civitatis vias obambulavit. Ingreſſus ſummum templum, cœpit in corruptam Canonicorum vitam detonare. Id

obſerves, that many of the Anabaptiſts had then the reputation of being very ſober and inoffenſive in their life and manners. [p] Several of theſe men, and alſo many Lutherans and Zuinglians, were put to death this year. A. D. 1529.

He had received a preſent from the Archbiſhop of Toledo; he returns him [q] thanks for it, and promiſes to diſtribute part of it to his fellow-labourers in the edition of St. Auguſtin.

Id ridebant plerique, negligebant alii. Tandem ingreſſus dicitur et Oecolampadianorum templa, et in hos multo tum liberius tum atrocius vociferatus eſt, identidem animarum interemtores appellans. Interpellavit illum quidam, Heus tu, vocas ad pœnitentiam, ede quid nobis cenſes agendum, et quibus modis ſit placandus Deus. Ibi, veluti numine afflatus, Gorgoneis oculis intuitus percunctatorem, Phariſæe, inquit, quid me tentas? non aliud juſſit me loqui Spiritus. Dicitur et in monte Sollicardi πρόδρομον egiſſe, quum nec illic quenquam reperiſſet, cui liberet agere pœnitentiam, ipſe tres menſes concluſus carcere, pro omnibus pœnitentiam egit. Illinc dimiſſus, juxta præceptum Evangelicum, excuſſo pedum pulvere, huc demigravit, ubi quum multo minus arrideret nomen pœnitentiæ, duci juſſus eſt in carcerem. Quum duceretur, nihilo ſegnius clamabat, Agite pœnitentiam. Alter ſatellitum, Ni taces, inquit, improbe, hunc pugnum ingeram in os. Ille tanto magis clamabat, Agite pœnitentiam. Quid actum ſit in carcere, non liquido ſcitur. Dimiſſum conſtat, hac lege, ne redeat in ditionem hujus Reipublicæ. Mox, ut accipimus, contulit ſe Luceriam, quæ civitas ſic eſt infenſa novis ſectis, ut non alia magis. Illic aliquot diebus πρόδρομου functus officio, in hoc quoque retulit nobis Joannem Baptiſtam, quod conjectus eſt in vincula, in illo diſſimilis, quod ille decollatus, hic exuſtus eſt; nimirum quod Baptiſtam male repræſentaret Anabaptiſta. Quæ ſecta quum magis inviſa ſit Principibus quam ulla cæterarum, propter anarchiam et rerum communionem, quam prædicare dicuntur, tamen nec templum habent uſquam, nec regnum moliuntur, nec ulla vi ſe tuentur; et habere dicuntur multos moribus longe ſinceriores quam cæteri. Ep. 1044.

Gerard Brandt hath given an ample account of the Anabaptiſts in his Hiſtory, Vol. I.

[p] Seckendorf L. II. p. 145.

[q] Munus, quod tua benignitas ultro voluit Auguſtino renaſcenti largiri, cum his partiar, qui conferendis exemplaribus, quo labore nihil moleſtius, noſtram induſtriam nonnihil adjuverunt. Ep. 1033.

A. D. 1529. About the end of April he departed from Baſil to go to [r] Friburg, whither he had ſent the moſt valuable of his effects. King Ferdinand had given him a paſſport and a patent, and had invited him to his court. The Magiſtrates and the Miniſters of Baſil, though as Proteſtants they had the leſs reaſon to be fond of him, yet endeavoured to retain him amongſt them, becauſe of the honour, which, as an inhabitant, he did to their city. But the apprehenſions of being accuſed by the Romaniſts of colluſion, and of having had an hand in the Revolution, made him quit the place where he had ſo long dwelt. At Friburg he had [s] apartments allotted to him in a houſe belonging to the King, but not entirely fitted up. Ep. 1066, 1074.

Louis [t] Berquin was now burnt at Paris for religion. Eraſmus, in Ep. 1048, ſpeaks with much reſerve of this cruel and tragical affair; but [u] afterwards, in another letter, he adventured to praiſe him,

[r] He lived at Friburg ſeven years, *toto ſeptennio*, ſays Beat. Rhenanus Dedicat. Origenis. But Eraſmus went to Friburg A. 1529, and returned to Baſil A. 1535; which will not make ſeven years, unleſs you count incluſively.

[s] Notatu vero digna ſunt, quæ p. 120, ſeu in quodam epiſtolio, de Eraſmo Roterodamenſi magnifice a Friburgenſibus excepto, narrat Franciſcus a Burgundia Faleſius. *Act. Erudit.* XX. 85. Crenii Animadv. Pars Quarta.

Friburgi religio quidem vigebat Pontificia; ſed aliarum tamen artium, et linguarum ſtudia, Eraſmi imprimis opera, non infeliciter tunc erant inſtaurata. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Strigelii.

[t] Du Pin XIII. 175. See alſo p. 212, 219. Beza Icon. Bayle BERQUIN. Amœnitates Literariæ T. IX. p. 651.

[u] Ludovicus Berquinus vitam morte commutavit, exuſtus Lutetiæ in Gravia. De cauſa nihil certi hactenus [illegible] noſcere. Tantum audivi Judicibus duodecim delegatam pronunciandi auctoritatem. Quum inſtaret dies, hominem fuiſſe traditum carceri. Hoc parum [illegible] lix augurium. Pronunciatum eſt, ut e[illegible] uſtis libellis et abjuratis articulis, lingua illi ferro perfoderetur, mox perpetuo carceri dederetur. Is audita præter expectationem atroci ſententia, Regem appellavit et Pontificem. Judices indigne ferentes appellandi verbum; Si non recipis, inquiunt, hanc ſententiam, efficiemus ne poſthac quoquam appelles; et poſtridie pronunciarunt illum flammis tradendum. Aiunt primum articulum fuiſſe, quod ſcripſiſſet in rem eſſe pietatis, ut ſacri Libri in linguam vulgarem tranſlati legerentur a populo, id quod Senatus fieri vetuerat. Adhibiti ſunt ſatellites armati

him, and alſo to condemn his infamous perſecutors. They who ſhall read all the letters that he wrote about this time, will find him A. D. 1529.

armati ſexcenti, qui cohiberent ſi quid oriretur tumultus. Hæc qui retulit, præterea nihil certi potuit adferre, niſi quod aiebat Guilhelmum Budæum, unum, opinor, e Judicum numero, triduo priuſquam damnaretur, privatim egiſſe cum Berquino, ut ab inſanis, ut aiebat, erroribus reſipiſceret.—Montius noſter, cujus religioſam noſti fidem, nihil aliud ausus eſt ſcribere, niſi quod oculis ſuis cominus vidit: aderat enim valde vicinus, quum curru veheretur ad ſupplicii locum. Nec vultu nec ullo corporis geſtu dedit ullum animi perturbati ſpecimen. Dixiſſes illum in muſeo de ſtudiis, aut in templo de rebus cœleſtibus cogitare. Ne tum quidem cum carnifex truculenta voce crimen ac ſupplicium pronunciaret, quicquam de vultus conſtantia mutare viſus eſt. Juſſus curru deſcendere, nihil cunctatus deſcendit alacriter: nec erat tale quicquam in eo vel audaciæ, vel ferociæ, quale in maleficis nonnunquam gignit immanitas. Relucebat in eo mentis ſibi bene conſciæ tranquillitas. Ante mortem verba fecit ad populum, ſed unde nemo quiſquam potuit aliquid percipere; tantus erat ſatellitum fremitus, quem data opera putant excitatum fuiſſe. Quum ad palum præfocaretur, nullus e turba acclamavit nomen Jeſu, quod parricidis etiam et ſacrilegis acclamari ſolet. Sic omnium animos in illum excitarant, qui nuſquam non adſunt, et nihil non poſſunt apud ſimplices et imperitos. Eat nunc qui volet, et Phormiones iſtos laceſſito. Aderat illi Franciſcanus quidam, quem adiit Montius, rem expiſcaturus num vel moriens agnoviſſet errorem. Is aiebat agnoviſſe, aſſeverans ſe nihil omnino dubitare quin anima illius tranſierit in quietem. At ego Franciſcani dictis nihil habeo fidei, præſertim quum hoc ſit iſtis ſolenne, poſt exſtinctum hominem ſpargere rumores, quod in incendio cecinerit palinodiam, quo ſimul et vindicatæ religionis laudem auferant, et multitudinis invidiam calumniæque ſuſpicionem effugiant. Nam quum Bruxellæ primitias immolaſſent exutis duobus Monachis Auguſtinenſibus, tertio in carcerem reducto, et clam interfecto, quum mira conſtantia mortem oppetiſſent, quæ res Judicibus gravem movebat invidiam, ſparſerunt ridiculam fabulam, unum ex illis apparuiſſe cuidam Auguſtinenſi, qui nunciaret animas illorum eſſe incolumes, quod in extremis reſipuiſſent, videlicet jam in ipſo incendio: idque factum precibus Virginis matris.—Rogatus carnifex, ecquam pœnitentiæ vocem edidiſſent in rogo, negavit, ſed quum ducerentur ad palum, clara voce teſtati ſunt ſe mori Chriſtianos, et alligati palo, admoto igni, canere cœperunt *Symbolum fidei*, mox *Doxologiam*, *Te Deum laudamus*, donec flamma vocem intercluderet. Habes Berquini fatum, cui mihi natus fuiſſe videtur. De cauſa, quoniam mihi prorſus ignota eſt, non habeo quod pronunciem.

A. D. 1529. him ever uniform in ſpeaking againſt the Monks; but, with relation to the Lutherans, blaming them for the moſt part, and yet ſometimes dropping expreſſions in their favour. He ſays that he had, to the utmoſt of his power, diſſuaded Berquin from continuing to wage war with the Divines, and exhorted him to retire into Germany; but that the poor man, who had an amazing courage and intrepidity, always imagined that he ſhould get the better of his enemies. Eraſmus declares, that he cannot approve the practice of putting men to death for all ſorts of errors; and adds, that he could approve the pious intention of the French, if they had as much of ſpiritual diſcernment, as they had of proneneſs to ſuperſtition. But, if that had been the caſe with them,

ciem. Si non commeruit ſupplicium, doleo; ſi commeruit, bis doleo: ſatius eſt enim innocentem mori quam nocentem. Illud non dubito, quin ſibi perſuaſerit eſſe pia quæ defendebat. Hinc illa vultus tranquillitas. Ex his, qui propiorem cum illo habuerunt conſuetudinem, diligenter ſciſcitatus ſum de ſingulis. Erant autem alioqui, quod ad cauſam attinet, Berquino parum æqui, qui aiebant illum annos natum plus minus quadraginta, laicum ac cœlibem, ſed vitæ adeo puræ, ut ne rumuſculus quidem impudicitiæ ſit unquam in illum exortus; mire benignus in amicos et egenos, conſtitutionum ac rituum Eccleſiaſticorum obſervantiſſimus, puta præſcriptorum jejuniorum, dierum ſacrorum, ciborum, miſſarum, concionum, et ſiqua ſunt alia, quæ cum pietatis fructu recepta ſunt. Alieniſſimus ab omni fuco, ingenio libero ac recto, quod injuriam nec cuiquam facere vellet, neque a quoquam perpeti poſſet, duntaxat inſignem. Ab inſtituto Lutheri plurimum abhorrebat. Quid multis? Negabant quicquam eſſe in vita, quod non deceret Chriſtianam pietatem. Hoc aiebant in eo crimen eſſe graviſſimum, quod ingenue præ ſe ferebat odium in moroſos quoſdam Theologos, a Monachos non minus feroces quam ſtolidos. In hos palam debacchabatur, nec ſtomachum ſuum diſſimulare poterat. Mox ex libello, quem opinor edidit, decerptæ ſunt aliquot ſententiæ, quæ viderentur ad fidei negotium, ac paſſim ad Theologorum cognitionem pertinere. Erant quantum memini hujus fere generis; In concionibus incongrue beatam Virginem invocari pro Spiritu Sancto, nec apte vocari fontem omnis gratiæ; et in cantico veſpertino, præter Scripturarum conſuetudinem, appellari ſpem et vitam noſtram, quum hæc magis quadrent in Filium, &c. — Tantum habui quod de Berquino ſcriberem, qui ſi deceſſit cum bona conſcientia, quod admodum ſpero, quid eo felicius?—Ep. 1060.

them, they would never have burnt honeſt men for differences in religion. He ſays alſo of that nation, that hitherto they had performed the functions of true and truſty ſlaves to the Roman Pontif. Yet we may obſerve, that in point of perſecution Charles V had even outdone them. He concludes, that they deſerved to have excellent Princes, ſince they faithfully [x] obeyed ſuch as they had, of whatſoever kind they were. A. D. 1529.

He dedicated to the Duke of Cleve two treatiſes of St. Ambroſe, which had not been publiſhed before. The Prince returned him thanks, and ſent him a cup. Ep. 1062, and 353. c. 1744.

[y] Antonius Fuggerus, whoſe family hath been illuſtrious by its liberalities to men of letters, made [z] great offers to Eraſmus, and ſent him a ſilver cup. Ep. 1064, 1043.

" [a] The Fuggeri, celebrated German Merchants, to teſtify " their gratitude to Charles V, who had done them the honour " to lodge at their houſe, when he paſſed through Augſburg, " one day, amongſt other acts of magnificence, laid upon the " hearth a large bundle of cinnamon, a merchandize then of " great price, and lighted it with a note of hand of the Emperor " for a very conſiderable ſum which they had lent him."

Beatus Rhenanus, in a letter to a friend, hath given a deſcription of the magnificent houſes, or rather palaces, of Antonius and Raimundus Fuggerus. *Centur. Epiſt. Goldaſti*, Ep. 50. p. 195.

Luther takes notice of the amazing wealth of theſe merchants, who could upon occaſion raiſe more money than any Prince in Europe. *Colloq. Menſal.* p. 86.

Eraſmus

[x] Digni Principibus optimis, qui, qualeſcumque contigerunt, bona fide ſerviunt.

[y] Bayle Dict. FUGGER. Burckhard Comm. de Vit. Hutt. p. 198.

[z] Antonius Fuggerus, priuſquam Baſileam relinquerem, per proprium nuncium obtulit pro viatico centum florenos, et quotannis tantundem, ſi voluiſſem me conferre Auguſtam: egi gratias et excuſavi. Ille, paulo poſt, acceptis literis meis, miſit poculum inauratum perquam elegans, pretio, ni fallor, quadraginta florenorum. Ep. 350. c. 1742.

[a] Bayle Dict. CHARLES-QUINT, Not. F. F.

A. D. 1529. Eraſmus could not obtain the payment of his penſion from the Emperor, though mountains of gold were offered to him, if he would repair to Brabant, where he had no inclination to go. This was made a pretext for withholding his ſtipend: but if he had complied, he would probably have found the ſame delays and difficulties. [b] It ſeems to be by a certain fatality, ſays he, that the Emperor's Court is ever in a ſtate of poverty.

This year he publiſhed St. [c] Auguſtin, and the 1085th letter is a dedication to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and a warm encomium of Auguſtin, who doubtleſs had his good qualities and his merits, as well as his defects; but who, as an Author, hath done more harm than good to the Chriſtian world.

Eraſmus had formerly projected to publiſh all the works of Auguſtin, by his own labour, and by that of his learned friends, to whom he would have allotted their ſeveral parts. But the Dominicans began to rail at the undertaking; ſots and gluttons, ſays he, and born not for the pen, but for the plough-tail. Deferring therefore his ſcheme at that time, he wrote a Preface to the Books *De Civitate Dei*, explained and corrected by L. Vives. Ep. 456. c. 1844.

He now publiſhed a ſmall tract, which was leſs to his honour, namely a letter amongſt his Apologies, intitled, [d] *Epiſtola D. Eraſmi*

[b] Videtur hoc eſſe quodam modo fatale aulæ Cæſareæ, ſemper egere. Dicas eſſe Danaïdum Dolium. Ep. 1066.

[c] Auguſtinus eſt magnus diſputator, ſed non interpretatur bene Scripturam, eſt ineptus ſæpe, &c. *Scaligeran.* p. 40. See Huetiana, p. 24.

[d] Eraſmus Roterodamus, qui Baſilea relicta, propter mutatam religionem, et vitandæ ſuſpicionis cauſa, Friburgum ſe receperat, Ferdinandi regis oppidum, Novembri menſe libellum edit, qui titulo quidem inſcriptus eſt contra quoſdam qui ſeſe falſo jactant Evangelicos: revera autem totum ordinem perſtringit. Nam inter alia multa, nullum ſe noviſſe dicit ex illis, qui non ſeipſo videatur eſſe factus deterior. Huic deinde ſcripto reſpondent Argentinenſes Theologi, quoniam de illis potiſſimum et Baſilienſibus ille tractaverat, imprimis autem de Bucero. *Sleidan* L. VI. p. 163.

Evangelici ad unum omnes mire hoc anno fuerunt deformati eo libello quem Eraſmus

Erasmi Rot. contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant Evangelicos. He addresseth it to one whom he calls Vulturius Neocomus, and whose true name was Gerardus [e] Noviomagus, formerly his good friend, but his enemy from the time that he had flattered the Roman party. The cause of this expostulation of Erasmus was, that some of the Evangelics, in some of their writings, had produced passages from those of Erasmus, which seemed to favour them and their cause; as for example, that it is unlawful to put heretics to death. Erasmus was afraid lest Francis, and Charles, and Ferdinand, and George, and Henry VIII, and other persecuting Princes, should suspect that he condemned their cruel conduct; and therefore he now began to maintain, that there were certain heretics, who might be put to death, as blasphemers and rioters. The good man did not consider, that if he had been seized himself as an heretic, and the Monks had sat in judgment upon him, he would infallibly have been pronounced one of those heretics, who deserved death. This treatise is written A.D. 1529.

Erasmus in gratiam Cæsaris ex Italia in Germaniam adventantis scripsit.—Scripsit ibidem falso *Melanchthonem Lutherum sequi, tanquam* Aten Lite, *componere studens quod illa turbavit.*

Hæc Erasmus, immemor sui ipsius, hoc est, præclari judicii hinc inde de Evangelicorum virtute et pietate in scriptis suis lati.

Melanchthon a Joachimo Camerario monitus, ut ne quid amplius literarum daret ad Erasmum, respondit, se morem illi gesturum. "Et scis (inquit) me "antea non magnopere ambivisse ejus "amicitiam. Vide quantum judicii sit "nostris inimicis. Illum amant, qui "multorum dogmatum semina in libris "suis sparsit, quæ fortasse longe graviores tumultus aliquando excitatura "fuerant, nisi Lutherus exortus esset, "ac studia hominum alio traxisset. "Tota illa tragœdia *περὶ δείπνου κυριακοῦ* "ab ipso nata videri potest. Quam non "iniquus esse videri alicubi possit Ario "et illius factioni, quam nos hic constantissime improbavimus! Quæ litera "in libris est magnopere digna viro "Christiano de Justificatione, de jure "Magistratuum?" *Scultet.* Annal. ap. Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 151.

[e] Or rather *Gerard Geldenhaur.* Bayle hath given a large account of this man, and of his altercations with Erasmus, who hath used Geldenhaur very roughly, and who in this controversy is sometimes in the right, and sometimes in the wrong. GELDENHAUR. See also Melch. Adam.

A. D. 1529. with great acrimony, and the ſyſtem of religious politics, which it contains, is good for nothing. As in it he defames all the Evangelics in general, and ſays all the evil of them that he could deviſe, the Miniſters of Stratſburg publiſhed a reply to it.

He drew up a laboured defence of himſelf againſt the impertinent cenſures of Stunica. Ep. 1055.

He had ſome deſire [f], even in his old age, to learn Italian more perfectly, for probably he muſt have known a little of that language.

He gives an account to his friend Bilibaldus of his [g] departure from Baſil, and thanks him for his preſent of a cup, and of a ring. Ep. 1066.

Ep. 1071 is to Janus [h] Cornarius, a learned phyſician, who had ſpent a year at Baſil.

He writes to [i] Margaret Roper, the learned and ingenious daughter of Sir Thomas More; and ſhe returned an anſwer. Ep. 1075 and 352. c. 1743.

In a letter to his patron Montjoy, he thanks Queen Catharine for a preſent which ſhe had ſent him, and ſays, If my health were but tolerable, I ſhould now want neither income nor dignity: but, as I remember your Lordſhip uſed to ſay, *Fortune offers a man bread, when he hath no teeth to chew it.* Ep. 1077. [k]

Better

[f] Ubi prodierit opus tuum, rem adprime gratam feceris, ſi codicem unum miſeris, ut et ipſe diſcam Etruſce loqui. Ep. 1050.

[g] Abiturus eſt et Eraſmus; id facturus nimirum in gratiam Principum, quibus devinctus eſt: ſed non perpetuo aberit, ut opinor. *Oecolampadius* Epiſt. p. 835.

[h] —— venit in familiaritatem tunc non ſolum Eraſmi, ſed et qui ad Eraſmum ſalutandi cauſa, ex Italia, Gallia, aliiſque regionibus, docti homines confluebant. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Cornarii.

[i] Crenius hath given us a pretty emendation made by this Lady upon a corrupted paſſage of Cyprian. The words are;

Abſit enim ab Eccleſia Romana, vigorem ſuum tam profana facilitate dimittere, et niſi vos *ſeveritatis, everſa fidei majeſtate, diſſolvere.*

She corrected it *nervos*. Animadv. Phil. Oxon. 1699.

Better late than never. *Hath literature* [illegible] *thy choice and thy occupation?* (ſaith a certain Author) *and haſt thou food and raiment? Be contented: be thankful: be amazed at thy good fortune. Art thou diſſatisfied, and deſirous of other things? Go, and make twelve votes at an Election. It ſhall do thee more ſervice than to make a Commentary on the twelve Minor Prophets.* A. D. 1529.

Eraſmus, in a letter to Botzem, [k] defends himſelf againſt the cavils of a young Franciſcan, who had attacked his New Teſtament. What pity was it, that he ſhould have thrown away anſwers upon ſuch antagoniſts! Ep. 1078.

In a letter to Stibarus, he ſpeaks of a preſent, which he had received from that young gentleman, whom he hath highly commended in other places. Ep. 1081.

To [l] Alciat he gives an account of a converſation with Longolius, which is pictureſque, and ſets forth the ſolemn gravity and formal vanity of this young Ciceronian, who died in the flower of his age.

His

[k] See Tom. IX. c. 967.

[l] Longolium immatura morte præreptum ſane doleo.—Quum Lovanii nos inviſeret, hominem quanta per occupationes licuit, humanitate tractavi. Nec divinare poſſum unde hoc ſtomachi in me conceperit, niſi quod conjecto duas fuiſſe cauſas. Quum expetiſſet ſecretum colloquium, dedi. Exorſus prolixam fabulam quomodo Romæ in Capitolio cauſam dixerit, magno capitis periculo; hic, opinor, viſus ſum parum attentus, præſertim quum ſerio vultu ſubinde repeteret, admonens ut ejus facinoris alicubi meminiſſem in ſcriptis meis. Reſpondi, ut ſoleo in re quæ mihi leviter eſt cordi. Hoc illum, opinor, male habuit. Deinde nonnihil expoſtulavit mecum de epiſtola quadam ipſius inter meas excuſa, in qua confert me cum Budæo.—Quum oſtenderet quæ perperam eſſent excuſa, ſic mutavit quædam, ut meliora fuerint quæ videri volebat depravata. Et in hac re decreverat totum diem inſumere, niſi ego pertæſus, pro mea ſimplicitate, ſermonem abrupiſſem. — Prorſus in illo deſidero candorem. Nam gloriæ cupiditatem ignoſcerem ætati, niſi fuiſſet immodica; ſed hoc vitii vel correxiſſet, vel certe mitigaſſet ætas. Toto triduo, quo mecum egit, nunquam vidi hominem vel leviter ſubridentem, ne in conviviis quidem: quæ res mihi ſane non mediocri fuit admirationi. Et tamen in Epiſtolis nonnunquam conatur eſſe feſtivus, ne

A. D. 1529. His letter to Sadolet is very elegantly written, and fit to be ſent to ſo polite a writer. Ep. 1085.

This year the Reformed in Germany got the name of [m] *Proteſtants*, and the [n] ſweating ſickneſs raged in that country.

[o] Viglius Zuichemus, of Frieſland, wrote a letter to Eraſmus, extolling his abilities, and requeſting his friendſhip.

" Van Heuſſe publiſhed the Epiſtles of Viglius Zuichemus, a " Lawyer, who at laſt became one of the principal Counſellors " of the Dutcheſs of Parma, and of the Duke of Alva, in the " Low Countries. His letters are written to Cardinal Bembus, " to Perrenot, afterwards Cardinal Granvelle, to Melanchthon, " to Alciat, and to others. Although they contain for the moſt " part only compliments, or private affairs, or the news of the " times, they may be read with pleaſure, becauſe they are well " written, thoſe eſpecially which were addreſſed to learned men. " Theſe

parum videatur Ciceronianus, quamquam invita, ſicuti videtur, Minerva. Exorta eſt nova ſecta Ciceronianorum, quæ mihi videtur non minus ſervare iſthic, quam apud nos Lutheranorum. Poſthac non licebit Epiſcopos appellare patres reverendos, nec in calce literarum ſcribere annum a Chriſto nato, quod id nuſquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius, quam toto ſeculo novato, religione, imperiis, magiſtratibus, locorum vocabulis, ædificiis, cultu, moribus, non aliter audere loqui, quam loquutus eſt Cicero? Si reviviſceret ipſe Cicero, rideret hoc Ciceronianorum genus. Ep. 1083.

[m] Sleidan L. VI. 160.

[n] Novum etiam morbi genus hoc anno Germaniam invaſit. Sudore peſtifero correpti homines, intra vigeſimam quartam horam aut exhalabant animam, aut ſi virus exſudaſſent, valetudinem paulatim recuperabant, et priuſquam de remedio conſtaret, multa perierunt millia. Malum hoc, inde ab oceano, per omnem prope Germaniam pervaſit, breviſſimo temporis ſpatio, et incredibili celeritate velut incendium aliquod longe lateque depaſcebat omnia. Vulgo dicitur morbus Anglicus, nam Henrici Septimi Britanniæ Regis anno primo, 1486, eadem lues inſulam illam invaſit: et quoniam in re nova remedium erat incognitum, ingentem hominum ſtragem edidit. *Sleidan* L. VI. p. 161. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Fuchſii, p. 78.

[o] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 745. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 76. Gallæi Imagines. Melchior Adam. Thuanus L. LXIV. p. 209. Maittaire II. 800. Menckenius Vit. Polit. p. 303.

" Theſe letters were taken from the Library of the College A. D. 1529.
" which Viglius founded at Louvain, where there are ſeveral
" volumes of them repoſited. The firſt of theſe letters, which
" is to Eraſmus, is printed alſo in the Leyden Edition, n° 1013.
" From the correſpondence between Viglius and Eraſmus, con-
" tained in the Leyden Edition of the Epiſtles of Eraſmus, it
" appears, that if Viglius from his youth had been charmed with
" the works of Eraſmus, this illuſtrious man conceived alſo a
" great eſteem for young Viglius.

" We have alſo here ſome emendations for five Epiſtles of
" Eraſmus contained in the Leyden Collection. As the letters,
" there publiſhed, were tranſcribed from originals, or from copies
" written in a bad hand, many faults enſued.

" Honeſt Eraſmus, without queſtion, concluded that Viglius
" was no bigot, and wrote to him with much freedom concern-
" ing the falſe Monks, and the falſe Divines, who had attacked
" him. It is indeed improbable, that a man of a ſuperſtitious
" diſpoſition would have eagerly ſought the friendſhip of Eraſ-
" mus, and much more that he would have profeſſed his abomi-
" nation for all the enemies of Eraſmus, as Viglius in one of his
" letters declares concerning himſelf. Yet this [p] Frieſlander had
" a much greater ſhare than became him in the deceitful and
" cruel proceedings of Margaret of Parma, and Ferdinand of
" Toledo. Our Civilian ſeems to have been one of thoſe poli-
" ticians, who, though not deſtitute of equitable ſentiments in
" the ſpeculative way, yet, when it comes to practice, adhere
" to the uppermoſt party, and run all lengths along with it. It is
" ſomewhat entertaining to ſee Eraſmus giving his prudential and
" political advice, concerning the new religious ſects, to a Lawyer,

" who

[p] ——qui cum initio Belgii libertatem defendere viſus eſſet, eoque nomine gratiam ſuorum promeritus, poſtea ad Hiſpanorum partes inclinare creditus in Ordinum odium incurrit — vir alioqui omni laude et propter integritatem et ſummam prudentiam dignus, &c. *Thuanus.*

A. D. 1529. " who had ten times more craft and more diſſimulation than " he, and who by his conduct afterwards in public ſtations ſhewed, " that he did not want to be [s] tutored by Eraſmus.

" Van Heuſſe hath alſo given us an abridgment of the life " of Zuichemus." *Le Clerc* Bibl. A. & M. XI. 263.

Eraſmus diſcuſſes the queſtion, [t] whether Henry VIII was really the author of the book againſt Luther, and inclines to the affirmative;

[s] Illud, pro meâ in te pietate, moneo rogoque, ut a Sectarum contagiis in totum abſtineas, nec ullam illis anſam præbeas, ut per occaſionem ſpargere valeant Zuichemum eſſe ſuum. Etiam ſicubi dogmatibus illorum adſentiris, diſſimula. Nolim tamen te adverſus illos contendere. Satis eſt Jureconſulto ſic eludere eos, quemadmodum quidam elusit Diabolum moriturus. Diabolus ſuggeſſit, quid crederet? *Ait*, quod credit Eccleſia. Tum ille; Quid credit Eccleſia? Quod ego. Quid tu credis? Quod Eccleſia. Spero hanc admonitionem eſſe ſupervacaneam; verum ſi liceret coram, efficerem ut intelligeres me non fruſtra monere, Ep. 374. c. 1759.

[t] Jam quod ſubdubitare videris, an libellum, ac duas epiſtolas, quas ſcripſit adverſus Lutherum, ſuo Marte confecerit Rex Angliæ, id tibi cum multis commune eſt. Nec mirum, quum hactenus prodigii ſimile ſit habitum, præſertim apud Germanos, Principem ſcire literas. Cæterum, ut non contenderim neminem ſcribenti fuiſſe auxilio, quum eruditiſſimi quique viri nonnunquam utantur amicorum ſubſidiis; ita non dubitem affirmare ipſum eorum, quæ edit, parentem et auctorem eſſe. Siquidem patre natus eſt, quo vix alium reperias exactiore judicio. Mater item erat ſaniſſimi ingenii, planeque ſingulari quadam tum prudentia, tum pietate: puellus admodum ſtudiis admotus eſt. Ingenium erat vividum, erectum, et ad quodcumque ſe vertiſſet ſupra modum habile. Neque quicquam attentavit unquam, quod non abſolverit. Tanta naturæ dexteritas eſt, ut et in iſtis vulgaribus, velut equitandi jaculandique peritia, neminem non a tergo reliquerit. Dicas illum ad omnia natum. Nullum eſt Muſices genus, in quo non exceſſerit mediocritatem. Mathematicarum item diſciplinarum mire docilis. Nec unquam omiſit ſtudia; quoties per regni negotia vacat, aut legit aliquid aut diſputat, quod ſolet perlibenter, mire comes ac placidus in certamine; dicas hic ſocium eſſe, non regem. Ad eas conflictatiunculas nonnunquam præparat ſe lectione Scholaſticorum auctorum, veluti Thomæ, aut Scoti, aut Gabrieliſs. Jam quod ad dictionis facultatem attinet, mitto tibi guſtum, unde conjicere poſſis quantum tot annis acceſſerit: totam enim hanc epiſtolam ſuapte manu deſcripſit adoleſcentulus. Quum agerem Venetiæ,

affirmative; not denying however that he might have had the assistance of some learned men. A.D. 1529.

" [s] There is one thing unjustly added to the praise of More " and Fisher, or rather feigned on design to lessen the King's " honour, that they penned the book which the King wrote " against Luther. This Sanders first published, and Bellarmin " and others since have taken it up upon his authority. Strangers " may be pardoned such errors, but they are inexcusable in an " Englishman. For, in More's printed works, there is a letter " written by him out of the Tower to Cromwell, in which he " gives an account of his behaviour concerning the King's divorce " and supremacy. Amongst other particulars one is, that when " the King shewed him his book against Luther, in which he " had

Venetiæ, literis ad illum missis, deplorabam mortem Philippi Regis, mei Principis, hoc ferme exordio; nam exemplar mihi servatum non est: *Allatus est hic rumor tristior quam ut verum esse credere libeat, sed idem constantior quam ut omnino vanus videri possit, Philippum Principem in fata concessisse, &c.* Agnovit ille protinus schematis gratiam, et suam epistolam, ut vides, similiter exorsus est. Equidem manum agnoscebam. Cæterum, ut ingenue dicam, tum nonnihil suspicabar, in sensibus, ac verbis, alienis suppetiis adjutum fuisse. Eam suspicionem quum Gulielmus Montjoius mihi nullis argumentis posset excutere, cessit ac dissimulavit, donec esset satis instructus ad causam. Quumque forte soli confabularemur, protulit multas ejus epistolas, quum ad alios, tum ad ipsum Montjoium, et in his etiam illam, qua meæ respondebat. In his exstabant manifesta signa commentantis, addentis, detrahentis, corrigentis, et immutantis. Agnovisses singularum primam manum ac veluti delineationem, agnovisses secundam ac tertiam, nonnunquam et quartam. Quicquid erat dispunctum, aut adjectum, ejusdem erat manus. Ibi quod tergiversarer, prorsus nihil habebam, sed ipsa re victus omnem posui suspicionem. Nec dubito quin tu, mi Cochleie, [Ed. Bas. Cochlæe] facturus sis idem, si propius nosses illius Regis longe felicissimam naturam. Ep. 1038.

Exstat libellus Regis Angliæ, quem Romæ et hic quidam falso suspicantur esse meum. — Opinor conjecturam natam ex stylo: nam Rex adhuc puer nihil diligentius legit quam meas lucubrationes, e quibus fortasse contraxit nonnihil malæ phraseos, si quid tamen habet meum. Ep. 645.

See also Ep. 650. c. 762, 763; in which he says that the style is the King's.

[s] Burnet I. 356.

A. D. 1529. " had aſſerted the Pope's Primacy to be of divine right, More " deſired him to leave it out; ſince, as there had been many " conteſts between Popes and other Princes, ſo there might " fall in ſome between the Pope and the King; therefore he " thought it was not fit for the King to publiſh any thing, " which might be afterwards made uſe of againſt himſelf: and " adviſed him either to leave out that point, or to touch it very " tenderly; but the King would not follow his counſel, " being perhaps ſo fond of what he had writ, that he would " rather run himſelf upon a great inconvenience, than leave out " any thing that he fancied ſo well written. This ſhews that " More knew that book was written by the King's own pen: " and either Sanders never read this, or maliciouſly concealed it, " leſt it ſhould diſcover his foul dealing."

But Burnet afterwards talks in a different way, and ſays;

" [s] It was a maſter-piece in Wolſey to engage the King to " own, that the book againſt Luther was written by him, in " which the ſecret of thoſe, who, no doubt, had the greateſt " ſhare in compoſing it, was ſo cloſely laid, that it never broke " out. Seckendorf tells us that Luther believed it was writ by " Lee, who was a zealous Thomiſt, and had been engaged in " diſputes with Eraſmus, and was afterwards made Archbiſhop " of York. If any of theſe, who ſtill adhered to the old doctrines, " had been concerned in writing it, probably when they ſaw " King Henry depart from ſo many points treated of in it, they " would have gone beyond ſea, and have robbed him of that falſe " honour and thoſe exceſſive praiſes which that book had pro- " cured him. It is plain More wrote it not — and in a letter, he " ſays he was a *Sorter* of that book. This ſeems to relate only " to the digeſting it into method and order."

" [s] No

[s] Burnet III. 171.

" [u] No doubt this book was wrote by the King, as other books A. D. 1529.
" were under his name; that is, by his Biſhops, or other learned
" men. Sir Thomas More, who muſt have known the authors,
" gives this account of it in his manuſcript Life by [x] Roper;
" *That after it was finiſhed by his Grace's appointment, and conſent*
" *of the makers of the ſame, I was only a Sorter out, and placer of*
" *the principal matters therein contained.* So it ſeems others were
" *makers*, and Sir Thomas More only a *ſorter*. By the ſtyle, it
" was gueſſed by ſome to be wrote by Eraſmus; and he, in mirth
" I ſuppoſe, owns, the King might have hit upon his ſtyle,
" ſeveral letters having paſſed between them.

" More was only a ſorter, and Fiſher could be no more than
" one of the makers, though ſome have aſſerted it to be his work
" alone. But, as to More's teſtimony, I think it may with
" much more reaſon be taken from Roper his ſon-in-law, who
" married his beloved daughter, and knew his inward thoughts,
" than from a letter to a Miniſter of ſtate, where *loquendum cum*
" *vulgo.* Your Lordſhip is a very able judge of ſtyle, and of
" the elegancy wherewith this book is wrote. You have given
" us a ſpecimen of the King's ſtyle, in the marginal notes of the
" laſt page of this volume. I dare appeal to your Lordſhip,
" whether you think the ſtyle to be the ſame. The laſt words
" are ſo elegant, that I cannot forbear reciting them: *Cum qua*
" *nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex,*
" *habet quicquid agere, præterquam in ſuas Dioceſes.*

" However, I am very willing the King ſhould enjoy the
" honour of this book, provided I am allowed to enjoy my
" opinion."

" [y] Eraſmus made a preſent of his picture to Sir Thomas
" More, and ſent it over by [z] Holbein, who had drawn it. It

[u] Appendix to Burnet by an anonymous writer, Vol. III. N° IV. p. 399, 404.

[x] See Roper, p. 77.

[y] Knight, p. 307.

[z] See the Life of Holbein, by Patin, prefixed to the *Encomium Moriæ*. T. IV. c. 390.

A. D. 1529. " is now in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Mead, the date 1523 agreeing " with the time it was finiſhed at Baſil. — More, in return to " Eraſmus for his preſent, had a [a] picture copied by Holbein, of " himſelf and his whole family, from an original that Holbein " had juſt before finiſhed, and ſent it to Eraſmus by this Painter. " Eraſmus expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the preſent, in an epiſtle " to Margaret Roper, eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas. The " original of this picture was lately in the family of the Ropers " at Eltham in Kent; the copy is in the Town-hall at Baſil, " where it is preſerved with great care." Ep. 1075.

A. D. MDXXX. Ætat. LXIII.

A. D. 1530. This year Eraſmus was buſied in tranſlating divers treatiſes of St. Chryſoſtom, and in exhorting his learned friends to do the like, that a complete edition might afterwards be publiſhed of the works of this Father in Greek and Latin. He alſo wrote long letters to Tonſtal and to Sadolet, wherein he defends himſelf, and vigorouſly attacks his old enemies. When he writes to the Romaniſts, he often ſeems to favour the Proteſtants; and when he writes againſt theſe, he appears zealous for the doctrines of the Roman Church. Yet it ſhould ſeem probable, that his true ſentiments were thoſe in defence of which he got no profit, and by declaring which he incurred the diſlike of the Romiſh party, from which he was not willing to ſeparate himſelf. Ep. 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094.

To the Biſhop of Hildeſheim he dedicated one [b] Algerus, a Benedictin Monk of the twelfth century, who wrote on the Sacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt againſt Berenger. Eraſmus ſays, that by the peruſal of this book he had been confirmed in the opinion of a real preſence. It would, I believe, produce

[a] Knight hath given us a print of it.

[b] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 133. Maittaire II. 732.

produce the quite contrary effect upon others; and it is not to be forgotten, that Eraſmus could have eaſily embraced the ſentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his Mother the Church would have given him leave. Accordingly he was ſuſpected of not having quite ſo much implicit faith as he talked of, as it appears in other epiſtles. Ep. 1095. A. D. 1530.

In a letter to Tonſtal he declares his opinion, that, in the primitive times, the Faithful uſed ſometimes to conſecrate bread and wine, and communicate together, without a Preſbyter to perform the office. Rigaltius [c] and Grotius adopted this opinion, which gave occaſion to a diſpute. Ep. 1092.

To the remarks which we have made upon Tonſtal, in p. 104, &c. let us add theſe;

" Now were committed (A. 1559) unto Archbiſhop Parker's " cuſtody divers Popiſh Biſhops, as Cuthbert Tonſtal, Biſhop of " Durham, having been deprived in July, who died in the Arch- " biſhop's houſe at Lambeth, in November following, being " eighty-five years of age. But before his death, by the Arch- " biſhop's means, he was brought off from Papiſtical fancies. " And he declared it his judgment, that the Pope's too far " diſtended power ought to be reſtrained within his own dioceſe " of Rome. Letters to which purpoſe he had long before written " to Cardinal Pole. Unto which mind he now returned again, " after his compliance with the Pope under Queen Mary. And " not above fourteen days before his death, while he lived with " the Archbiſhop, he teſtified to him and to others thoſe letters " to Pole to be his. — Tonſtal alſo allowed of the marriage of " Prieſts, as permitted by the word of God. To all which I " may add his judgment in point of Juſtification, which was " according to the doctrine of the Reformed, &c." *Strype*'s Life of *Parker*, B. I. ch. 10.

[c] See *Bibl. Univ.* I. 133, 134. IV. 94.

A. D. 1530. In a letter to the Biſhop of Augſburg, Eraſmus complains much of a boil on his navel, which grievouſly incommoded him. Speaking of his beſt patron Warham, who was then fourſcore years old, he ſays to this Biſhop; If he dies, you muſt ſupply his place. My two penſions from England produce about two hundred florins yearly: but this money comes to my hands greatly diminiſhed by the merchants who remit it, and ſometimes detain a fourth part. At other times other perſons curtail it. If the Archbiſhop ſhould die, I ſhall never ſee a penny more of it. There is a man (Petrus Barbirius) to whom I could have truſted all things, even my own life, who hath begun to intercept the penſion which I have in Flanders from a Prebend which I reſigned. During my abſence the Emperor pays me nothing, and hardly would he give me any thing, though I were to go to Brabant, notwithſtanding all the fine promiſes with which they feed me. Thus Eraſmus will ſoon be reduced to a ſtate of Evangelical poverty; though, by the bleſſing of God, he is not altogether in that condition as yet. Epiſt. 1112, 1117.

In a [d] letter to George of Saxony he inveighs bitterly againſt Luther for having very roughly attacked that Prince, with whom Luther had great altercations. Ep. 1113.

He mentions [e] Trapezuntius amongſt learned men. He hath alſo commended [f] Beſſarion in ſome other place. Ep. 1100.

He [g] lived at Friburg upon very good terms with the Franciſcans, who dwelt ſo near him, that he could ſing along with them in his chamber, without going to Church.

To

[d] See Seckendorf L. II. p. 149.

[e] Hodius De Græc. Illuſtr. 102, &c. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 238.

[f] Hodius, p. 136. Huetius, p. 237.

[g] Hic Franciſcanos habeo tam vicinos, ut in cubiculo audiam canentes, perinde ac ſi eſſem in templo. Summa eſt inter nos amicitia, quia nulla eſt inter eos malitia. Habent concionatorem probum ac modeſtum, qui Eraſmum interdum etiam honorifice citat in concionibus. *Ep.* 1102.

To Melanchthon he ſays; God alone, my dear Philip, can unravel the intricate plot of the Tragedy which is now acting. Ten Councils aſſembled together could not do it, much leſs can ſuch an one as I. If a man ſays a reaſonable thing, it is ſtraightway called Lutheraniſm, and this is all his recompence. He makes the ſame remarks elſewhere; and yet he flattered the party that acted in this outrageous manner, and fell foul upon the Evangelics, as in a reply to the Miniſters of Stratſburg, in the laſt Tome of his works, which he addreſſeth to the Brethren of the Lower Germany and of Eaſt Frieſland. It is the work of a man who was in a paſſion, becauſe he had been cenſured for inconſtancy and want of courage. Ep. 1117, 1119. A. D. 1530.

He dedicated his *Chriſtian Widow* to [h] Mary Queen-Dowager of Hungary, who wrote him a letter of thanks with her own hand. Eraſmus was not entirely [i] ſatisfied with his performance upon this ſubject. Ep. 1123.

Melanchthon ſent him a letter from Augſburg, where the Diet was held, and where he preſented the Confeſſion of faith of the Lutherans, which afterwards took its denomination from that city. He prays Eraſmus to continue the charitable office of exhorting the Emperor to moderation. Eraſmus replied with ſome peeviſhneſs and reſentment, ſaying, that he would not concern himſelf in behalf of the Evangelics. However, he was [k] better than his word, and did write to Cardinal Campegius, deſiring him to diſſuade the Emperor from making a religious war. Ep. 1125, 1126, 1129.

He

[h] Bayle HONGRIE (MARIE, REINE DE).

[i] Mitto ſimul *Viduam Chriſtianam*, quam rogatus dicavi Mariæ Cæſaris germanæ, quondam Hungariæ Reginæ. In hoc argumento mihi non admodum placeo, quod nec ſimplex videatur, nec admodum congruens puellæ, quæ, ni fallor, alitur conjugio. Verbis tamen explevi chartas. Ep. 1024.

[k] See Seckendorf L. II. p. 196, &c.

A. D. 1530. He returns [l] thanks to Rinckius, who had ſent him a cup. He received alſo a [m] handſome preſent from Conrad Biſhop of Wircenburg. To this Biſhop he warmly [n] recommends a young friend, [o] Daniel Stibarus, to whom he gives an excellent character.

He publiſhed as many of the works of Chryſoſtom as he could collect, and dedicated them to Stadius, the Biſhop of Augſburg. He alſo gave a pretty accurate life of this [p] Father, taken from the *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, Palladius, and Theodorus Diaconus. In this

[l] Etiamſi tam vile fuiſſet munuſculum, quam illud tua facit modeſtia, tamen animus iſte tam aureus ac gemmeus, et epiſtola nihil ſpirans niſi meros amores, poterat illud ita commendare, ut pro quamvis magno acciperetur. Nunc quum tale ſit, ut vel a Rege non indecore donari potuerit, tamen quæ tua modeſtia eſt, rogas ut boni conſulam. Mihi potius rogandus eras, ut libellum extempore fuſum, ac velut abortu ejectum, boni conſuleres. Sed in hac parte video mihi rem eſſe cum *Hercule*, quem in tuo poculo conſpicio: quam enim illic viribus et clava fuit invictus, tam Rinckius officiis aut beneficiis ſuperari non poteſt. Nec male quadrat in te *aquilæ* ſymbolum, quod habet tuus clipeus. Nemo tam velox eſſe queat ad bene merendum, quem tu non prævoles. Solus animus mutuus mihi ſufficiebat. Epiſtola tam amica magni muneris loco eſſe poterat. At his non contenta, tua benignitas addidit poculum et opere et pretio non vulgare. Do manus Herculi, nec contendam ultro, niſi hoc ſolum, ne videar amando inferior. Ep. 1124.

[m] ——Nec ſuffecit animo iſti tuo munus qualecunque, ſed plane regium donare voluiſti, magis reputans quid te deceret dare, quam quid Eraſmum accipere. Auget doni pretium, quod nec promerito, nec ambienti, ac ne exſpectanti quidem ultro detulerit tua benignitas. — Scribit Homerus non eſſe rejicienda Deorum munera; ego vero talium Principum ſpontanea dona, ceu ſacra quædam monumenta apud me libenter ſervo, ac veluti pro teſtimoniis oſtendo, quibus me non mediocriter ornatum arbitror. Iiſdem interdum me ipſum conſolor adverſus quorundam inauſpicatiſſimorum hominum pravitatem, qui nec de benemeritis bene loqui poſſunt, nec his benefacere a quibus beneficentia ſunt provocati. Ep. 1127.

[n] Ep. 1107.

[o] Melchior Adam.

[p] Chryſoſtome, le meilleur des Peres Grecs. — C'a eſté un orgueilleux villain. Falloit-il faire ce qu'il a fait? Il a eſté banni, & avec raiſon. Infinita pulchra habet et optima in Novum Teſtamentum. *Scaligeran.* p. 92.

this Life of Chryſoſtom, Eraſmus hath let us know that he had A. D. 1530
little [q] faith in the [r] miracles of the fifth century, and in thoſe aſcribed to Epiphanius. Ep. 1150.

He dedicated a tranſlation of Xenophon's *Hiero* to Antonius Fuggerus, who returned him thanks. Ep. 355. c. 1744; and Ep. 357. c. 1746.

Andreas Critius, who is called *Epiſcopus Plocenſis*, ſent him a ring [s] with a ruby: and his friend Olahus made him a preſent of a ſpoon and a fork. Ep. 1142.

Ep. 1103 is [t] remarkable, as it gives an account of the great civilities and liberalities which he received from his illuſtrious Patrons;

[q] Jam ut miracula recipiamus, de eo qui ſe mortuum ſimulavit, paulòque poſt vere mortuus repertus eſt; quod ad Epiphanium attinet, nullum erat miraculum. — Et potuit eſſe σύμπλασμα. —Sed ad illius monumentum pellebantur, ut fertur, Dæmones. Id magis arguit fidem vivorum, quam merita defunctorum, ut ne quid hic tribuamus impiorum ſpirituum præſtigiis, utque demus eſſe vera quæ memorantur: nam Monachorum genus, et ſimplex hominum vulgus hoc genus fabulis ſolet impenſius indulgere. c. 1337.

[r] Putaverunt Veteres ſe poſſe regnum Dei provehere mendaciis et falſis miraculis, in quo graviter errarunt. *Scaligeran.* p. 263.

[s] Porro quod Martinus anulum quoque reddidit Celſitudinis tuæ munus, vereor ne ille immodico quodam mei ſtudio dixerit aliquid, quod illi non mandaram. Mihi quidem ſymbolum fauſti cujuſdam ominis viſum eſt, et vel hoc nomine fuit gratiſſimum, quod ad tui imitationem me provocat. Anulus aureus gemmam habebat figura cordis, colore rutilo. Quid amplius optare poſſis homini Chriſtiano, quam ut cor habeat ſapientia illuſtre, charitate igneum? Ep. 1132.

[t] Cæterum, ab ignotis ac ſemotis accipere literas adeo mihi novum non eſt, ut pene ſit quotidianum: a doctis, a magnatibus, ab Epiſcopis, ab Abbatibus, quos ego natos non noveram, ſubinde veniunt literæ: a Regibus, a Principibus, ac Præſulibus ea dignitate, ut nulli poſſint eſſe ignoti, non tantum literæ veniunt, ſed etiam ſplendida munera. A Cæſare Carolo multas habeo epiſtolas tam honorifice, tam amanter ſcriptas, ut eas pluris faciam quam illius in me benignitatem, cui tamen bonam fortunæ partem debeo. A Rege Ferdinando, nec minus crebras, nec minus amicas, non ſine munere honorario. A Rege Galliæ quoties quam amplis conditionibus invitatus ſum? Rex Angliæ et crebris literis ac muneribus ultro miſ-

A. D. 1530. Patrons; amongst whom Francis I promised him preferment, if he

sis, declarat favorem ac benevolentiam in me singularem Nec illi facile cedit fœminarum, quas hæc ætas habet, optima, Catharina illius Regina. Rex Poloniæ Sigismundus misit epistolam, cum ipso munere vere regio certantem. Dux Saxoniæ Georgius crebris me literis appellat, οὐκ ἄδωρος καὶ αὐτός. Quid memorem Gulielmum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, quid Cuthbertum nuper Episcopum Londinensem, nunc Dunelmensem, quid Joannem Episcopum Lincolniensem, qui, præter epistolas omnibus gemmis pretiosiores, quotannis veluti tributum amicitiæ mittunt nec petenti nec exspectanti? Ab Alberto Cardinale Moguntino habeo præter literas egregium benevolentis animi monumentum, quemadmodum et a Philippo a Burgundia Episcopo Trajectino nuper vita defuncto, item a Joanne Card. Lotharingiæ fratre Ducis. Bernardus Episcopus et Card. Tridentinus, præter honorarium munus, idque non exiguum, crebro misit literas tam amicas, adeoque solatii plenas, ut quamvis dejectum animum possint erigere, amplissimis insuper conditionibus invitans ad convictum, a quo et hodie literas accepi eadem pollicentes quæ olim detulit, ac fortassis, ut nunc res sunt, utar illius oblatis. Archiepiscopi Toletani ad me literas jam excusas arbitror te vidisse: quid his fingi, quid optari potest amantius aut honorificentius? Nec defuit illius vel fortuna vel animo digna benignitas. Nuper Guilielmus Princeps Dux junior Clivensis ac Juliacensis, adolescens virtuti natus, scripsit literas amoris plenas, addito poculo magnifico. Antonius Fuggerus simul atque sensisset me Basileæ moliri abitum, misit viaticum centum floren. aureorum, pollicens in singulos annos tantundem et amplius, si vellem Augustam me recipere. Ubi respondi id mihi non esse commodum, misit poculum in primis elegans, pignus initæ inter nos amicitiæ. Ante paucos dies Christophorus a Stadio Episcopus Augustensis, vir tum nobilis, tum apprime doctus, itinere septem dierum, nec eo satis tuto, huc se contulit non ob aliud, quemadmodum ipse prædicabat, nisi ut videret Erasmum, videlicet hominis umbram. Candorem illius prædico, non mea merita; attulit secum duo pocula regia, cum ducentis flor. aureis, deferens insuper omnium facultatum suarum communionem. Dum hæc scribo, veniunt literæ a Jacobo Sadoleto Carpentoractensi, Deum immortalem, qua doctrina, qua morum integritate, qua auctoritate viro! Solitus est et ante subinde nos doctissimis epistolis appellare. Exciderat ille, nisi epistola forte tum reddita commonuisset. Nec dubito quin plures nunc non veniant in mentem. Venit interim in mentem Petrus Episcopus Cracoviensis, vir summa doctrina parique auctoritate, ejus Regis Cancellarius, qui suam erga me pietatem et literis amantissime scriptis, et magnificis donariis declaravit. In eadem Polonia est Andreas Critius Episcopus Plocensis, qui me frequenter et humanissimis literis et eruditissimis carminibus recreat excitatque,

he would come to his Court; but did not make him any preſent, A. D. 1530.
though he was a liberal Prince.

He ſays to Sadolet, to Campegius, to Alciat, and to others, that Albertus Pius, inſtigated by Aleander, was buſy in writing againſt him; and he repreſents them as two men united together by their bad qualities. He adds, that Albertus was aſſiſted, in point of ſtyle, by Sepulveda. He alſo defends himſelf largely, as to Budæus, in a letter to their common friend Brixius. Ep. 1094, 1132, 1135, 1137, 1148.

He beſtows great and juſt commendations on [a] Gibertus Biſhop of Verona, who had [x] given the public, at his own expence, an

excitatque, ne hic quidem ἄπνους. Habeo cubiculum epiſtolis differtum ab eruditis, a magnatibus, a Principibus, a Regibus, a Cardinalibus, ab Epiſcopis: habeo ſcrinium plenum donariis poculorum, lagenarum, cochleariorum, horologiorum, quorum aliquot ex puro ſunt auro; anulorum magnus eſt numerus, omnium autem major longe futurus, niſi pleraque donata redonarem aliis ſtudia provehentibus. Et in his, qui hæc donant, ſunt multi non doctrina modo, ſed et vitæ ſanctimonia præſtantes, velut Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, Epiſcopus Londinenſis, Epiſcopus Auguſtenſis; et in primis Joannes Epiſcopus Roffenſis, qui fugerat, quemadmodum fugerat et Epiſcopus Uratiſlavienſis Joannes Turzo, qui miſerat ſcrinium rebus elegantiſſimis refertum Antuerpiam, ubi tum agebam, quum ego nunquam audiſſem aut ſomniaſſem Uratiſlaviam aut Turzonem. In hujus locum ſucceſſit frater, Epiſcopus Olmucenſis. Et indies accreſcit talium numerus, quum ego nullius benignitatem invitarim, ingenue præ me ferens mihi ſatis eſſe facultatum ad hanc vitæ ſobrietatem, cujus adeo me non pœnitet, ut citius ſim aliquid detracturus quam additurus. Et tamen tanta eſt ultronea illorum liberalitas, ut ſi nulli ſint reditus (ſunt autem etiam præter Cæſaream penſionem aliquot) hæc ſola meis ſtudiis alendis ſufficeret. Mediocrium dona ſemper rejeci, quoties licuit incolumi amicitia: aut ſic accepi, civilitatis gratia, ut abunde penſarim. Ep. 1103.

[a] Maittaire II. 391.

[x] Præſuli iſti Veronenſi bene faxint omnes Superi, qui de privato ſuo curat utilitatem publicam, ſuiſque impenſis tam inſigne beneficium parat ſtudioſis omnibus. *Utinam* hoc exemplum æmulentur Abbates et Epiſcopi noſtri prædivites, &c. *Ep.* 1135.

It is a good *Utinam*, to which all the Learned will ſay *Amen*.

A. D. 1530. edition of Chryſoſtom's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epiſtles, Donatus wrote a Dedication of it to Clemens VII, A. 1529.

He obſerves of Franciſcus [y] Aretinus, that he had tranſlated ſome pieces of Chryſoſtom very poorly.

He received a friendly letter from Alciat, who exhorted him to take no farther notice of his adverſaries, and not to honour them and vex himſelf with replies. The advice was good, and Eraſmus ſeemed to ſtand in ſome need of it. Ep. 1143.

Eckius, the Divine, wrote him a letter very ſawcy and impertinent, and full of Theological pride, which Eraſmus treats as it deſerved, in one to Cholerus. Ep. 1141, 1146.

He [z] complains, that his bad health obliged him to a behaviour ſeemingly rude, to perſons of the higheſt rank, who condeſcended to viſit him.

He makes mention here of a Romiſh Saint, who was his nameſake; and he hath, if I am not miſtaken, ſpoken of him elſewhere. The Saint is not ſo well known as the Scholar. [a] Tillemont hath very honeſtly informed us, that the old accounts concerning *Saint Eraſmus* are ſuperlatively bad, and highly improbable. Ribadeneira, as I remember, amongſt other *Lives of Saints*, hath drawn up that of St. Eraſmus, which is a ſhort one, but contains as many fooliſh lies, as could handſomely be crouded into ſo

[y] Bayle Dict. ARETIN.

[z] Verum hæc valetudo me cogit, ut in totum ab hoc officiorum genere temperem, adeo ut quum nuper huc veniſſet Chriſtophorus a Stadio Epiſcopus Auguſtenſis, vir non ſolum natalium imaginibus illuſtriſſimus, verum etiam eruditione exacta, cæteriſque Epiſcopo dignis virtutibus ornatiſſimus, non ob aliud, niſi ut videret Eraſmum, adferens factum munus honorarium, quod non indecorum fuiſſet quamvis potenti Regi dare Magnati, multo frigidius hominem acceperim quam Mallarium, quippe quem nec ad convivium, nec ad poculum invitarim, nec ſæpius quam bis mei conveniendi copiam fecerim. Odi ego hanc non inhumanitatem, ſed inhumanitatis ſpeciem. Verum aut hoc ferendum incommodum eſt, aut negligenda vita. Interdum forticulus conor agere bellum hominem, ſed mox præſto eſt Ate. Ep. 1147.

[a] See Tillemont H. E. T. V. p. 127, 636.

ſo ſmall a compaſs. This Saint is ſuppoſed to have ſuffered about the beginning of the fourth century. A. D. 1530.

He [b] relates Cardinal Wolſey's fall, and gives him no good character.

From a letter of Zaſius, it ſhould ſeem that [c] Eppendorf threatened to proſecute Eraſmus at Friburg; and Zaſius, with the zeal of a friend, and the ſpirit of a lawyer, declares that he would plead the cauſe of Eraſmus, and treat the raſkal as he deſerved, if he dared to proceed, and to open his mouth, or ſhew his face at Friburg.

Eraſmus mentions [d] Hervagius, who married Froben's widow, and carried on the buſineſs of the preſs at Baſil, and gives him a good character. Ep. 1149.

The [e] ſweating ſickneſs raged this year in Germany, amongſt other calamities. And the affairs of the poor Proteſtants were ſo bad,

[b] Cardinalis Eboracenſis ſic offendit animum Regium, ut ſpoliatus bonis et omni dignitate, teneatur, non in carcere, ſed in quodam ipſius prædio, adhibitis triginta duntaxat ſeu famulis ſeu cuſtodibus. Proferuntur in illum querelæ innumeræ, ut vix exiſtiment effugere poſſe capitis ſupplicium. Hic eſt Fortunæ ludus; ex ludimagiſtro ſubvectus eſt ad regnum; nam plane regnabat verius quam ipſe Rex, metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine. Paucis ante diebus quam caperetur, curaverat Richardum Pacæum conjiciendum in carcerem, ac minitabatur etiam meo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi. Ante ruinam exaltantur ſpiritus, ait Solomon. Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis vocatus, imo revocatus eſt ad Cancellarii munus, quo non aliud in Anglia majus: ſed is excuſavit ætatem, jam imparem tanto negotio. Itaque provincia delegata eſt Thomæ Moro, magno omnium applauſu, nec minore bonorum omnium lætitia ſubvectus, quam dejectus Cardinalis. Ep. 1151.

[c] Vale; et qui tibi minitatur, ſe intenturum formulam injuriarum, ne time. Veniat, ſi ſaltem venire auſit, et Zaſium experietur advocatum tuum in ſuam perniciem. Fribrugi es, non Baſileæ, ſub Principe es juſtiſſimo; caveat adverſarius tuus, ne hiſcat quidem. Ep. 360. c. 1748.

[d] Baillet I. 382. Maittaire II. 359.

[e] Nuſquam pax, nullum iter tutum eſt, rerum caritate, penuria, fame, peſtilentia laboratur ubique, Sectis diſſecta ſunt omnia: ad tantam malorum Lernam acceſſit lethalis ſudor, multos

A. D. 1530. bad, in all appearance, that [f] Melanchthon was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with ſorrow. Luther, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of conſolation.

Eraſmus wrote a letter to Joan. Alex. [g] Braſſicanus, who had publiſhed a book of Adages, and had made ſome apology to him for undertaking that ſubject. Eraſmus had no great eſteem for his performance. This man had once aſked Eraſmus, what he ſhould do, to become a good ſcholar; and Eraſmus, in anſwer, [i] gave him an advice, of which he ſeemed to ſtand in need. Ep. 1108.

One Ludovicus Carvajalus wrote a fooliſh thing againſt Eraſmus, who replied to it; and Carvajalus [k] renewed the attack. Ep. 1104.

A. D.

intra horas octo tollens e medio, et crebro quos reliquit brevi intervallo repetens, nec id ſemel, ſed bis, ter, quater, donec in hydropem aut epidemiam, aut aliud morbi genus verſus, tandem extinguat miſeris excarnificatum modis. Ep. 1149.

[f] Sleidan L. VII. 186.

[g] Braſſicanus was of the Lutheran party. See *Amœnitates Literar.* Tom. I. p. 298, 306.

Eraſmus did Braſſicanus the honour to make him a ſpeaker in that excellent Dialogue, wherein Reuchlin is canonized.

[h] Braſſicanus aut concepit irritas iras, aut pudore obrutus eſt. Jactarat non deeſſe quod colligeretur poſt Eraſmum, quum triginta fere proverbia ſumſerit ex meis. Deſiit ad me ſcribere, quod facile fero. Nihil enim illius epiſtolis ſtomachantius, et convitiis admiſcebat tam blanda, ut aliquoties deſiderarim in eo ſobriam mentem. Ep. 372. c. 1757.

[i] Braſſicanus rogavit Eraſmum, qua ratione doctus poſſet fieri. Reſpondit ex tempore; Si doctis aſſidue conviveret; ſi doctos audiret non minus ſubmiſſe quam honorifice; ſi doctos ſtrenue legeret; ſi doctos diligenter ediſceret; denique, ſi ſe doctum numquam putaret. *Centur. Epiſt.* Goldaſti. Ep. 44. p. 169.

[k] Dulcoratio amarulentiarum Eraſmicæ reſponſionis ad apologiam Fratris Lodovici Carvajali ab eodem Lodovico edita. *Maittaire* II. 495.

A. D. MDXXXI. Ætat. LXIV.

Some perſons had been deſirous that Eraſmus ſhould repair to the Diet of Augſburg: but he [1] excuſeth himſelf. A. D. 1531.

I could not have gone (ſays he) without running the riſque of my life; and therefore I choſe rather to live. I knew very well that if I went there, I ſhould bring miſchief upon my own head, without being able to compoſe the diſſentions and tumults. I alſo knew upon whoſe judgment the Emperor relied; upon Divines, in whoſe opinion whoſoever ſhall dare to open his mouth in favour of piety is a Lutheran, and worſe than a Lutheran. I am by nature void of diſſimulation, and ſomewhat free of ſpeech. If I had ſuited myſelf to the paſſions of certain people, I muſt have ſaid many things againſt my own conſcience. So I have ſome obligations to my bad ſtate of health, which furniſheth me with a plea for abſence. Ep. 1152.

To John More, ſon of Sir Thomas, he dedicated the works of Ariſtotle, printed in Greek by Froben's heirs; and to Charles, ſon to Lord William Montjoy, the hiſtory of [m] Livy, augmented with five books which had not been printed before. They were diſcovered by Simon Grynæus in a [n] manuſcript belonging to the Monaſtery of Lorſe. Ep. 1159, 1160.

In

[1] *He might have ſaid with Salluſt:*
Scio ego, quam difficile atque aſperum factu ſit conſilium dare regi, aut imperatori, poſtremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelſo ſunt: quippe cum et illis conſultorum copiæ adſint; neque de futuro quiſquam ſatis callidus, ſatiſque prudens ſit. Quinetiam ſæpe prava magis, quam bona conſilia proſpere eveniunt: quia pleraſque res fortuna ex lubidine ſua agitat. *Salluſtius* Orat. II. ad Cæſ.

[m] See Fabricius *Bibl. Lat.* Tom. I. p. 196.

[n] Viſum eſt tuo nomini dicare Titum Livium — quinque libris modo repertis auctum; quos bono quodam genio in bibliotheca Monaſterii Lauriſſeni, aut, ut vulgo, Lorſenſis, reperit Simon Grynæus, vir ut in omni genere literarum citra ſupercilium eruditus, ita provehendis liberalibus ſtudiis natus. Id autem Monaſterium eſt e regione Wormaciæ, ſive

A. D. 1531. In Ep. 1159, Eraſmus beſtows many commendations on Bebelius, the Printer. See Maittaire II. 342, &c.

He

ſive Borbetomagi trans Rhenum, a Carolo Magno ſeptingentis abhinc annis et eo amplius exſtructum, ac librorum copioſiſſima ſupellectile inſtructum: nam hæc olim præcipua cura Principum fuit, et hic ſolet eſſe chariſſimus Cœnobiorum theſaurus. Archetypum erat admirandæ vetuſtatis, priſco more perpetua literarum ſerie ita depictum, ut difficillimum fuerit verbum a verbo dirimere, niſi docto, attento, et in hoc ipſum exercitato. Unde non parum negotii fuit in parando exemplari, quod typographicis operis traderetur utendum. Nec minore cura quam fide advigilatum eſt, ne uſquam in deſcribendo ab archetypo recederetur. Quod ſi pridem magna ſtudioſorum gratulatione merito exceptum eſt qualecunque fragmentum, quod nobis dedit Moguntia; quanto plauſu excipi par eſt tantam Livianæ hiſtoriæ acceſſionem? Atque utinam faxit Deus Opt. Max. ut hic Auctor totus et integer nobis reſtituatur. Ejus rei ſpem nonnullam præbent rumores per ora quorundam volitantes; dum hic apud Danos, ille apud Polonos, alius apud Germanos, haberi Liviana quædam nondum edita jactitat. Certe poſteaquam haſce reliquias præter omnium ſpem objecit fortuna, non video cur deſperemus et plura poſſe contingere. Atque hic mea quidem ſententia Principes viri rem ſe dignam facerent, ſi præmiis propoſitis, eruditos ad perveſtigandum tantum theſaurum ſollicitarent, aut etiam ad editionem perpellerent: ſi qui forte ſunt, qui rem publicæ utilitati paratam gravi ſtudiorum jactura premunt abduntque. Vehementer enim abſurdum videtur, homines ut parum auri argentive inveniant, tantis impendiis tantiſque periculis ad ipſos pene inferos terræ viſcera perfodere; et hujuſmodi theſauros tanto illis pretioſiores, quanto corpore præſtantior eſt animus, prorſus negligere, nec ulla veſtigatione dignos judicare. Midarum hic animus eſt, non principum. *Ep.* 1160.

L'edition de Tite Live de Froben eſt aſſez bonne; mais Sigonius y a bien corrigé. C'eſt grand cas qu'Eraſme a trouvé cinq livres de Livius, & celui qui les a deſcrits, ne les a ſceu lire. On a cherché toutes les bibliotheques de la Chreſtienté, in n'y a plus rien. *Scaligeran.* p. 246.

De tempore quo verſiones ſuas confecit Argyropylus mire fallitur Eraſmus, quum in Præfatione (*i. e. Epiſt.* 1159) ait illum eas confeciſſe, poſtquam ab Aldo Opera Ariſtotelis fuiſſent edita: h. e. poſt an. MDXCV. (*read* MCCCCXCV) &c. *Hodius* De Græc. Illuſtr. p. 208.

Aldus, as Fabricius informs us, publiſhed a Greek Edition of Ariſtotle, A. 1498, which was become very ſcarce even in the days of Eraſmus.

He again gives an [o] account of the ſweating ſickneſs. A. D. 1531.

He writes a letter of excuſe to the poet Eobanus Heſſus, who took it ill that he was not mentioned and complimented in the *Ciceronianus*. Eobanus had tranſlated Theocritus, and was about Homer, on which undertakings Eraſmus makes ſome [p] juſt obſervations. The tranſlating of poets into other languages, and into verſe, ſeems to be an occupation beneath a good poet, a work in which there is much labour, and little honour. The tranſlator perhaps will reply, *I want to get money*. Why then, Go on, and good luck attend you.

Ep. 1158, and Ep. 368, c. 1752, are to [q] Petrus Caſtellanus, a young Frenchman. Caſtellanus in his younger days went to Baſil to converſe with Eraſmus, who recommended him to Froben for an aſſiſter; and he was of great ſervice in correcting not only errors of the preſs, but even ſome errors of [r] Eraſmus himſelf.

[o] Nova lues, jam olim uni Britanniæ peculiaris, ſubito ſe ſparſit per univerſas nationes; atque initio quoniam malum erat ſubitum et horrendum, videlicet intra horas viginti quatuor, ſæpe pauciores, exanimans quem invaſerat, animos omnium terrore perculit, adeo ut multis metus et imaginatio morbum conciliarit: corripuit plurimos, pauciores tamen extinxit quam ſolet jam nimium orbi nota epidemia; mox nulli fere periere, niſi per imperitiam medicorum, aut neglectam ægroti curam. Ep. 1154.

[p] Quod Theocritum reddidiſti Latino carmine, miror ſi Siculam illam Venerem aſſecutus es. Homerum opinor experiris tractabiliorem: in utroque tamen argumento vereor ut ſumma labori reſpondeat. Ep. 1164.

[q] Bayle CASTELLAN. Gallandius Vit. Caſtellani. Bayle AUGUSTIN, Not. G. Sammarthani Elog. L. I. p. 27. Maittaire I. 291. II. 454. Hiſt. Steph. 144, &c.

[r] Hic juvenis Eraſmicæ gloriæ æmulatione, et ejus falſis in ingenia Gallica, quibus parum in literis tribuebat, cavillationibus incenſus, noctes et dies in Græcarum literarum, Theologiæque atque omnis humanioris doctrinæ commentatione ita verſabatur, ut Eraſmum ſatis præcipitanter commentantem, et e Græco non probe intellecta in Latinum ſermonem male vertentem, frequenter ſuorum erratorum admoneret. Quæ ille, qui plurimum Caſtellani opera uteretur, cum agnoſcere atque emendare ejus admonitu cogeretur, plurimum illi tribuebat atque deferebat. Memini Caſtellanum

A. D. 1531. ſelf. After this he was a great favourite of Francis I, who mad him a Biſhop. He had as [a] bad an opinion of the Court Rome as Eraſmus and Luther, and had contracted it, not fro hear-ſays, but from his own obſervation. He was a ſort of fre thinker, as to Popery, and this diſpoſition he might perhaps ha caught from converſing with his friend Eraſmus: but he w for maintaining the Catholic Religion, and for keeping th Reformed undermoſt; for which they hated him, as an ambitious hypocrite, and repreſented his death as a divine [b] judgment. So Beza, H. Stephanus, D'Aubigné, and other good Proteſtants thought about it. Eraſmus had a ſingular love and eſteem for Caſtellanus, and writes to him in a moſt affectionate manner, and wiſhes him either a good wife, or a good Biſhoprick. The latter happened

Caſtellanum mihi frequenter dicere Eraſmum in literis Græcis ſupra vulgus tum parum promoviſſe, in auctoribus qui ab uſu communi remoti eſſent inſigniter hæſitaviſſe. Itaque quæ ex illis vertebat aut commentabatur, majore ex parte adjuvantibus doctis, qui ei hanc operam navabant, præſtitiſſe. *Gallandius* Vit. Caſt.

[a] Memini eum aliquando, cum Pontificum Romanorum ſupinas libidines, avaritiam, et rapacitatem, religionis contemtum, ſuperbiamque Cardinalium, luxum et ignaviam, nundinationeſque, cauponationes, et flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanenſium deſcriberet, et cetera quæ tunc vidiſſet commemoraret, ita animo concitari et indignatione commoveri conſueviſſe, ut ei non modo in facie color, ſed et toto corpore geſtus motuſque immutarentur; ut etiam mihi frequenter diceret ſibi eſſe perſuaſiſſimum ne Pontifices quidem Romanos religionis et ſacrorum antiſtites, tot ſuis ſuorumque flagitiis ſceleribuſque contaminatos, vere et ex animo Chriſtum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis cauſa, veluti larva ad fallendum appoſita, egregie ſimulare. *Gallandius.*

Ego (*ſays Luther*) Romæ non diu fui, ibi celebravi ipſe, et vidi celebrari aliquot miſſas, ſed ita, ut quoties recordor, exſecrer illas. Nam ſuper menſam, inter alia, audivi Curtiſanos quoſdam ridendo gloriari, nonnullos in ara ſuper panem et vinum hæc verba pronunciare, *Panis es, panis manebis: vinum es, vinum manebis.* De hac profectione in colloquiis familiaribus ſæpe eſt ſibi gratulatus Lutherus; dixitque mille florenis ſe eam non commutaturum. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Luth. p. 49.

[b] Bayle Not. Q.

happened to be his lot. [u] Caſtellanus was alſo of the ſame opinion with Eraſmus, in preferring Jerom very much to Auguſtin, and in having no great eſteem for the latter; and poſſibly his friend Eraſmus had ſome ſhare in leading him into this ſentiment. A. D. 1531.

[x] Caſtellanus, in a funeral ſermon upon his good Patron, Francis I, declared his [y] hope that the King was gone directly to Paradiſe. This gave great offence to the Sorbonne, which ſent deputies to complain of it at court. But they were coldly received: and Mendoza, the King's ſteward, told them, that he knew his old maſter's temper better than they; that he never could endure to remain long in any place; and that if he went into Purgatory, he only ſtopped there juſt to take a gill of wine, or ſo, in his paſſage.

" From the letters of Eraſmus to Caſtellanus, we learn that " they both wrote a very bad hand. As to Eraſmus, his manu-

" ſcript

[u] E Latinis (Patribus) divum Hieronymum plurimi faciebat, non modo quod cæteris eloquentior eſſet, verum etiam quod omnibus artium liberalium ſcientia facile anteiret. Nam ut divum Auguſtinum contra hæreticos de hominis Chriſtiani juſtificatione diſputando proxime ad divi Pauli ſententiam acceſſiſſe fatebatur, ita linguarum ignoratione ſomniaſſe frequenter atque etiam deliraſſe ſacra explicando affeverabat; cumque bonarum artium magis non ignorans quam peritus dici poſſet, non ſatis idoneum eſſe judicabat cui de artibus differenti legendo tempus ab eo tranſmitteretur qui minime otio abundaret. Eam quoque ſtyli Auguſtiniani anfractuoſam ſinuoſitatem eſſe et ſermonis omni elegantia vacui impuritatem addebat, ut ab homine liberaliter in literis educato citra faſtidium legi vix poſſet. *Gallandius*, p. 44.

[x] See Thuanus L. III. p. 87.

[y] Here is the place in the Sermon, which Bayle hath not given us:

J'entens, que conſideré la vie du feu Roy, pleine d'actes vertueux & louables, &c. j'entens donc que ſa vie, telle que j'ay dict, & ſa mort plus louable que je ne ſçauroye dire, & l'infinité peſée de la grandeur & multitude des miſericordes de noſtre Seigneur, peult induire une inclination en noſtre entendement pour penſer qu'il eſt en Paradis, comme choſe qui n'eſt point incroyable, ny ineſtimable, ſelon la ſignification commune de ces mots, encores que le jugement certain de la verité ne ſoit en homme mortel, quel qui ſoit, par aucune perſuaſion ou conjecture humaine. See *Gallandius*, p. 265.

A. D. 1531. " ſcript of the *Lingua* was ſuch a ſcraul, that he himſelf could " hardly decypher it, when he attempted, by the help of his " copy, to correct the faults which had ſlipped into the edition " of 1525. This he tells us himſelf at the head of the *Errata.*" Bayle CASTELLAN, Not. D, and *Rem. Crit.* p. 3099.

Eraſmus complains that mere worldly means were projected for removing the ſchiſm in the Church. Charles V, united with the Pope, required that the Proteſtants ſhould reeſtabliſh every thing upon the old foot, and threatened them with war, if they refuſed to comply. The Pope was contriving to execute the ſame project, by the aſſiſtance of the Princes, and by multiplying the number of Cardinals: and this, in the opinion of Eraſmus, was to provoke God more and more. He wiſhed that the Rulers of the Church would begin a reformation at home, and correct their own ſcandalous miſdemeanors, which, inſtead of diminiſhing, daily increaſed.

He obſerves how [a] ſtrangely Oecolampadius was changed from a ſuperſtitious Monk to a free-thinking Reformer.

He wrote an excellent letter to [a] Auguſtinus Steuchus, criticiſing this author's works, and defending himſelf againſt his cenſorious cavils. This man had ſaid that Germany produced moſt impious blaſphemers: Eraſmus bids him [b] look at home, and remember that in profaneneſs the Italians far ſurpaſſed the Germans.

The

[a] Quis exſpectaſſet tantam in Oecolampadio mutationem? Ante cucullam plane Monachus erat, et ſuperſtitione noſtro ſodalitio ſubmoleſtus: nunc quanto alius ſit, obſcurum non eſt. Ep. 1163.

[a] Non ſecus omnino, ac olim fecere maximi illi viri, Euclides dum noctu Megaris Athenas proficiſceretur ad audiendum Socratem.—Adrianuſque præterea ejus nominis Pontifex ſextus, et *Auguſtinus Steuchus Eugubinus*, quos inter luctandum cum ſtudiis et anguſtioris vitæ miſeriis, ſæpe videre ſuit ad ellychnios noctu in templis aut compitis colluccentes legendi deſiderio acceſſiſſe. *Naudæus* Pent. Quæſt. Iatroph. p. 91.

[b] Fieri poteſt, ut in Germania ſint, qui non temperent a blaſphemiis in Deum; ſed in hos horrendis ſuppliciis animadvertitur. At ego Romæ his au-

tibus

The following letters are no leſs remarkable, in which he complains of his adverſaries, who had obliged him either to ſpend his time in drawing up apologies for himſelf, or to ſtand condemned as a vile heretic. He ſays that Albertus Pius, Prince of Carpi, died whilſt his anſwer to Eraſmus was in the preſs at Paris; and he adds merrily, that though Albertus had been deprived of his Principality, he had ſtill retained a [c] right to his title of *Princeps Carpenſis*; *a carpendo*, becauſe he was always carping and cenſuring what he did not underſtand. He was buried in a Monk's doublet. Ep. 1175, 1176, 1177. A. D. 1531.

ribus audivi quoſdam abominandis blaſphemiis debacchantes in Chriſtum, et in illius Apoſtolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, et quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant ſe dicta horrenda audiſſe a quibuſdam Sacerdotibus aulæ Pontificiæ miniſtris, idque in ipſa Miſſa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit. Ep. 1175.

[c] Hoc argumentum ſerio rurſus tractavit Albertus Pius, cujus ingens volumen excudit Badius, quum opus, ut audio, non ſit Alberti, ſed per multas operas conductitias conflatum: nec minimum contulerunt Franciſcani Pariſienſes; habent enim quendam inſigniter διετόμυδον, Petrum Cornuenſem. Ipſe Pius rem fecit oppido quam ingenioſam, infixit aculeum, ac ſeſe proripuit: deceſſit enim *multis (perhaps it ſhould be* non multis) ante diebus, quam Badius opus abſolviſſet. Dicebatur Carpenſis, et quanquam ditione fuiſſet exſutus, cognomen idem manebat, licet ratio cognominis fuerit diverſa: prius enim a *Carpis* erat *Carpenſis*, poſt a *carpendi* libidine. Atque ut intelligas illum non ſine cauſa dictum *Pium*, triduo quam moreretur, induit amictum divi Franciſci, in ea veſte Franciſcanorum humeris deportatus eſt ſolenni pompa per vias, facie, manibus et pedibus nudatis, et in monaſterio ſepultus. Non inſector religioſum hominis affectum: vulgatum eſt hoc apud Italos; ſed demiror Patres illos, quum non ignorent cujuſmodi ſit hoc ſeculum, ejuſmodi ceremoniis, ne dicam ſuperſtitionibus, irritare in ſe orbis invidiam, plus ſatis jam flagrantem ſua ſponte. Sed Alberti manibus precor lucem et quietem. Ep. 1176.

Exiit ingens volumen Alberti Pii, quondam Carporum Principis, poſt exſulis apud Gallos, deinde ſycophantæ, poſtremo Franciſcani.—Nec puduit hominem Principem, ſenem, ac diutina valetudine moribundum, denique jam Seraphico ſodalitio deſtinatum, manifeſtis mendaciis proximo capitalem ſtruere calumniam. Ep. 1195.

A. D. 1531. « [d] Baldus in the year 1400, Chriſtophorus Longolius in « 1522, and Albertus Pius in 1530, were buried, at their requeſt, « in the habit of a Cordelier. Marot, in one of his poems, « hath ridiculed Albertus, *who*, ſays he, *turned Monk after he* « *was dead?*"

This calls to mind a ſtory, which I have ſeen ſomewhere. A certain Prince, who had led a very wicked life, was carried to his grave in the humble diſguiſe of a Monk. A woman, whose huſband he had murdered, ſeeing the maſquerade go by, cried to him, Ah you Dog! you think that you are finely concealed under that habit: but Jeſus Chriſt will find you out.

P. Jovius hath given a great character to Albertus Pius, and alſo ſome account of his life and misfortunes. *Vit. Alphonſ.* p. 194—196, and *Elog.* p. 154.

Budæus was now much out of humour with Eraſmus, and had kept two of his letters by him unopened for two years. Ep. 1166.

Eraſmus ſtill kept up his correſpondence with his old patron Montjoy. Ep. 1174.

He tells Urſinus Velius, that he intended in his old days to turn [e] Ciceronian himſelf, and to try if he could imitate the happy eloquence

[d] Menagian. IV. 9.

[e] Vacat audire novarum rerum aliquid? Accipe: Quanquam inter ἀδύνατα numerari ſcio ſenis mutare linguam, tamen ego meditor mutare ſtylum. Ac primum applicui memet ad exemplar ſtructuræ Budaicæ: legi pleraſque illius epiſtolas feliciter elaboratas, anniſus ſum ſedulo, ſed conatus ſucceſſu caruit. Nunc in effingendo Cicerone ſum totus. Dices, Quid accidit? Huc exſtimularunt me trium hujus ætatis in dicendo feliciſſimorum epiſtolæ, Jacobi Sadoleti, Petri Bembi, et Julii Pflug, quorum poſtremum nuper amicum habere cœpi, ex re mala magnum nactus bonum. Phraſis horum ita conſentit, ut dicas a teneris unguiculis eodem in ludo doctos et educatos. Deum immortalem! qui candor orationis, quam felix facilitas, quanta ſenſuum ſanitas, quam omnia cohærent, amniſque limpidiſſimi in morem inoffenſe labuntur, nulla ſalebra, nullo vortice lectorem remorante! Tales Ciceronianos toto pectore poſſum amare, utinam et aſſequi liceat. Sed arbitror conſultius

eloquence of Sadolet, Bembus, and Julius Pflug, in his opinion, A. D. 1531.
the three beſt writers of that age. A pure and elegant ſtyle was perhaps the ſmalleſt of Sadolet's accompliſhments: he was a man of piety, probity, and moderation, affable, and good-natured.

[f] There was a rumour that Bembus, Sadolet, [g] Contarenus and Campegius died of poiſon, and were diſpatched, becauſe they had contracted a familiarity with ſome Proteſtants, and were ſuſpected of being too favourably diſpoſed towards that party. Sadolet was ſeventy years old when he died, and Bembus was much older. Surely it was not worth the while to poiſon either of them at that time of life.

Seckendorf hath collected ſome things, which ſhew the [h] Chriſtian temper of Sadolet, and are much to his honour.

Julius

conſultius ut ſexagenarius ab his comitiis abſtineam, ne per juventutem tumultuantem fiam depontanus. Ep. 1170.

[f] Cum annum ætatis ſeptuageſimum attigiſſet (Sadoletus) in febrim lapſus, diem poſtremum obiit Romæ, non ſine dati veneni ſuſpicione. Quatuor enim hi Cardinales, viri docti et boni, Bembus, Sadoletus, Caſpar Contarenus, et Campegius properata morte feruntur occubuiſſe: cauſam ignorant multi, niſi quod forte cum iis qui a Romana religione diſcordant, aliquam familiaritatem habuiſſe credantur. *Boiſſard.*

[g] Mortuus eſt Contarenus anno 1542, non ſine veneni ſuſpicione. Qui familiariter illum noverunt, de Juſtificatione hominis recte ſenſiſſe dicunt. Fuit vir cumprimis doctus, et exſtat ejus de Magiſtratibus atque Republica Venetorum liber. *Sleidan* L. XIV. 381. See P. Jovius Elog. p. 184. Pope Blount, p. 427. Vita Contareni auctore J. Caſa. It is in the *Vitæ Bateſii.* F. Paul B. I. §. 66, p. 159, and Dr. Courayer. Contarenus declared to Peter Martyr, that he had a great eſteem for Melanchthon and Bucer. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Buceri.

[h] Ex Raynaldo percipitur, Evangelicam doctrinam Avenione, &c. progreſſus quoſdam habuiſſe anno 1539; Pontificem vero Jacobo Sadoleto mandaſſe ut hæreſes illas extingueret, data ei poteſtate puniendi, qui culpabiles reperirentur. Subjungitur Sadoleti ad Cardinalem Farneſium epiſtola, in qua ſe die et noctu ſollicitum eſſe ſcribit, ut caveat ne hæretici in ditionem Pontificiam ſeſe conferant.—Ait tamen, ſe poteſtate in diplomate Pontificio conceſſa non facile uſurum, cum validiora ſint remedia veritas ipſa, et manſuetudo Chriſtiana, qua errorum confeſſio corde magis quam ore prolata exprimatur.—Sadoleti pium et mite ingenium in illa ipſa

A. D. 1531. ipſa cauſa Thuanus laudat L. VI. Produxit etiam Raynaldus Sadoleti ad Farneſium aliam epiſtolam, qua Pontificem reprehendit, quod cum Lutheranos perſequatur, Judæis nova indies privilegia in ditione Avenionenſi concedat, quibus ad injurias ſubditis inferendas veluti armentur, et inter hos ut lupi graſſentur. *Quomodo*, ait, *hoc accipi putatis a nationibus trans Alpes?* Et poſt pauca: *In tantane defectione animorum omnium a nobis gentium (plane enim dico omnium, quod ego ita eſſe intelligo, vos haud ita ſentitis, propterea quod auribus veſtris vulgo homines blandiuntur) in tantane inquam defectione omnium, et prope exſecratione auctoritatis Eccleſiaſticæ, magno reipublicæ præſidio futurum putatis, ſi ſic alueritis, ſi ſic extuleritis Judæos?*

Hanc viri inter Cardinales ob eruditionem, moderationem et pietatem laudatiſſimi confeſſionem, de univerſali odio orbis terrarum in regimen Pontificium, neſcio an ſatis caute, produxit tamen Raynaldus; quæ opponi poteſt paraſitis aulæ Romanæ veteribus et novis, qui ſolius Lutheri ferociæ tribuunt, quod tot gentes dominatum illum excuſſerint. *Seckendorf* L. III. p. 244.

Exſtat Sadoleti epiſtola, a Cochlæo edita, ad Joannem Sturmium, in qua comiter ſcribit, multa ſe in Commentario ejus ad reformationem a Cardinalibus (inter quos Sadoletus fuerat) tentatam, homine libero et erudito digna reperiſſe, elegantiam inprimis Ciceronianam, quam optimi judicii ſignum eſſe, eoque nomine Sturmium a ſe mirifice diligi ait, etſi in ſententiis quibuſdam de ſancta catholica fide ab eo diſſentiat; profitetur ſe majorum monumentis et ſeculorum legibus acquieſcere, nova vero aſpernari, quæ apud æquos et peritos judices ſuſtinere ſit perdifficile; favere ſe tamen dicit etiam Melanchthoni et Bucero, hominibus doctiſſimis. Reprehendit deinde convicia, quæ a Sturmio intermixta eſſe dicit nitori orationis, et putaſſe ſe ſcribit, Luthero ſaltem id proprium eſſe. Laudes, quas Clementi VII dederat, defendit, et literis ita dicit inſtructum illum fuiſſe, ut, cum Pontifex factus eſſet, omnibus admirantibus Latine loqui didicerit, quod antea non fecerat; fatetur tamen culpa miniſtrorum illum a priſtino more et bonitate naturæ non minimum diſceſſiſſe. Finit, repetita benevolentiæ in Sturmium et duos ſupra nominatos ſignificatione. *Seckendorf* Suppl. LXIV.

Sadoletus, ut erat pio et miti ingenio, perbenigne ſupplices [Valdenſes] accipit, et quæ ultra ea capita libro comprehenſa de ipſis ſpargantur, ad invidiam conficta et meras nugas eſſe ingenue declarat: cæterum oblato libello videri multa ineſſe, quæ partim integra ſententia in melius mutari, partim acerbius in Pontificem et Præſules dicta temperatiore ſtylo mitigari poſſint: ſe nihilo minus eis bene velle; minimeque ex animi ſui ſententia futurum, ſi cum his hoſtiliter ageretur: — ad hæc verba propenſæ nec fictæ erga eos voluntatis ſignificationem addidit, legato Avenionenſium, qui cum manu armata adventabat, repreſſo, et ut retro cederet, admonito. *Thuanus* L. VI. p. 189.

Romæ obierunt (A. 1547) Petrus Bembus, Patricius Venetus, & Jacobus Sadoletus Mutinenſis, Carpentoracti Epiſcopus,

Julius [i] Pflug was alſo a learned and candid man, who, like Eraſmus and Melanchthon and Bucer, was very deſirous to contribute towards pacifying the religious differences in the Chriſtian world, and laboured at it during the whole courſe of his life. He was at this time Counſellor to George Duke of Saxony. He was one of the authors of the famous [k] *Interim*, or the Decree concerning an accommodation, or a truce, to be obſerved between Papiſts and Proteſtants, which gave great offence to both ſides, becauſe each thought that too much was conceded to the adverſary. The tenor of it was in general very favourable to the Romiſh doctrines, ſomewhat ſoftened, diſguiſed, and palliated. The only conceſſions to the Proteſtants were the uſe of the Cup in the Euchariſt, and of marriage to the Clergy; and even theſe were only conditional and temporary, and to continue till a general Council ſhould decide about it. This paſſed in the year 1548. A. D. 1531.

Pflug [l] was made Biſhop of Naumburg, and then ejected by the Elector of Saxony, and at laſt reſtored. He was a Prelate of

ſcopus, uterque verſu et pedeſtri oratione politiſſimus ſcriptor: verum illius multa licentioſius, ut temporum nequitia et domini, cui ſerviebat, (Leonis) mores ferebant, ſcripta exſtant; hujus contra ſeria fere omnia, et digna perſona, quam ſuſtinebat. Utriuſque in diſpari morum inſtituto fortuna tamen par fuit, &c. Bembus (deceſſit) ex vulnere in latere ad parietem accepto, dum equo veheretur, &c. *Thuanus* L. III. p. 99.

[i] Burnet II. 355. Camerarius Vit. Melanchth. p. 196. Du Pin XIII. 157, 172. Seckendorf L. III. p. 220, 387, 395. Perizonius, p. 288, 289, 390. Sleidan L. XIV. 366. XVI. 446.

[k] Sleidan L. XX. 572, 577.

Auctores Libri *Interim* a Cæſare Carolo V, et Ferdinando, ob navatam operam liberalia dona abſtulerunt. Schluſſelburgius multo auro donatus domum rediit. Julius Pflugius Canonicatu et argento donatus eſt. Michael Sidonius Epiſcopatum Merſeburgenſem deinde eſt conſecutus. —

Vide Crenium *De Singular. Scriptorum*, p. 15.

[l] Pflugius reſtitutus eſt, quietamque inde ad mortem uſque poſſeſſionem habuit. Præfuit autem ſubditis inſigni cum integritate et æquitate. Nihil duri adverſus eos decrevit, qui contrarias partes ſecuti

A. D. 1531. of great moderation, of a ſweet temper, and benevolent diſpoſition, and ſuſpected by the Papiſts of Lutheraniſm, and by the Lutherans of timidity and diſſimulation.

Ep. 1198 is to Georgius [m] Agricola, whom he hath alſo commended in Ep. 1014. This learned man was once much inclined to Proteſtantiſm.

" Four things, in the opinion of Melchior Adam, hindered " the converſion of Agricola: 1. the indiſcreet writings of ſome " Proteſtant Divines: 2. the ſcandalous lives of ſome of the " Reformed party: 3. the breaking of the Images, and the rebel- " lion of the Peaſants: 4. the natural inclination which Agricola " had for pomp and ceremony in divine worſhip.

" Of theſe four cauſes the three firſt entirely alienated Eraſ- " mus from Proteſtantiſm. Many other perſons, who longed " for a Reformation, were caught, like him, in the ſame ſnare: " and hence it is that Beza, in his Hiſtory of the Churches, meets " ſo many in his way, who had taſted of the good ſeed, and " then fell off. Reaſonable men will tell you, on this occaſion, " that, as things then ſtood, there was no poſſibility of carrying " on a Reformation by mere patience, and gentleneſs of ſpeech " and manners, that therefore the divine Providence left the " combatants to their own temper, with a deſign, as it ſhould " ſeem, that neither party ſhould ſo completely prevail as utterly " to ſubvert and deſtroy the other. The obſervation is good: " there are certain means, which, by being very proper to accom- " pliſh

ſecuti erant; et raræ moderationis exemplum eſt, quod quadraginta fere cives Cizenſes, qui patria emigrare, quam illum Principem agnoſcere, maluerunt, levi mulcta Senatui ſoluta, in gratiam receperit; ſinguli enim non niſi unum florenum ſolverunt. — Ex his aliiſque viri dictis et factis judicari poteſt, Evangelicæ veritatis ſatis gnarum non ſolum, ſed et ei non parum addictum fuiſſe: cur vero eam publice profiteri noluerit, Deus noverit, cui facti ſui quiſque rationem reddere cogitur, &c. Obiit anno 1564, ætatis 61. *Seckendorf* L. III, p. 395.

[m] Melch. Adam. Thuanus L. XVI, 498.

"pliſh half of the work, are incapable of accompliſhing the "whole." *Bayle* AGRICOLA (GEORGE.) A. D. 1531.

In a letter to Mallarius, Eraſmus tells him the ſtory of a [a] Divine, who had ſtuck up the picture of Eraſmus in his chamber, only to have the pleaſure of ſpitting upon it.

[b] He hath made ſome fair and equitable remarks on Budæus and Longolius, and pointed out their defects without any malignity and aſperity.

He publiſhed his uſeful and entertaining collection of Apophthegms, and dedicated them to the Duke of Cleve. This Prince ſent him a cup, for which Eraſmus returned him thanks. Ep. 1211.

Julius Pflug wrote to Eraſmus, exhorting him to uſe all his intereſt with the Chriſtian Princes, that by their authority the Romiſh Clergy might be induced to relax in favour of the Lutherans as much as could be ſpared of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions; hoping that on the other ſide ſome wiſe and moderate Lutherans, ſuch as Melanchthon, might ſhew the ſame condeſcenſion.

[a] Quod ſcribis eſſe quoſdam, qui ſibi bonam felicitatis partem deeſſe judicant, quod Eraſmum non viderint, quum corporis effigiem ære fuſam exoſculentur, eaque conſpecta ad ſtudiorum amorem inflammentur, puto non omnino vanum eſſe: quanquam tu conſolandi mei gratia rem, ni fallor, verbis amplificas. Sed ne poſſim iſtiuſmodi favoribus inſoleſcere, facit quorundam diverſus affectus. Dicam enim quod rideas: Eſt quidam Doctor Conſtanſienſis, qui mei effigiem in charta impreſſam habet in conclavi ſuo, non ob aliud niſi ut quum inambulat, quoties eam præterit conſpuat: percunctantibus odii cauſam, reſpondet ſe mihi acceptum ferre hoc calamitoſum ſeculum. Ep. 1176.

[b] Si Longolius hoc operæ temporiſque dediſſet Græcis auctoribus, quo ſe excruciavit Romæ, ut tandem inter Ciceronianos ac cives Romanos ſcriberetur, rectius, ni fallor, tum ſibi, tum publicis ſtudiis conſuluiſſet. Sed illud ingenium invida fata terris tantum oſtendere voluerunt. Budæus vir eſt minime malus, et ſi quid in quem ſtomachi concipit, magis id facit alieno impulſu quam ſuapte natura, et alioqui placabilis ingenii, nec unquam uſque ad virulentiam excandeſcentis. Ep. 1177.

A. D. 1531. But when open war is waged between two parties, of which the one wants abſolute and arbitrary dominion, and the other is reſolved not to be enſlaved, there is no [p] ſuch thing as compoſition and accommodation. This Luther knew very well, and therefore diſcountenanced and rejected all ſuch palliating ſchemes, and, like the Pope, was determined never to yield an inch. Ep. 1186, 1170.

Luther, this year, paid ſome [q] compliments to Charles V, repreſenting him as naturally courteous and merciful, and not inclined to hurt the Proteſtants, if his Eccleſiaſtical Counſellors did not irritate him.

Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus died this year, and Eraſmus hath drawn up the character of his deceaſed friend, who was of an illuſtrious family, very wealthy, much eſteemed by Maximilian and Charles V, in peace a moſt uſeful and ſkilful Counſellor and citizen, in war an excellent officer, a man of learning, honour, courage, probity and piety, generally beloved and eſteemed, and very little expoſed to cenſure. Ep. 1187.

He excuſeth himſelf from undertaking the office which Pflug had recommended to him, and repreſents the faults of both parties, which rendered the attempt impracticable. Indeed he had already offered his advice to the public upon this ſubject to no manner of purpoſe: the Romiſh Court had been much offended at it, and the Emperor would not deign even to hear it.

[p] Ἕκτορ, μή μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας ἀγόρευε.
Ὡς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστὰ, &c.
Homer *Il.* X. 261.

[q] Cæſaris inſignem modeſtiam et clementiam in Comitiis et Hiſpania oſtenſam ſummopere laudat Lutherus, quia edicta nova poſtulantibus morem non geſſerit, et dixiſſe feratur: *vix ſibi perſuaderi, adeo malam et impiam eſſe doctrinam, cui tam multi celebres et præſtantes viri adhæreant.* Refert etiam dictum Cæſaris: *Si ſacerdotes officium feciſſent, nihil opus fuiſſe Luthero magiſtro.* Seckendorf L. III. p. 6.

it. In this Epiſtle he gives a [r] charming character to Melanchthon. He not only excels, ſays Eraſmus, in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality he is a general favourite. Honeſt and candid men are fond of him, and even his adverſaries cannot hate him. A. D. 1531.

Happy is the perſon, whom this deſcription ſuits! It is not [s] ſafe to attack him: the Public will revenge his wrongs, and take his part againſt you. Others there are, who are doomed to be generally abhorred. But, in both in theſe caſes, there is no occaſion to have recourſe to [t] *fatality*. The cauſes are obvious and viſible, and every one is [u] *the artificer of his own fortune.*

Eraſmus judges very [x] prudently concerning the uſeleſsness of a General Council.

[r] Philippus Melanchthon, præter inſignem eruditionem et raram eloquentiam, habet gratiam quandam fatalem, quam genio ſuo debet potius quam ingenio, ut quum ſit omnibus candidis gratiſſimus, ne apud hoſtes quidem habeat quenquam cui ſit admodum exoſus. Is Auguſtæ ſedulo tentavit quod tu ſuades: ubi ſi per morbum licuiſſet adeſſe, lubens meum qualecunque ſtudium cum illius opera conjunxiſſem. Sed quid ille profecerit, obſcurum non eſt. Erant tum illic qui quoſdam integerrimos nec extremæ dignitatis viros clamarent hæreticos, non ob aliud, niſi quod aliquoties cum Melanchthone miſcuiſſent colloquium: quid dicturi, ſi Eraſmus crebro cum illo contuliſſet? id enim erat neceſſe.—Apud Coloniam Agrippinam, quum peſtis hæc nondum hucuſque incruduiſſet, prodiit conſilium quoddam indicans moderatas aliquot rationes ſedandæ tempeſtatis, incolumi etiam Pontificis ac Theologorum auctoritate. Adeo receptum non eſt, ut me propemodum oppreſſerit ſuſpicio, haud alio nitens argumento, quam quod ſermo eſſet paulo Latinior. Ep. 1195.

[s] Parcendum eſt autem maxime caritati hominum, ne temere in eos dicas, qui diliguntur. *Cicero* de Orat. II. 58.

[t] —— Vis abdita quædam.
Sidus, et occulti miranda potentia fati.

[u] Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.

[x] Sunt qui flagitant Synodum οἰκουμενικὴν, ſed arbitror nihil futurum: nec ſane video quid bonæ rei ex eo Concilio ſit oriturum ſi fiat, præſertim hoc rerum ſtatu. Altera pars de regno nihil ſuſtinet remittere, altera dogmatibus citius ſit aliquid additura. Si quis de temperamento mutire incipiat, protinus audit novæ hereſeos auctor. Ep. 1193.

A. D. 1531. In a letter to Pole, he mentions the death of Lupſet. Ep. 1197. And in the following letter he ſpeaks of Cornelius [y] Agrippa, with whom he was not yet acquainted.

He bought a houſe at Friburg, and was obliged in his old days to put it in repair: he often [z] talks of this raſh undertaking, no leſs

[y] De Cornelio Agrippa quidam amici docti ad me ſcripſerunt e Brabantia, ſed ſic ut nec hominis violentiam probare, et plus illi in colligendo ſtudii quam in deligendo judicii tribuere videantur. Nonnullis illud non ingratum eſt, quod Theologis ac Monachis hactenus feliciter oppedit, idque Cæſaris umbra, cui ſe profitetur a conciliis, et Cardinalis Campegii præſidio. Sed vereor ne hominis fortitudo bonas literas magna gravet invidia, ſi modo vera ſunt, quæ narrant amicorum literæ. Librum illius nondum videre contigit, nec ad me ſcripſit unquam. Ep. 1198.

[z] Ne nihil novæ rei putes eſſe, mercatus ſum ædes honeſti nominis ſed iniqui pretii. Exhauſimus quicquid erat præſentis pecuniæ, et adhuc ædificamus. Tantum ſenſi tædiorum in licitando, contrahendo, ſtipulando, emigrando, immigrando, rixando cum fabris et furibus, ut malim decennium in libris verſari, quam unicum menſem hæc devorare catapotia. Ep. 1194.

Sed de nobis accipe quod rideas. Siquis tibi nunciaret Eraſmum jam prope ſeptuagenarium duxiſſe uxorem, nonne terque quaterque te ſignares crucis imagine? Faceres ſat ſcio, et equidem non injuria. Atqui nunc, mi Rincki, rem feci nec minus operoſam, nec minus moleſtam, nec minus ab ingenio ſtudiiſque meis alienam. Emi domum ſpecioſi quidem nominis ſed parum æqui pretii. Quis nunc deſperet amnes, verſo in diverſum curſu, relapſuros ad fontes ſuos, poſteaquam Eraſmus, qui hactenus per omnem vitam omnia poſthabuit otio literario, factus eſt licitator, emtor, ſtipulator, cautor, ædificator, ac pro Muſis rem habet cum fabris lignariis, ferrariis, lapidariis, vitrariis? Hæ curæ, mi Rincki, a quibus meus ſemper abhorruit genius, me tantum non exanimarunt tædio. Et adhuc peregrinor in propriis ædibus, quod, ſpatioſæ licet, nullum habeant nidum, cui tuto poſſim hoc corpuſculum committere. Unicum conclave paravi exſtructo fumario et contabulatis ſolo pariter ac lateribus, ſed ob virus calcis nondum auſim me illi credere. Brevi tamen immigrem oportet, quod felix fauſtumque ſit. Ep. 1200.

Vereor ne loci novitas et inſolitæ curæ magnum aliquod malum accerſant valetudini: jam enim, ut omittam alia, lævum pedem corripuit podagra, aut aliquid podagræ affine. Nimirum hi ſunt τȣ̃ θανάτȣ παντοκράτορος veredarii. Acceſſit hodie dyſenteria. Ep. 1199.

" A certain poët, ſays an ingenious " writer, having purchaſed a houſe, the " poëtical Senate was ſummoned to " deliberate upon this ſurpriſing no- " velty; and the moſt eminent poëts " having

leſs diſagreeable than expenſive. But hence it appears, that the liberality of his friends had ſupplied the deficiences of his penſions, which were ill paid, or not paid at all. At the ſame time he had a fit of the gout, warning him, as he ſays, of the approaches of death. A. D. 1532.

He had a fight of the [a] firſt Oration of Julius [b] Scaliger againſt his *Ciceronianus*. He ſuſpected [c] Aleander to have been the author of this piece; but he was quite miſtaken. Eraſmus is [d] ſaid to have collected and deſtroyed, by his friends and emiſſaries, all the copies of the firſt and ſecond Oration of Scaliger, which were afterwards reprinted. But the ſecond Oration was never

" having declared that they had always " dwelt in hired lodgings, he was or- " dered to diſpoſe of his houſe imme- " diately. Here is the Tale in Latin: " *Memini me olim legiſſe elegantem* " *ingenii luſum, ſuperiori ætate excu-* " *ſum, cum Inſcriptione:* Poëta domum " emit. *Argumentum libelli eſt, neſcio* " *quis poëta, qui cum propriam domum* " *emiſſet, res ea tanquam novi et peſſimi* " *exempli, ad poëtarum Senatum delata,* " *acerbe judicata eſt. Præſes Senatus* " Eobanus Heſſus *conſtitutus, cui aſſe-* " *derunt* Celtes, Huttenus, Bebelius, " Braſſicanus, *alii. Cum ſententias di-* " *cerent, nemo ex omnibus fuit, qui vel* " *Mæcenatum gratia, vel ingenii felici-* " *tate tantum profecerit, ut ædes propri-* " *as vel hæreditate vel emtione poſſede-* " *rit; omnes rei familiaris incurii, in* " *conducto ſe vixiſſe et faſſi ſunt et glo-* " *riati. Juſſus igitur eſt quamprimum* " *ædes revendere, pecuniam vero in ſym-* " *poſium conferre, quo immanem hanc* " *culpam elueret, et ubique habitare ac* " *ſine curis vivere poëtice diſceret.* Jo. " Valentinus Andreas." *Bayle* TRISTAN, Not. B.

[a] Scaliger publiſhed the firſt Oration in 1531, and the ſecond in 1537.

[b] Beza Icon. Menagian. III. 454. IV. 271. Anti-baillet I. 336. Sammarthanus Elog. L. I. p. 28. Pope Blount, p. 423. Huetiana, p. 8. Thuanus L. XXI. p. 645.

[c] Ex phraſi, ex ore, et loquutione convictus Aldini, aliiſque compluribus, mihi perſuaſi hoc opus, maxima ſaltem ex parte, eſſe Hieronymi Aleandri: nam mihi genius illius domeſtico convictu adeo cognitus perſpectuſque eſt, ut ipſe ſibi non poſſit eſſe notior. Continuo per literas cum illo expoſtulavi: verum is ex Ratiſbona literis amanter ſcriptis ſancte dejerat ſe ſemper fuiſſe amicum et futurum. In Apologiis adverſus Pium frequenter attactus eſt, licet ſuppreſſo nomine. Hunc dolorem ulciſci voluit. Ep. 370. c. 1755.

[d] Note to Ep. 1205.

A.D. 1531. never publiſhed, till after the death of Eraſmus. [e] Bayle hath given an account of the quarrel, and rectifies ſome miſtakes of Joſeph Scaliger upon that affair. Ep. 1205, 1218, &c.

[f] Theſe two Orations of Scaliger, and ſome Epiſtles of his, relating to the ſame ſubject, were publiſhed at Thoulouſe, A. 1621, with a recommendatory Preface or Dedication, by [g] Mauſſac, (though he did not put his name to it) who was much to be blamed for reprinting and extolling ſuch ſcandalous ribaldry. This Preface of Mauſſac is not ſuch as one would expect from a man of his erudition; it is not well written, and it contains nothing that is worthy of notice.

[h] There is ſomething ridiculouſly diverting in the pompous exclamations and the tragical complaints of Scaliger. One would imagine at leaſt that Eraſmus had called Cicero fool and knave, and had made water upon his aſhes: and yet all his crime was, to have beſprinkled the ſervile imitators of Cicero with a little harmleſs banter.

After the firſt *Philippic*, Scaliger compoſed a ſecond, rather more ſcurrilous than the former. He was doubly enraged, for many good reaſons: for,

1. Eraſmus, in ſome letters to his friends, had taken the liberty to call him a liar, and a calumniator:

2. He

[e] ERASME, Not. I, K, L, M.

[f] Amongſt the works of Melchior Adam, there are, *Notæ in Orationem Julii Cæſaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Eraſmi.* Bayle ADAM (MELCHIOR.)

[g] Colomeſius *Bibl. Choiſ.* p. 450, or 116.

[h] .—— acerbius contra Eraſmum, fortaſſe juſtam ob cauſſam, ſed quæ tamen tales viros inter ſe committere non *decuit* (*read* debuit) invectus eſt, non ſolum ea oratione, quæ per omnium manus volitat, ſed altera, quæ rarius reperitur, qua ſe prioris auctorem profitetur, non minore acerbitate ſcripta: ſed virum a gente vere generoſum poſtea præcipitis impetûs pœnituit, ſibique dolere ſcripto teſtatus eſt, quod non ante mortem cum eo reconciliatus eſſet, cujus ſummam doctrinam cum ſingulari pietate conjunctam, et exquiſitum in literis et de literis judicium, atque adeo par numinibus ingenium, ſupra omnes admirabatur. *Thuanus.*

2. He declared that he had only caſt his eyes upon the oration, and that he never would anſwer it, or even read it: A. D. 1531.

3. He had ſuppoſed that Scaliger was not capable even of writing it, bad as it was, and that he had lent his name to others, like a voluntary cuckold.

Therefore Scaliger in the ſecond Oration defends his undoubted right to the firſt; and in both, though they be compoſed with learning and ſtrength, yet there is a mixture of laboured ſtiffneſs and obſcurity, and a ſtyle which can by no means paſs for Ciceronian; and the whole is ſeaſoned with arrogance, vanity, ſelf-applauſe, ſpite and ſcurrility, the uſual *ornaments*, not of a *meek and quiet ſpirit*, but of a *Ruffian* and a *Bruiſer* in the Republic of Letters.

[1] He ſaid that Eraſmus had been a Corrector of the preſs in Italy, which was not true; and, if it had been true, would have been no diſgrace.

It

[1] Correctorium munus (ut antea notavi) non ſecus ac typographicum profiteri neutiquam erubeſcebant viri inter literatos ex omni ordine Theologorum, Medicorum, et Juriſconſultorum clariſſimi. Eraſmo quidem objecerunt Albertus Pius et Julius Scaliger ipſum Aldi heri ſui officinæ miniſtraſſe, et ibidem quæſtum feciſſe corrigendis exemplaribus. Is factum, quod objiciebatur, negabat et diluebat his verbis; *An ille miniſter, &c.* Eraſmus igitur eo, ut mihi videtur reſponſo, tantum abeſt, ut a ſe amoliatur Correctoris officium, ut potius hoc typographico anteponendum cenſeat. — Nolo interim diſſimulare, *quod* multi in eruditorum claſſe non ignobiles, ut ſuam inopiam levarent, hujuſmodi quæſtum literarium, non pudendum, non illiberalem et ſordidum *feciſſe*. Maittaire I. 295, who, inſtead of *quod multi*, ſhould have ſaid *multos*.

Exſpatiatur (Albertus Pius) in laudes Aldi, quem, ut ait, nimis ingrate taxo et irrideo.—Sed ubi ingratitudo? *Citra cujus*, inquit, *contubernium certe nunquam tu tam bellus fuiſſes. Negare enim non potes, quin Venetiis apud ipſum, cum illius officinæ miniſtrares, in utraque lingua multum profeceris.* Ita Pius. Neſcio an ſentiat me Græce Latineque didiciſſe ab Aldo, quod nec Aldus ipſe, ſi viveret, ſine riſu ſit auditurus. De doctrina Aldi nihil addam: amavi vivum, non lædam mortuum. Hoc unum poſſum vere dicere, me cum venirem in Italiam melius ſciviſſe Græce ac Latine quam nunc ſcio. Congeriem ac ſylvam totius

A. D. 1531. It appears from the above-mentioned Epiſtles of Scaliger, that ſome of his friends were much diſpleaſed at the ſcandalous manner in which he had treated Eraſmus, and deſired him to give over the contention. In a letter therefore to Jacobus Omphalius, a common

totius operis (Adagiorum) adduxeram mecum ex Anglia Venetiam, una cum ſarcina librorum præcipue Græcorum, in quos notaram. Ambii, fateor, ut opus hoc exiret ex officina celebri. Id Aldus cupide recepit. Vixi in ædibus Aſulani menſes ferme octo, opus ſimul et ſcriptum eſt et excuſum paucis menſibus. Ubi interim ſpatium diſcendi Græce et Latine? Tantum erat laborum, ut vix otium eſſet ſcalpendis auribus.

Aldus ſæpenumero prædicabat ſe admirari, qui tantum ſcriberem ex tempore, idque inter tumultus circumſtrepentium. Operis mei formas extremas caſtigavi, tantum in hoc ſi quid vellem mutare. Nam opus alioqui ſuum habebat caſtigatorem conductum, nomine Seraphinum.

Aldus poſt me legit, cum rogarem cur hoc laboris caperet, interim, inquit, ſtudeo. In hoc mihi profuit Aldus, quod codices aliquot manu ſcriptos ſuppeditavit, ſed non ille ſolus, fecit idem Janus Laſcaris, M. Muſurus, Baptiſta Egnatius, Urbanus Regius. An ille miniſter eſt officinæ, qui proprio adeſt operi? Neque enim aliam operam Aldo addixeram, officina mihi potius erat miniſtra. Sed uſus ſum illius menſa. Verum, quia ſecus non potui, ſtudens opus quamprimum abſolvere. Cæterum menſa et tota domus erat Andreæ Aſulani. Aldus nihil erat niſi opera. Sed illa menſa peperit mihi calculum, ignotum antea malum. Et niſi me ardor abſolvendi operis alligaſſet, ſæpius humaniſſime ad ſuæ domus menſæque conſortium invitabat Janus Laſcaris, et mihi ſatis erat pecuniæ ad biennium vivendum Venetiæ, etiamſi nihil acceſſiſſet e patria. Cum periclitarer inſueto victu, rogavi Aldum, num Aſulanus æquo animo pateretur me mihi parare victum in cubiculo; ubi reſpondit paſſurum, nunquam uſus ſum menſa Aldina. Et hoc tempore dicit Aldum fuiſſe herum meum, cum ne hoſpes quidem fuerit. Romæ non ſuſtinebam habere Cardinales heros, licet tam commodis moribus, ut ſodales commodioribus optare non poſſes, et inſciens Aldum habui herum? An ille me pro ſervo habuerit neſcio, certe ceſſit locum in menſa, et faſſus eſt ſe multa ex me didiciſſe, deditque operam, ut poſt opus abſolutum per hyemem adhuc retineret, cupiens nonnihil exerceri in rhetoricis.—Ego nihil literarum mearum debeo Italiæ, utinam deberem plurimum. Erant illic a quibus potuiſſem diſcere, ſed tales erant et in Anglia, et in Gallia, et in Germania. Verum in Italia non vacabat, cujus viſendæ gratia tantum eo me contuleram. *Eraſmus* Reſp. ad *Albertum Pium*, T. IX. c. 1137.

a common friend to them both, he declared himſelf, though in A. D. 1531.
a proud and aukward manner, willing to be reconciled.

To do him juſtice, it ſhould be obſerved, that [k] he was ſorry at laſt for his rudeneſs to Eraſmus, and wrote a copy of verſes in his praiſe, when he heard that he was dead. The verſes are none of the beſt, and ſhew his repentance rather than his poetic ſkill.

In the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. VI. p. 508. VIII. p. 554, there is a collection of ſixteen letters of Scaliger upon this Ciceronian quarrel, in which he rails at Eraſmus and Doletus, and extols himſelf, according to cuſtom. One of theſe letters is to the infamous Beda, the calumniator and perſecutor of Eraſmus; and it is full of compliments to the former, and of invectives againſt the latter. There are ſeveral faults in theſe letters, either of the tranſcriber or of the printer, and I wonder that the Editor ſhould have paſſed them over. I could eaſily correct moſt of them; but ſhould be loth to beſtow any labour upon ſuch performances, which, when they are ſet to rights, are good for nothing.

Scaliger had in him the love of paradox, and the ſpirit of contradiction. Becauſe poor Cardan had ſaid of the parrot, that he was an handſome bird, Scaliger would have it that he was very ugly; and becauſe Homer was univerſally admired, he treated him as a deſpicable poet. His animoſity againſt Homer puts me in mind of a ſtrange remark of the Abbé Longuerue:

"There are two books upon Homer which I eſteem more "than Homer himſelf. The firſt is the *Antiquitates Homericæ* "of Feithius, wherein he hath extracted from Homer all that "relates to manners and cuſtoms. The ſecond is *Homeri Gno-* "*mologia* by Duport. With theſe two books we have all that is "uſeful in Homer, without the fatigue of going through his "Canterbury Tales." *Longueruan.* II. 3.

[k] Scaliger Ep. p. 59.

A. D. 1531. His contempt of Homer is ridiculous, and his judgment upon Feithius is not ſuch as one would have expected from a learned man. The book of Feithius is the work of a boy, full of inaccuracies and miſtakes.

Eraſmus ſpeaks in a very [1] unfriendly manner of the death of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. The [m] impetuous Luther did the ſame: but Sadolet [n] ſhews more moderation and candor on this melancholy occaſion. Luther ſhould have loved Zuinglius, even for the ſake of his undaunted ſpirit and heroic courage; in which they greatly reſembled one another.

Eraſmus

[1] Bene habet quod duo Coryphæi perierunt, Zuinglius in acie, Oecolampadius paulo poſt febri et apoſtemate. Quod ſi illis faviſſet Ἐυάλιος, actum erat de nobis. Ep. 1205.

[m] Luther accounted the death of Zuinglius, and the defeat of his countrymen, to be a judgment upon them, for having rejected the doctrine of the real preſence in the Euchariſt. See *Seckendorf* L. III. p. 38.

Cum Tigurinis, more gentis, profectus eſt et Zuinglius, ſed pene invitus, quia belli iſthoc modo gerendi rationem minime probabat. — Morti (Zuinglii et Oecolampadii) nollem tam inclementer inſultaſſet, credulaſque adeo communium inimicorum fabulis et rumoribus temere tunc ſparſis, quaſi Oecolampadius necem ſibi ultro conſciviſſet, aures præbuiſſet Lutherus, quum utique et ipſe poſtea ſimilibus plane mendaciis ab ejuſdem generis hominibus ſic fatis fuerit proſciſſus. *Perizonius*, p. 177.

[n] Oecolampadium extinctum utinam poſſem dolere jure: ſic enim literæ et doctrina hominis poſtulabant, niſi exſtitiſſet ille in alio genere pernicioſus. Ep. 1220.

In cæſorum numero fuit Zuinglius. Nam Tigurinorum ita fert conſuetudo, cum in hoſtem exitur, ut Eccleſiæ Miniſter primarius una prodeat. Zuinglius etiam, vir fortis alioquin et animoſus, cum ſecum reputaret, quod ſi domi reſideret, ac prælium forte fieret adverſum, fore ut magnam ipſe ſuſtineret invidiam, quaſi concionibus quidem accenderet hominum animos, in ipſo autem diſcrimine remolleſceret, voluit omnino communem ſubire martem. In corpus autem exanime valde ſævitum fuit, et vix etiam illius morte potuit odii acerbitas exſaturari. Natus erat annos quadraginta quatuor. —

Oecolampadius e vita diſceſſit. Ex interitu Zuinglii maximum animo perceperat dolorem, eaque res morbum etiam auxiſſe putatur, erant enim conjunctiſſimi. Natus fuit annos quadraginta novem. Exſtant ejus in Prophetas aliquot lucubrationes, quæ valde probantur

Eraſmus addreſſed to the Divines of Louvain a defence of his Colloquies, againſt the charge of falſe doctrine and herefy. Ep. 1206. A. D. 1531.

[o] The Proteſtant Princes, at this time, writing to the Kings of France and England, remind them that the corrupted ſtate of the Church had been lamented and cenſured by two excellent men, Gerſon in France, and Colet in England.

This year there was a dreadful inundation in the Netherlands; and after it a terrible earthquake at Liſbon, deſcribed by [p] Paul Jovius. [q] Sleidan ſpeaks of the ſame inundation, and refers us to Jovius, to Guicciardin, and to Barlandus. See alſo Perizonius, p. 192.

Eraſmus, as we obſerved before, wrote a very free and elegant letter to Auguſtinus Steuchus Eugubinus, and cenſured many things in his works. Steuchus replied, with much vehemence and bitterneſs, in a long letter. He ſeems to have been of the true perſecuting ſpirit, and a thorough enemy to all reformation: for the reſt, a man of good abilities and erudition. Ep. 1175. Ep. 516. c. 1919.

Eraſmus ſent Hervagius a [r] collection of his Epiſtles, which he might publiſh, if he thought fit.

probantur doctis. *Sleidan* L. VIII. p. 204, 205.

Zuinglius, cum ut paſtor, ex veteri more, copias civitatis ad pugnam egreſſas comitaretur, nec ipſe armorum expers eſſet, occubuit. Deceſſit etiam Oecolampadius. Utriuſque mors variis ſermonibus cauſam dedit, et Lutherus de eorum fatis haud benigne judicavit. *Seckendorf* L. III. 17.

Ipſe Zuinglius in primis ordinibus fortiter pugnans occubuit, &c. *Thuanus* L. I. p. 28.

Zuinglius had the ſame love for muſic, and ſkill in it, which we have noted in Luther, p. 126. He received a moſt courteous letter from Pope Adrian VI, and might have had any favours, if he had declared himſelf a friend to the See of Rome. He always ſtudied ſtanding. See Melchior Adam.

[o] Sleidan VIII. 192.

[p] L. XXIX. 180. [q] L. VII. 182.

[r] Mitto *Epiſtolas* aliquot *florentulas*. Scio te mirari, quid hoc ſit tituli. Sed nihil

A. D. MDXXXII. Ætat. LXV.

A. D. 1532. Eraſmus publiſhed St. Baſil in Greek, (i. e. without a Latin verſion) and dedicated the work to his friend Sadolet, then Biſhop of Carpentras. He highly extols the eloquence of this Father, and he obſerves that Froben's heirs had been the firſt who adventured to publiſh in Germany a Greek book, which had not been printed before, and that they began with Baſil, intending to continue the ſame undertaking. Sadolet failed not to return thanks to Eraſmus, and adviſed him to compoſe a book, wherein he ſhould excuſe or retract ſome of the bolder ſentiments of his youth, and explain his notions in a ſenſe ſo Catholic, that they might ſtand free from juſt cenſure; and afterwards to hold his peace, and diſregard his adverſaries. Ep. 1215, 1220.

In a letter to Bernard, Cardinal and Biſhop of Trent, Eraſmus makes grateful mention of his obligations to him, and to King

nihil magnæ rei eſt, nequid fallas teipſum. Vix hoc opellæ per turbulentas emigrandi occupationes licuit ſumere, ut ex immenſo Epiſtolarum acervo *floſculis* notarem, quas expediret excudi; quanquam vix ullas in hoc ſcribere ſoleo. Hoc quicquid eſt libelli, quale quale eſt, tibi certe bonum eſſe cupio: erit autem, ſi in diſtrahendo ſenſeris tuum τειχέφαλον Ἑρμῆν tibi fuiſſe propitium, qui precor ut tibi viam commonſtret compendiariam πρὸς τὴν Πλουτοπολιν. — Ep. 362. c. 1749.

Hæ Epiſtolæ *florentulæ*, aut *florulentæ* (ut in Editione Wecheliana) excudebantur a Chriſtiano Wechelo, anno 1531. Ille, cujus Eraſmus mentionem facit, τειχέφαλος Ἑρμῆς, fuit Hervagii Inſigne Typographicum, Mercurii tricipitis truncus columnæ impoſitus. *Maittaire* II. 360.

* Jam ſemel atque iterum in literis admonet tua pietas, ut aliquid nominatim petam ab amiciſſimo Rege, te curaturum ut optatis potiar. Utinam iſtuc ad me perſcripſiſſet ſummus ille Monarcha Chriſtus: permulta forent quæ abeo peterem, ſed nihil prius quam mentem ipſo dignam. A Rege Ferdinando vix video quid petam, præter ea quæ ultro præſtat illius eximia bonitas. Exceptis ſtudiis, quibus immori libet, ad omnem vitæ functionem ſum inutilis. Dignitas nihil aliud jam eſſet mihi quam ſarcina equo collabenti; opes congerere jam decurſo vitæ ſpatio, nihilo minus abſurdum

King Ferdinand, and replies very ingeniouſly and pathetically to the Cardinal, who kindly promiſed to obtain for him from that Prince any favour that he ſhould aſk. I wiſh, ſays Eraſmus, that my Lord and Saviour would make me ſuch an offer. I would aſk him many things; and above all, that he would create in me a heart not unworthy of his acceptance.—To procure Dignities and Preferments for me, would be like laying a new burden upon a poor animal ſinking under that which he carries.—I am almoſt uſeleſs; or only fit to continue thoſe ſtudies, which I have hitherto purſued, and which, I hope, will accompany me to the grave. I ſhould be glad to have a calm and quiet evening of life, if I cannot enjoy a healthy and a chearful one. To ſecure me from the infirmities of age, or to give me a ſtronger conſtitution, is not in the power of the Great. I wiſh they could ſtop the Mouths, which are opened againſt me. Even that is not in their power. A.D. 1532.

Eraſmus ſent his copiſt Polyphemus (ſo he uſed to call him, becauſe the man had only one eye) to different places in Germany, to collect free-will-offerings. A Count of Eiſemburg, a chearful man, who had heard much talk about the cenſurers and calumniators of Eraſmus, preſented a very handſome dagger to Polyphemus, and bade him tell his maſter, that this was the pen with which he uſed to combat ſaucy fellows. Eraſmus returns thanks to the Count for his kind preſent, and tells him that all the arms of the Emperor would not be ſufficient to defend him againſt the Legions of Monks, who had conſpired to ruin his reputation. I am weak, ſays he, becauſe I have not that dignity of

abſurdum ſit, quam ſi quis confecto itinere augeat viaticum. Parvo alitur frugalitas, quæ mihi ſemper grata fuit, nunc etiam eſt neceſſaria. Optarim tamen tranquillam ſenectutem, ſi negata eſt hilaris et florida, quam multis video contingere. Senium depellere, valetudinem corrigere, nec ſummus Pontifex, nec Principum maximus Cæſar poteſt, quum habeam utrumque mihi benevolentem. Utinam ſaltem oblatrantium ora poſſent obturare. Ne id quidem illis in manu eſt. Ep. 1221.

A. D. 1532. of ſtation, and that authority, which would put ſuch enemies to flight, as the ſmoke drives away waſps. I am all alone, becauſe I never attached myſelf to any party, and never will, whilſt God preſerves me my underſtanding.

He writes not ſo frankly to Cardinal Cajetan, who, like a true Cardinal, exhorted him to correct his works, and retract ſuch errors as he might have formerly adopted, and ſhew more moderation. He contents himſelf with complaining of his inveterate calumniators, and with declaring, in general terms, that he had already done all this, and would continue to do ſo. Ep. 1224, 1227.

He ſoon afterwards found [t] Polyphemus to be as great a rogue as his nameſake the *Cyclops*, and diſcharged him from his ſervice. Froben's

[t] Polyphemus, quum iſthinc diſcederet, noluit quenquam ſcire quo iret. Ivit autem recta ad Lutherum ac Melanchthonem; ac literis commendatitiis onuſtus, venit ad Joannem Saxoniæ Ducem, fingens ſe eſſe famulum et intimum amicum Eraſmi. Magnifice tractatus eſt aliquot menſes. Tandem abeunti Dux dedit elegantem equum et aureos quadraginta. Inde Coloniam. Illic apud Tielmannum ſummum amicum meum potavit aliquot menſes. Poſt huc venit futurus cuſtos domus meæ. Ego extruſi illum in legationem ad Ratiſbonam: illic bibit ſex hebdomadas, et extorſit multum pecuniarum. Ratiſbona rediens obiter inviſit ipſum Auguſtenſem. Ab eo extorſit equum et coronatum. Decreverat cum ſuo claudo equo commorari in meis ædibus. Equum excluſi, ipſum exceptum decem ferme dies dimiſi non admodum volentem. Voluit adire Angliam: diſſuaſi. Deinde Poloniam. Ita rediit Coloniam, unde diſceſſit cum peſſima gratia Tielmanni hoſpitis, qui dicit multa fœda illic de eo ſpargi. Venit Francfordiam cum literis meis, petiturus Poloniam. At ego curaram ut literæ committerentur negotiatori. Hoc ubi videt Polyphemus, rediit in Heſſiam, et petit commendationem Cancellarii Ducis, qui ſinceriſſime me amat. Res illi nebuloni rediit ad incitas; nec dubito quin brevi habiturus ſit miſerum exitum. Ep. 1233.

The Colloquy *called* Cyclops *is a Dialogue between this man and Cannius, another* amanuenſis *of Eraſmus; and Polyphemus is ridiculed in it.* Tom. I. c. 831. *He is introduced with the New Teſtament of Eraſmus in his hand, and declaring that he had a great zeal for the Goſpel. How ſo? ſays Cannius.*

Po. Dicam. Franciſcanus quidam apud nos non deſinebat e ſuggeſto deblaterare

Froben's heirs publiſhed alſo the works of Demoſthenes, and Eraſmus dedicated them to John George Paungartner, ſon of John Paungartner, a very rich Gentleman of Augſburg, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip ſince his removing to Friburg, as it appears from ſeveral letters, and who had preſented to Eraſmus ſome gold, as it came out of the mine. Thus Eraſmus endeavoured to procure Froben's heirs a good ſale for their books; and his officious kindneſs was ſo much the greater, becauſe he would take no money of them for compoſing thoſe dedications, and for aſſiſting them in the editions; though it may be ſuppoſed that what the perſons gave him, to whom he addreſſed thoſe books, he might keep as his own profit. He obſerves that Cicero and Demoſthenes are two authors, whom very young ſtudents in Latin and Greek can neither underſtand nor reliſh; and that they are only fit for thoſe, who have made a progreſs in literature. The remark is juſt and true. Ep. 1228. A. D. 1532.

The Biſhop of Olmuts, Staniſlaus Turzo, to whom he had dedicated an Expoſition of the thirty-eighth Pſalm, ſent him his compliments, and a Cup of ſilver gilt. Ep. 1229.

In Ep. 1230, he [u] derides the Franciſcan Monks with much humour and vivacity. Hence it appears, that he was far from acting

blaterare in Novum Teſtamentum Eraſmi: conveni hominem privatim, lævam injeci capillis, dextra pugilem egi, ſugillavi illum magnifice, totamque faciem tuber reddidi. Quid ais? non eſt hoc favere Evangelio? Deinde abſolvi illum a commiſſis, hoc ipſo codice ter in verticem impacto, ſecique tria tubera, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus ſancti. CA. Satis quidem Evangelice. Iſtuc nimirum eſt Evangelium Evangelio defendere.

[u] Riſi ſatis quod ſcribis de Seraphicis hiſtrionibus, qui me toties occiſum lingua, denuo iſthic ſepelierunt, videlicet ictum fulmine, fimulatque non ſum veritus in ſacroſanctum Franciſci Ordinem debacchari. Ego vero nec in aurigarum Ordinem unquam ſum debacchatus, tantum abeſt ut Franciſcanum Ordinem inceſſiverim. Quos ego noto, reor ipſi Franciſco magis inviſos eſſe, quam ſint ulli mortalium.—Putant mihi Franciſcum iratum, quod eos notarim, qui cœlum promittunt iis, qui in veſte Franciſcana ſepeliuntur. Atqui nuper

A. D. 1532. acting that mean and deſpicable part to which he was ungeneroufly exhorted by his friends, the Prelates of the Roman Church, namely,

nuper in ſomnis mihi *poſt mediam noctem* apparuit beatus Franciſcus, vultu ſereno atque amico, egitque gratias quod ea traducerem corrigenda, quæ ipſe ſemper fuiſſet deteſtatus, meque inter Ordinis amicos numeravit. Nec erat eo cultu, quo nunc illum depictum oſtentant: veſtem habebat non ex lana diverſi coloris permixtam, ſed ex lana fuſca, quemadmodum ab ovibus detondetur intincta, ſeu Græce mavis ἀβάφου, nec habebat roſtratam cucullam, ſed caperonem tunicæ a tergo affixum, qui poterat in caput revocari, ſi forte pluvia vehementior fuiſſet oborta, quod hodie quoque videmus in cultu quorundam Hibernorum. Nec *funis* habebat nodos *arte* factos, ſed enodis ac ſimpliciter ruſticanus erat funis: nec tunica defluebat uſque ad terram, ſed palmo, aut eo amplius ſupra talos erat. Nec calceos habebat feneſtratos, ſed plane nudis erat pedibus. *Quinque veſtigiorum*, quæ pingunt, nullum omnino vidi veſtigium. Abiens dixit, dextra porrecta, Milita ſtrenue, brevi mitorum eris. Quamquam de cultu non arbitror laborandum, ſi modo Patriarcham ſuum iis virtutibus referant, in quibus ille ſitam exiſtimavit ejus Ordinis perfectionem. Illi *ſex alas Seraphicas* appellant. Primum eſt omnimoda Obedientia, ſecundum Paupertas Evangelica, tertium Caſtitas immaculata, quartum Humilitas profundiſſima, quintum Simplicitas pacifica, ſextum Charitas Seraphica. Hæc utinam omnes in pectore circumferant, quemadmodum circumferunt in ſinu. Tum illos haud ſecus atque Angelos pacis, non mulierculæ tantum, ſed cordatiſſimi quique complecterentur. Nunc quam rari ſint, qui pure doceant Evangelicam Philoſophiam? quanta porro turba per aulas Principum, per divitum domos oberrantium, qui nec docent, et iis ſunt moribus ut ædes, in quibus verſantur, nihilo ſint puriores? Intelligit hic prudens lector quid hic ſileam, et quid ſilendo magis loquar. — In longinqua profectione flagitant pecuniam, quam linteolo tamen excipiunt, non contingunt nuda cute. Quis hoc cordatus abſque riſu videre poſſit? Jam et illud a nonnullis repertum eſt, perſuadent divitibus imperitis animam agentibus, non tantum ut ſepeliantur in veſte Franciſcana, dataque mercede veniant in conſortium omnium ab Ordine bene geſtorum, verum etiam ut teſtamento jus faciant omnibus et ſingulis, qui de grege ſunt Obſervantium, ad illorum ædes divertendi, vocatis et invocatis ut ſit locus. Ac primum hic hæredi ſua libertas, quam ſuæ cuique domi ſalvam eſſe par eſt, eripitur, præter naturæ jus ac civile. An non gravis eſt ſervitus, hominem, cui ſunt liberi, adoleſcentes ac puellæ, uxor ætatis integræ, pediſſequorum chorus, obſtrictum eſſe, uti, velit nolit, ſubinde recipiat in ædes ſuas homines ignotos, Hiſpanos, Italos, Gallos, Anglos, Scotos, Hibernos, Germanos,

namely, to retract all cenſures of that kind, which he had ſo liberally beſtowed upon ſuch Eccleſiaſtics. However, he highly extols one Monk, named Theodoric. His jeſting upon the *quinque ſtigmata*, the *five wounds* miraculouſly made in the body of St. Francis, muſt have given infinite offence to the Monks, and to moſt of the zealous Romaniſts. Fleury, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, treats it as a true ſtory, T. XVI. p. 574. *Some people*, ſays Montaigne, *attribute the wounds of St. Francis to the force of imagination*, B. I. ch. 20. A. D. 1532.

In a letter to Quirinus Taleſius, who had been formerly his *Amanuenſis*, and was then Penſionary of the city of Harlem, he informs him that he was reviſing his Adages for a new edition; and had augmented his Apophthegms with two books, and was correcting ſome other of his works. He complains, that whilſt the number of his enemies was increaſing, that of his friends was diminiſhing. Warham died this year, and Sir [x] Thomas More, juſtly [y] abhorred by the Lutherans, had reſigned his poſt of Chancellor. On the other hand, Lee was made Archbiſhop of York, and Aleander had got a ſecond Biſhoprick added to the firſt. Ep. 1237, 1248.

" [z] Eraſmus gives Warham an excellent character in his firſt " book of his *Eccleſiaſtes*, which being written after the Arch- " biſhop's death, cannot fall under the imputation of flattery. It " ſeems

manos, et Indos, etiamſi in eadem civitate habeant Seraphici ſodalitii monaſterium? &c. —

What he ſays of St. Francis appearing to him after midnight, is an alluſion to Horace:

—— —— —— Quirinus
Poſt mediam noctem viſus, cum ſomnia vera.

[x] See the account which More gives to Eraſmus of his reſignation. *Ep.* 1223.

[y] Opinor Morum meum impetraſſe ab humaniſſimo Rege, ut graviſſimo Cancellarii munere exoneraretur. Lutherani jactant illum vere depoſitum, et ſuffectum illi quendam Nobilem, qui ſtatim quadraginta Evangelicos liberavit a carcere, quo Morus eos detruſerat. Ep. 1233.

[z] Knight, p. 233. See above, p. 40, and the Prefaces of Eraſmus to Jerom, in the Appendix.

A. D. 1532. " ſeems that, though he paſſed through the higheſt and moſt " wealthy places both in Church and State, yet he ſo little " minded his own advantage, that he left no more than was " ſufficient to pay his debts and funeral charges [a]. It is ſaid " that, when he was near his end, he called upon his ſteward to " know what money he had in his hands, who telling him that " he had but thirty pounds, he chearfully anſwered, *Satis viatici* " *ad cælum; that was enough to laſt him to heaven.* —

" It may not be thought amiſs to mention the ſeveral prefer- " ments and honours that Archbiſhop Warham paſſed through, " which cannot but raiſe the admiration of the Reader, when he " reflects upon the ſlenderneſs of his inventory, ſince he was " (what all Churchmen were then obliged to be) a ſingle man. " The Primate was born of a genteel family (and ſo probably " had ſome paternal eſtate left him) at Okely in Hampſhire; " ſent to Wykeham or Wincheſter School, from thence removed " as Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1475. He went out " Doctor of Law ſoon after (which Mr. Wood doth not mention.) " He was Rector of Barley, Hert. Dioc. Lond. collated by " Biſhop Alcock of Ely, in 1488, and ſoon after became an Ad- " vocate in the Court of Arches, and Moderator in the Civil " Law School in the Univerſity of Oxford. In 1493 he had " the Chantorſhip of Wells, and the ſame year he was conſti- " tuted Maſter of the Rolls. The year following he went upon " an embaſſy to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, on the affair of " Perkin Warbeck: after his return he was Biſhop of London, " and Keeper of the Great Seal; the ſame year he was made " Lord

[a] Waramus — mortuus ſupra quam quiſquam credat pauper, niſi quod non deſuit unde diſſolverentur debita, neque ita multum defuit, ſed poſt impenſa juſta funeri non admodum multum ſuperfuit. — Qui ſi viſus eſt in fine ad dandum ſegnior, ipſa res indicat impares facultates, non imparem animum fuiſſe in cauſa. *Eraſmi Ep. Moro.*

I long ſearched for this letter to no purpoſe; but found at laſt that Knight had made a miſtake, and that it is not a letter of Eraſmus to More, but of More to Eraſmus. Ep. 466. c. 1856.

" Lord Chancellor; and in 1504 tranſlated to the See of Canter- A. D. 1532.
" bury, where he ſat twenty-eight years, dying very aged at
" St. Stephen's near Canterbury, Aug. 22, 1532. He was buried
" on the north ſide of Thomas à Becket's tomb, and had a decent
" monument ſet over him, which with others in the ſame place
" were demoliſhed in the late times. He did, beſides his many
" epiſtles, ſend over his picture to Eraſmus at Baſil; probably a
" copy of that at Lambeth, which was drawn by Holbein, and
" is ſaid to be among other curioſities preſerved in what they call
" Eraſmus's Cloſet at Baſil to this day. Eraſmus in return ſent
" him one of his own. He left his Theological books to All
" Souls College Library, his Civil and Canon Law books to New
" College, and all his books of Church Muſic to Wykeham's
" College near Wincheſter."

[b] This year Eraſmus wrote a letter to Charles Blunt, Son of Lord Montjoy, which is inſerted in his *Adagia*, c. 1110, and in which he paſſionately deplores the death of Warham, and forebodes his own.

[b] —— Hæc ſcripſi gemens ac mœrens, totuſque mihi diſplicens, quod certum audiſſem incomparabilem illum Heroa Guilhelmum Waramum vitam commutaſſe morte, imo ut melius dicam, ex hac vitæ umbra in veram immortalemque vitam emigraſſe. Meam deploro vicem, non illius. Is mihi erat vere ſacra ancora. Inieramus inter nos fœdus συναποθνησκόντων, promiſerat commune ſepulcrum, nec dubitabam quin ille, licet annis quatuordecim major, mihi ſuperſtes eſſet futurus. Certe nec ſenectus nec morbus illum nobis ademit, ſed caſus infelix, non tam quidem illi, quam ſtudiis, quam religioni, quam regno, quam eccleſiæ. Tanta erat hominis pietas, tanta in conſiliis prudentia, tanta in juvandis omnibus benignitas. Nunc illa cœleſtis anima, pro bona ſemente, quam hic fecit, meſſem apud Chriſtum optimam metit. Ego interim ſemianimis hic hæreo, promiſſæ fidei debitor, quam, niſi me fallit mentis præſagium, brevi ſum exſoluturus. Pactio videri poterat comitatis, ſed res clamat ſerium fuiſſe conventum. Adeo morte illius collapſus eſt animus, nec ullis avocamentis erigi poteſt: ſed ipſo etiam tempore, quod acerbiſſimis doloribus ſolet mederi, vulnus hoc magis ac magis incrudeſcit. Quid multis? Appellari

A. D. 1532. Eraſmus dedicated Terence to Joannes and Staniſlaus Bonerus, two young gentlemen of Poland. In this dedicatory epiſtle he prefers [c] Terence to Plautus, as greatly ſuperior in art and judgment. Ep. 1238.

Quirinus Taleſius having married a widow, Eraſmus ſends him a [d] ludicrous letter on the occaſion.

[e] Morrhius, a printer, who lived in the Sorbonne, [f] approves the wiſe reſolution of Eraſmus not to anſwer the foul-mouthed Scaliger.

Hen.

lari me ſentio. Commori juvabit hic incomparabili et irrecuperabili patrono, modo per Chriſti miſericordiam illic liceat ei convivere. Præclarum ille ſidus fuit eccleſiæ, nunc præclarius acceſſit cœlo: utinam mihi contingat veluti minutam ſtellulam adjungere ſoli meo.—

[c] —— Nec enim ſine cauſa Criticorum ſuffragia artem huic Auctori tribuere; plus enim exacti judicii eſt in una Comœdia Terentiana, abſit Nemeſis dicto, quam in Plautinis omnibus.

[d] Quod bonis avibus uxorem nactus ex animi ſententia, mi Quirine, mirandum in modum gaudeo: qui mihi hoc nomine videre felicior, quod, juxta Poetam Epigrammaticum, quod es, eſſe velis. Precor autem, ut quemadmodum hic Junonem habuiſti propitiam, ita faveat et Ilithyia. Quod viduam duxiſti, non eſt quod te pœniteat. Id malunt qui uxorem ad uſum rei domeſticæ ducunt potius, quam ad voluptatem. Et qui equos ad uſum quærunt, malunt domitos, quam indomitos. Quod ſi illa genuit priori marito, tu magni mali metu liberatus es, ne ſterilem duxeris. Morus mihi ſæpenumero narrare ſolet, ſe, ſi centum uxores eſſet ducturus, nullam ducturum eſſe virginem: nunc habet vetulam nimium vivacem; quæ ſi migraſſet, potuiſſet ille opulentiſſimæ clariſſimæque fœminæ maritus eſſe. Hoc incommodi eſt, quod Epiſcopus nunquam eſſe poteris, niſi prius fias Monachus.—Pro munuſculo tuæ conjugis gratiam habeo maximam; libenter relaturus, ſi detur occaſio. Scripſiſti noctu, reclamante uxore. Hic riſum non tenui. At Montjoius, omnibus pediſſequis male precantibus, ſolet poſt medium noctis venire ad lectum. Saltem ibi guſtaſti ſervitutem, ſed illa jus ſuum merito poſtulat. Quod adhuc ſpiras Galliam amore ſtudiorum, ubi ſic pupugeris τὴν σύνοικον σου, ut illi turgeſcant ilia, facile impetrabis a Magiſtratu, ut menſes aliquot agas Aurelii.—Salutat te Gilbertus meus.—Recepta eſt Margareta furax, rapax, bibax, mendax, loquax. Ep. 1237.

[e] Gerardus Morrhius Campenſis. *Maittaire* II. 559, 739.

[f] Quod ad Scaligeri calumnias (quem Jacobus Colinus, Abbas D. Ambroſii

et

Hen. [g] Corn. Agrippa wrote a letter to Eraſmus, in anſwer to one which he had received from him. Ep. 365. c. 1751. A. D. 1532.

Colſter had aſked Eraſmus his opinion concerning a certain author, and Eraſmus gives it in a letter to him. Ep. 1248. This author, who is not named there, was Agrippa.

" [h] The book of Agrippa *de Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientia-*
" *rum* hath been praiſed by ſome, and blamed by others; and
" Eraſmus hath given his [i] judgment of it to Abel Colſter.
" Amongſt the Epiſtles of Agrippa and his correſpondents,
" L. VII. 40, there is one which begins, [k] *Scripſi pridem ad te*
" *paucis*, and which aſſuredly was written by Eraſmus. No one
" will doubt of it, who ſhall compare it with a Letter of Eraſ-
" mus to Charles Utenhovius, (which is 1060 in the Leyden
" Edition.) Concerning Agrippa ſee Naudæus, &c."

Paul Jovius was either fooliſh enough to entertain, or diſingenuous enough to pretend a belief, that Agrippa was a Necromancer, and that his black dog, whom he uſed to call *Monſieur*, was a Devil in maſquerade, walking upon all four.

John

et Regius ἀναγνώτης, facta literarum μιαιφόνα *Sacrilegum* appellare ſolet) nihil omnino reſpondere conſtitueris, video optimos quoſque ſummopere probare: nam quiſquis is fuerit, nihil aliud quam ſcurra eſt, et ridiculus aniliũm deliramentorum exaggerator. Sunt hîc, qui in auctore etiam communem ſenſum deſiderant. Ep. 366. c. 1752.

[g] Bayle AGRIPPA. Melch. Adam. Boiſſard Icon. 297. Pope Blount, p. 387. Colomeſius. Burnet I. 95, and Bayle's Remarks on Burnet Not. O. P. Jovius Elog. p. 186. Remarques ſur Bayle, in the *Relat. Getting.* Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 82. Amœnitates Literariæ, Tom. II. p. 513, 553.

[h] Colomeſius *Bibl. Choiſ.* p. 470 or 157.

[i] De viro, de quo quid ſentiam rogas, magnificentius cenſeo quam ut de ejus ingenio cenſuram ferre poſſim. Ex ejus libri qualicunque guſtu deprehendi hominem eſſe ardentis ingenii, variæ lectionis, et multæ memoriæ, alicubi tamen majore copia quam delectu, ac dictione tumultuoſa verius quam compoſita. In omni genere rerum, vituperat mala, laudat bona.

[k] Appendix.

A. D. 1538. John [l], Elector of Saxony, died this year. He had been a good friend to Luther, who lamented his death, and preached his funeral ſermon.

[m] Luther himſelf was very ill, and given up by his phyſicians: he was perſuaded that his diſeaſe was cauſed by the Devil, and confident that he ſhould recover, and diſappoint the boaſts of the Papiſts.

In a letter to Cholerus, Eraſmus mentions (Oſwaldus) Myconius. Melch. Adam, in the life of this Myconius, obſerves that he was intimately acquainted with Eraſmus and Glareanus, and much eſteemed by them both. But Eraſmus ſpeaks of him with great [n] contempt. In the ſame letter he gives an account of [o] Lambertus Campeſtris, who had adulterated his Dialogues. Ep. 1233.

Thomas Poly wrote a friendly [p] letter from London to Eraſmus, and hoped that he ſhould pay him a viſit at Baſil. He had ſeen the Defence of Eraſmus againſt the Sorboniſts, whom he calls *Nebulones Pariſienſes*. He is, I ſuppoſe, the perſon who is called *Polus*, in the Colloquy *Exorciſmus*, and is there repreſented as a merry fellow, who acted the Ghoſt, to ſcare a ſilly and

[l] Seckendorf L. III. p. 30.

[m] Idem L. III. p. 38.

[n] Baſileæ in locum Oecolampadii ſurrogatus eſt Myconius, homo ineptus, et quondam ludimagiſter frigidus.

[o] In civitate quadam, Zorſt opinor dicitur, æqualis Argentorato, ditionis Ducis Juliacenſis, Lambertus Campeſter, qui olim Lutetiæ edidit Colloquia mea velut a me emendata, perſuaſo typographo rem eſſe vendibilem, et ſub nomine meo præfatus, et admixtis per totum opus miris emblematibus, quibus meipſum accuſabam, omnia plena ſcurrilis cujuſdam ſtoliditatis; quo peracto fugit Ludgunum; et ſimulans ſe ſummum Eraſmi amicum, reperit patronum, cui mox ſuffuratus trecentos coronatos fugit, et in fuga deprehenſus eſt inter aliquot puellas, ſuffigendus in crucem, niſi ſacra cuculla Dominici ſervaſſet eum: is, inquam, multis aliis flagitiis ac ſceleribus deſignatis, tandem in ea civitate, excuſſa cuculla, docet Evangelium, hoc eſt, meras ſeditiones. Dux petiit, ut hominem ejicerent. Reſponderunt, ſe non poſſe carere ſuo Eccleſiaſta.

[p] Ep. 367. c. 1752.

and ſuperſtitious Prieſt. It is an excellent ſtory, but probably a little embroidered. Tom. I. c. 749. A. D. 1532.

A. D. MDXXXIII. Ætat. LXVI.

Eraſmus aſcribes the book of Scaliger to Aleander, and ſuppoſes that Bedda and Julius Camillus had ſome hand in it. Ep. 369, 370. c. 1754. A. D. 1533.

Alciat relates that Julius Camillus, a man of learning, had made an offer to Francis the firſt, to teach him in a month's time to compoſe in Greek and Latin, in proſe and in verſe, with as much elegance as Demoſthenes and Cicero, Homer and Virgil. He only required that the King would allow him one hour in a day, to give him his leſſons. But he deſired that he might be permitted to be alone with the King, ſince ſo noble a ſecret was fit only to be communicated to a crowned head, and that his Majeſty would diſcover it to no perſon. For his reward, he modeſtly propoſed as much preferment as would amount to two thouſand crowns a year. His great confidence induced Francis to think that he had ſomething to communicate that was worth the knowing. So he took two leſſons of him, and then diſmiſſed him, with a preſent of ſix hundred crowns. *Bayle* FRANÇOIS I.

From this ſtory it may be collected that Camillus was a hungry and a bold fellow, and a true Charlatan.

Eraſmus had been well acquainted with him in Italy, and repreſents him as a learned man, in his Reply to Curſius. T. X. c. 1751.

Eraſmus dedicated to Theobaldus Fettichius the Geography of Ptolomy, and to Joannes Emſtedius a Commentary on the Pſalms by Haimon, an author of the ninth century. Theſe books were publiſhed by Froben's heirs.

A. D. 1533. In his addreſs to Emſtedius, who was a Carthuſian, he beſtows high commendations upon thoſe Monks, who lived ſuitably to their profeſſion, and were dead to the follies and vices of the world. As to honeſt [q] Haimon, he ſays that his piety fully compenſates for the homelineſs of his diction, and that he now reliſheth ſuch writers much better than he did in the days of his youth. Ep. 1242, 1243.

The ſon of John Paungartner wanted to make him ſome preſent. Eraſmus tells him that it was needleſs, that he had already received one from his father, a cup, a proper gift to be ſent to a Dutchman; but, ſays he, I am not able to drink *Batavicè, a la Hollandoiſe*. Ep. 1249.

This year he publiſhed an Expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed, of the Decalogue, and of the Lord's Prayer, in form of a Catechiſm, and to be a kind of Confeſſion of Faith; and Sadolet, to whom he ſent it, honoured it with his approbation. T. V. c. 1134.

The States of Holland made him a preſent of two hundred franks, the firſt compliment which he received from his own country, which paid him more honour an hundred years after his deceaſe, than during his life. This friendly civility was highly agreeable, and the more acceptable to him, becauſe he had made no application or intereſt for it. He had alſo this year received a preſent from the Senate of Beſançon, for which he returns thanks. Ep. 1244, 1251, 1269.

He informs us, that ſome ſtrolling knaves, having learned from his writings the names of his illuſtrious friends and correſpondents,

[q] Ad Haymonem redeo, qui Davidicam citharam pulſans, Angelicum cœtum veſtrum ad ſpirituales excitabit choreas, ut in hymnis et canticis Domino pſallatis in cordibus veſtris. Nemo faſtidiat dictionis ſimplicitatem, ſed ſcuplectatur ſententiarum pietatem. Hoc eo admoneo, quod ſuſpicer multos eſſe tales, quales ego fui olim, qui nauſeant ad omnia, quæ carent rhetorum condimentis et ornamentis. Sed quum eſſem parvulus in Chriſto, ſapiebam ut parvulus: atque utinam nunc quoque prorſus evacuaſſem ea quæ ſunt parvuli. C. 1464.

ſpondents; had gone about in Germany, Italy, and Poland, pretending to be his diſciples, or his domeſtics, and had got many good preſents by this ſtratagem. Of this he gives remarkable inſtances, which ſhew at the ſame time how much he was reſpected and beloved, and how ready men of rank and fortunes were to ſeize any opportunity of obliging him, and of ſhewing their love of literature. This is matter of fact, though at preſent it may look like a Mileſian Fable and a Fairy Tale. Ep. 1247, 1252. A. D. 1533.

In one of theſe letters he hath taken occaſion to ſpeak very [r] affectionately of the Engliſh.

To Francis I. he dedicated his Paraphraſe on St. Mark, which he had formerly inſcribed to the Cardinal of Sion, in 1521. In it he ſpeaks with freedom enough of the duty of Kings and of Eccleſiaſtics, and of the obligation incumbent upon them to imitate Jeſus Chriſt, the ſupreme King and Paſtor of the Church, an obligation to which few of them paid any regard.

He had received a very handſome preſent from Damianus à Goes, for which he thanks him; and declares to him that he never had meddled, and never would meddle in the affair of the [s] Divorce, for ſeveral good reaſons: and he hath ſaid enough

[r] Majorem in modum doleo Anglis negotium exhiberi a Scotis. Videor enim mihi plus illi regioni debere, quæ mihi tot eximios peperit amicos, quam ei quæ me genuit. Vehementer tamen angit me Hollandia, indignis tractata modis. — c. 1467.

[s] Quod ais Lovanii jactatum a neſcio quibus, me ab his ſtetiſſe, qui probant ἀποστάσιον βασιλικὸν, quæriſque quid ſit talibus reſpondendum: quid aliud reſpondeas, optime Damiane, quam illud e Pſalmis, *Dentes eorum arma et ſagittæ, et lingua eorum gladius acutus?* Quanquam ſatis ſcio tibi nequaquam iſtud a viro gravi fuiſſe auditum, ſed a ſpermologo quopiam et acritomytho rabula, quo peſtilentiſſimo hominum genere nunc undique ſcatet mundus. Nullus unquam mortalium ullam ſyllabam ex me audivit, approbantem aut improbantem hoc factum. Hoc apud omnes ingenue præ me tuli, mihi non vulgariter moleſtum eſſe, Principem alioqui feliciſſimum in eum labyrinthum incidiſſe, cui cupiebam cum Cæſare per omnia

A. D. 1533. to justify himself from the reproaches which some have since cast upon his memory, because he did not take part with the virtuous

omnia convenire, quod intelligerem id ad publicam orbis tranquillitatem summopere conducere. Quæ fuisset autem mea non dicam temeritas, sed amentia, si nec postulatus, nec rogatus, de re tam ardua pronunciassem, de qua tot eruditi apud eam gentem Episcopi, atque ipse adeo Legatus Apostolicus Laurentius Campegius, vir utriusque Juris callentissimus, ferre sententiam cunctabantur? Merito amo τὸν Μονάρχην, ut cujus animum semper propitium ac faventem sum expertus. Quanquam ab eo tempore, quo cœpit hoc negotium agi, nihil ab eo beneficii accepi præter animi benevolentiam. Τὴν αὐτοῦ σύνοικον multis de causis diligebam ac diligo, idque, ni fallor, cum bonis omnibus, quam arbitror nec ipsi Βασιλεῖ invisam esse. Cæsari Principi meo, cui juratus sum Conciliarius, præclare de me studiisque meis merito, nisi me agnoscam omnia debere, aut vehementer stolidus sim, aut insigniter ingratus. Unde igitur mihi mens tam læva, ut ultro me tam invidioso negotio involverem, ad quod si fuissem vel rogatus vel flagitatus, manibus pedibusque fuerim recusaturus? Nullus unquam Principum super hoc argumento meam requisivit sententiam. Tantum ante annos duos adierunt me duo ex Aula Cæsaris nobiles, uno atque altero colloquio urgentes me, ut quid de ea causa sentirem, exponerem. Respondi id quod erat res, me nunquam ad eam quæstionem intendisse animum, de qua viderem summos tum auctoritate, tum eruditione viros tot annis ambigere. Facillimum esse pronunciare quid ego optarem, at pronunciare quid jus divinum atque humanum concederet, negaretve, non modo multorum dierum considerationem requirere, verum etiam circumstantiarum causæ cognitionem. Illi professi se nihil ex mandato Cæsaris agere, discesserunt. Præterea, nemo mortalium me super hoc interpellavit negotio. Ergo cum sit impudentissimum mendacium, quod nugator ille, quisquis fuit, ad te pertulit, suspicor unde arripuerit occasionem.—Ei, quem ὁ Βασιλεὺς dicitur socerum adsciscere, (*Sir Thomas Bulleyn, afterwards Lord Rochford, and then Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond*) dicaram Psalmum vigesimum secundum, idque ante annos complures, ut id facerem, ab ipso rogatus. Est enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philosophico. Hoc officium meum grato amplexus animo, petiit ut aliquid ederem in Symbolum quod dicitur Apostolorum. Feci quod voluit, eoque lubentius, quod res ad omnium utilitatem facere videretur. Hic nullum verbum est, quo (*read* quod) ad τοῦ ἀποστασίου causam attinet, cujus tamen vir ille, ut accipio, nec auctor, nec instigator fuit, utpote quietis quam opum aut honoris amantior. Quum Cæsar et Franciscus Galliarum Rex bellis inter se conflictarentur, utrique dicavi meas lucubrationes, neque quisquam exstitit, qui clamitaret me ab hoste Cæsaris stare. Ep. 1253.

Pontifex

virtuous and unfortunate Queen Catharine, for whom he had the A. D. 1533.
higheſt [t] regard and eſteem, as he often declared.

In the ſame epiſtle, he tells his friend a [u] ſtrange ſtory of the Devil's burning the town of Schiltach, as it was reported by ſeveral perſons.

Pontifex jubet ut Rex Angliæ maneat cum Regina in maritali contubernio, donec Romæ pronuntiatum fuerit de cauſa. Quis non intelligit eam litem nunquam finiendam vivis conjugibus? Jam octo ſunt anni quod agitur hoc negotium, et Rex non ſine cauſa habet gravatam conſcientiam, quum ducenti Doctores Scripturis et argumentis probarint matrimonium illud nec humano nec divino jure potuiſſe coire. Quod ſi Pontifex pronunciarit non eſſe matrimonium, primum offendet Cæſarem, deinde damnabit ſedem Romanam, quæ diſpenſarit contra fas. Tales cauſæ quæ multum adferunt nummorum Romam, quæque Principes S. D. N. reddunt obnoxios, non ſolent finiri. Et fortaſſis aliud quiddam eſt, quod urit Regis animum, quod efferri non vult. Ep. 372. c. 1757.

[t] See Knight, p. 252.

[u] Oppidum, de quo tibi narratum eſt, Germanis dicitur Schiltach: abeſt a Friburgo octo millibus Germanicis bene magnis: de quo an omnia vera ſint, quæ vulgo jactantur, non auſim affirmare. Illud nimis verum eſt, totum ſubito conflagraſſe, mulierem confeſſam ſupplicio affectam. Conflagratio accidit quarto Idus Aprilis, qui dies erat Jovis ante Paſcha, anno 1533. Quidam ejus oppidi cives apud hujus urbis Magiſtratum rem ita geſtam pro comperto narrarunt, quemadmodum mihi retulit Henricus Glareanus, quantum meminiſſe poſſum: Dæmon ſibilo ſignum dedit, e quadam ædium parte: Caupo ſuſpicans eſſe furem aſcendit, neminem reperit. Sed idem ſignum rurſus ex altiore cœnaculo redditum eſt. Et huc conſcendit caupo furem perſequens. Quum nec illic quiſquam apparet, ſibilus auditus eſt e faſtigio fumarii. Illico tetigit cauponis animum eſſe Dæmoniacum quiddam: jubet ſuos eſſe præſenti animo. Acciti ſunt Sacerdotes duo, adhibitus exorciſmus. Reſpondit ſe eſſe Dæmonem. Rogatus quid illic ageret, ait ſe velle exurere oppidum. Minitantibus Sacrificis, reſpondit ſe pro nihilo ducere minas illorum, quod alter eſſet ſcortator, uterque fur. Aliquanto poſt, mulierculam, quicum habuerat conſuetudinem annis quatuordecim, quum interim illa quotannis et confiteretur, et acciperet Euchariſtiam, ſuſtulit in aërem, impoſuitque fumarii faſtigio. Tradidit ollam, juſſit ut inverteret. Invertit, et intra horam totum oppidum exuſtum eſt. An Dæmon indignatus ob inductum rivalem cauponis filium, et oppidum perdiderit, et mulierem prodiderit, certum non audivi: non eſt tamen veri diſſimile. Hujus facti vicini tam conſtans eſt fama, ut fictum videri non queat. Feruntur et alia hujus generis, ſed not libet aures tuas vulgi fabulis remorari. c. 1473.

A. D. 1533 The * Imperial Court ſeemed now to deſire his company in good earneſt; for he had an invitation from the Emperor to Brabant, and money remitted to him for his travelling charges.

[y] Alexander, ſays he, lives at preſent like an Epicurean, yet not without dignity.

" [z] Aleander owed the beginning of his riſe to Alexander VI, " who had a deſign to make him ſecretary to his ſon, the Duke " of Valentinois, (Cæſar Borgia) which yet was not done. As " he was ſkilled in the languages, Lewis XII called him to " Paris to teach the *Belles Lettres*. Afterwards, going to Rome, " he was employed by Leo X in many Nunciatures; then made " an Archbiſhop; and, laſtly, a Cardinal by Paul III. He was " named for one of the three Preſidents at the Council of Trent, " but died, before the opening of it, in 1542. He had once " been a friend of Eraſmus, but afterwards they had great con- " teſts; and Eraſmus hath beſtowed no good character upon " him. He was a man of extenſive knowledge, but ſeems to " have had far leſs judgment than erudition."

Eraſmus complains of ſwarms of [a] fleas in his houſe at Friburg, by whom he was bitten as much as by the Monks.

After

* Revocatus ſum in patriam a Regina Maria, Cæſare, ſummo Cancellario et Duce Arſcoti, miſſo etiam viatico trecentorum florenorum, et præſtituto ſalario tanto in annos ſingulos, jamque paratis equis accinctus eram ad iter. Sed imbecillitas cogit exſpectare ver. Ep. 1256.

[y] Aleander nunc Venetiæ plane vivit Epicureum, non ſine dignitate tamen. Ep. 1258.

[z] Dr. Courayer on F. Paul, Book I. §. 15. p. 26. See above p. 28, and 243.

[a] Audi rem mihi moleſtam, ſed tibi tamen riſui futuram. Præter alia incommoda, quibus æſtas et autumnus me afflixit, fuit in ædibus meis tanta improbiſſimorum pulicum vis, ut per eos nec dormire liceret, nec legere, aut ſcribere. Quod malum nondum factum eſt mitius. Soleo per jocum amicis dicere, non eſſe pulices ſed dæmones. Non erat ille jocus, ſed divinatio. Siquidem ante dies aliquot exuſta eſt mulier, quæ quum haberet maritum, octodecim annis furtivum commercium habuit cum rivale Dæmone. Ea inter alia

After lamenting the death of Warham, he ſpeaks of [b] Cranmer's civility, who promiſed to be a ſecond Warham to him; and he names ſome illuſtrious friends, whoſe favour made his loſſes ſit the leſs heavy upon him. A. D. 1533.

He hath given a large account, and drawn a noble character of [c] Paungartner, which may ſerve as an inſtruction to men of high ſtations and great wealth (if they have ears to hear) how they ſhould employ the gifts of fortune to the beſt advantage, both for

alia crimina et illud confeſſa eſt, quod per amatorem ſuum in hoc oppidum miſerit aliquot magnos ſaccos pulicum. Nomen vici, ubi exuſta eſt, dicitur Kylchove; abeſt hinc duabus leucis. Hæc ſtans ſcribo, et tamen undique pungunt, in caligis, in induſio circa collum, et pungunt more inſolito, tam puſilli ut prendi non queant. Tantumne permiſſum eſſe maleficis? Ep. 1260.

This ſtory of the *fleas*, and that of *Schiltach*, may ſerve as examples of his credulity.

[b] Burnet Hiſt. of Ref. Beza Icon. Melchior Adam, p. 1. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

Cranmer was a ſingular friend to the Learned, to Bucer, P. Martyr, Ochinus, Alexander Aleſs, Dryander, Juſtus Jonas junior, Melanchthon, Sleidan, &c.

"He was a great Patron to all "learned and pious men, eſpecially "thoſe of the Reformation; cheriſh-"ing thoſe not only of his own coun-"try, but foreigners and ſtrangers alſo. "—Such as came to him, he gave "honourable harbour and maintenance "to, keeping them at his own coſt, "till he had made proviſions for them "either in the Church, or Univerſity.—

"P. Martyr and his companion "Ochinus had their annual allowances "from the King (Edward VI): and "ſo, I ſuppoſe, had all other learned "foreigners here. Melanchthon alſo, "who was now expected over, was in-"tended ſome more extraordinary gra-"tuity. Unto this noble Chriſtian "hoſpitality and liberality Biſhop Lati-"mer, the great Court-preacher, ex-"cited the King in one of his ſermons "before him. The paſſage may de-"ſerve to be repeated: *I hear ſay, "Maſter Melanchthon, that great Clerk, "ſhould come hither. I would wiſh him, "and ſuch as he is, two hundred pounds "a year. The King ſhould never want "it in his coffers at the year's end. There "is yet among us two great learned men, "Petrus Martyr and Bernard Ochin, "which have an hundred Mark a piece. "I would the King would beſtow a thou-"ſand pounds on that fort.*" Strype, p. 400, 401.

Such were the ſentiments of this moſt venerable Prelate and Martyr, the pious Latimer.

[c] Melchior Adam; who calls him *Baumgartnerus*.

A. D. 1533. for this life, and for the next. We will inſert this Epiſtle in the [d] Appendix, together with a generous [e] letter of Paungartner to Eraſmus. Ep. 1261. Ep. 383. c. 1773.

[f] He ſpeaks of Alexander ab Alexandro, as of a perſon quite unknown to the learned world.

[g] He bitterly cenſures Simon [h] Grynæus, whom he had formerly as much commended. It is in a letter of ſecreſy to Viglius Zuichemus,

[d] Appendix. [e] Appendix.

[f] Demiror quis ſit ille Alexander ab Alexandro. Novit omnes celebres Italiæ viros, Philelphum, Pomponium Lætum, Hermolaum, et quos non? Omnibus uſus eſt familiariter, tamen nemo novit illum. Laurentium Vallam odit, ſubinde Grammaticum appellans. Ep. 372. c. 1758.

[g] Scio Thomam Morum, Tonſtallum, ac reliquos eruditos eſſe peſſime animatos in Grynæum. Extorſit a me commendationes iturus in Angliam: commendavi paucis, ſed invitus. Admonui, ut ſi quid affectus erga Sectas in Anglia diſſimularet. Hoc ille adeo non fecit ibi manens, ut auſus ſit etiam multis epiſtolis eo miſſis tueri Zuingliana; nec veritus eſt de his ad Morum crebro ſcribere. Poſtremo decreverat Platonem ab ipſo multis locis depravatum Moro dicare, et feciſſet, ni diſſuaſiſſem. Quo nomine Morus mihi magnas agit gratias. Sed me inſcio Euclidem inſcripſit Tonſtallo: at ego certum ſcio Morum et Tonſtallum non odiſſe pejus anguem quam iſtos addictos Sectis. Nuper admonui Grynæum ne ſcriberet familiariter ad eos, qui prorſus abhorrent a dogmatibus quæ ipſe tuetur. Nunc hoc agit ut ab Archiepiſco Cantuarienſi impetret annuam penſionem. Et quod eſt ſuavius, cuidam epiſtolæ ſuæ adjecerat hæc verba, *Recte feceris, ſi tu jam plena hirudo mihi famelico ceſſeris penſionem Cantuarienſem.* Quum me vocat hirudinem, ex ſuo me æſtimat ingenio: et homo diverſæ Religionis, nihil unquam de me meritus, petit ut ipſi cedam ducentos Florenos annuos, quod vix frater a fratre propitio auderet petere. Hinc colligе quid ille frontis habeat, quum miram ore præ ſe ferat probitatem. Ep. 374. c. 1760.

[h] Beza Icon. Melch. Adam. Sleidan L. XIV. p. 362. Pope Blount, p. 402. Bayle GRYNÆUS. Maittaire II. 117. Wood Vol. I. c. 58. Gerdeſius Hiſt. Evang. Renov. Tom. II. p. 378.

Simon Grynæus eſtoit un gentil perſonnage: il a fait de ſi belles prefaces ſur Pollux & autres beaux auteurs. Il a bien travaillé ſur le grand Pline. *Scaligeran.* p. 179.

Grynæus verboſiſſimus et paraphraſtæ ſimillimus interpres. *Huetius* De Clar. Interp. p. 225.

Grynæus natus eſt 1493.—A. 1523, Heidelbergæ literas Græcas docuit.—A. 1529, Oecolampadio auctore Baſi-

Zuichemus, which begins with Ἀναγίνωσκε μόνος. Bayle knew nothing concerning this diſguſt of Eraſmus, which probably went off afterwards: for Grynæus was with him at his death. A. D. 1533.

He recommends [i] Philippus Montanus to Bonvalot. Ep. 1264.

In Ep. 1265, he makes a kind of Apology for his ſentiments, and refers thoſe, who might ſtill doubt of his orthodoxy, to his Explications oppoſed to the Cenſures of the Pariſian Divines, and intitled *Declarationes*, which however he will by no means allow to be *Retractations*; and he hopes that no honeſt man will ever conſider them as ſuch. By theſe and other letters to his friends, we ſee that he had not changed his ſentiments, though he had in ſome meaſure changed his language, to appeaſe the Romaniſts, whom the Monks had irritated againſt him.

This year he gave a third edition of St. Jerom, whom he had twice dedicated to Warham. To this edition he added a new [k] Preface, in which he extols the [l] virtues of his illuſtrious Patron in a manner which will do honour to Warham as long as the works of Eraſmus ſhall live.

Eraſmus wiſhed that the ſucceſſor to Warham might be William Knight.

" [m] Knight was born at London, and educated in Wickham's " School near Wincheſter, and choſen Fellow of New College.

" He

leam invitatur ad docendum.—A. 1534, Tubingam vocatur.—Biennio poſt Baſileam reverſus Eraſmo morienti adfuit. — A. 1541, ex vita migravit. *Melch. Adam.*

[i] Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 689.

[k] Appendix.

[l] Laudat Eraſmus ſuum Waramum, quod trigiata aureorum tantum ſumma (quamquam locuples illi tum fuerit ſede, iſta) parvæ ſane morienti ſupereſſent, ex tanta abundantia, copiæ. At idem non commemorat quantas hæreditates atque poſſeſſiones conſanguineis ſuis paraverat vivus: e quibus unum, ipſi Eraſmo notum, ad equeſtrem ordinem evexerat. *The Life of Parker*, in Strype, *Append.* p. 164.

The Palace of Otford was built by Warham, and coſt him thirty-three thouſand pounds. *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer*, B. II. c. 29.

[m] Knight, p. 239.

A. D. 1533. " He was made Secretary to Henry VII, and afterwards to " Henry VIII, who ſent him on an embaſſy to Maximilian. " This Emperor liked him ſo well, that he made him many " preſents, and gave him a coat of arms. He was Archdeacon " of Huntingdon, Prebend of St. Stephen's, Weſtminſter, Arch- " deacon of Richmond, Archdeacon of Cheſter, and, in the " year 1541, Biſhop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1547. " He bequeathed forty pounds to New College, and twenty " pounds to Wickham's College."

Eraſmus this year wrote a commentary on the eighty-fourth Pſalm, in which with much piety and moderation he propoſed his ſcheme to heal the differences amongſt Chriſtians, and to bring things to an accommodation; but he gave ſatisfaction to neither party, and Luther and Muſculus cenſured his ſyſtem. Seckendorf [n] hath given a large extract from this treatiſe, and remarks of his own and of other perſons upon it.

Georgius Wicelius wrote a very civil letter to Eraſmus, in which he cenſures Luther and [o] Jodocus Jonas.

[p] Wicelius had been a Lutheran for ten years, and then deſerted the party. He was ſuſpected of being an antitrinitarian, and of eſpouſing the opinions of Michael Servetus. He went about, railing not only at the doctrine, but at the morals of Luther, for which he was extolled by Cochlæus, and others of the ſame ſtamp. He was confuted by Luther and Balthaſar Raida. William [q] Forbes hath commended him, as a prudent and moderate Divine. Ep. 371. c. 1756.

" In the year 1533, there came forth a book in Latin, called " *the King's Book*, intituled, *The difference between the Kingly and* " *Eccleſiaſtical*

[n] Appendix.

[o] Jonas, tibi olim laudatus, nunc hoſtis tuus, ſcripſit in me, cum aliud non ſuppeteret, mendacia et convitia. Ego reſpondi, ſed nondum parata eſt editio.

[p] Seckendorf L. III. p. 65.

[q] Si plures fuiſſent Caſſandri et Wicelii, non opus fuiſſet Luthero aut Calvino. *See* Bayle FORBES.

" *Eccleſiaſtical Power*; reported to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox A. D. 1533.
" the King's Almoner: which was tranſlated into Engliſh, and
" put forth by Henry Lord Stafford in King Edward's days. The
" King (Henry VIII) affecting to be thought learned, affected
" alſo to have books called by his name; not that he was always
" the author of them, but that they came out by his authority,
" and had undergone his corrections and emendations." *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer*, B. I. c. 13.

[r] There was this year a Phænomenon in the air, which Luther accounted to be a prank of the Devil.

" [s] Eraſmus, from Friburg, in the year 1533, dedicates his
" expoſition of the twenty-ſecond Pſalm to an Engliſh Noble-
" man, then of great intereſt and power in the Court; to Tho-
" mas Lord Viſcount Rochford, father to the unfortunate Anne
" Bulleyn. He was firſt no more than Sir Thomas Bulleyn,
" then Viſcount Rochford, but after his daughter became the
" King's Conſort, he was created Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond,
" as appears by another of Eraſmus's dedications to him. He
" married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and
" was related to ſeveral of the chief gentry in Norfolk. His own
" family had intermarried with the houſe of Ormond, which is
" the reaſon that title was alſo conferred upon him. By the
" general account we have of him, as well as by what we have
" from Eraſmus, he appears to be a perſon of virtue and good-
" neſs; otherwiſe he would not probably have put Eraſmus upon
" this pious work of commenting upon this Pſalm. He is there-

[r] Ex literis Jonæ (conſtat) Octobris hora decima nocturna ad duodecimam uſque, multis adſtantibus, in quatuor cœli partibus et regionibus volitare viſa eſſe multa millia facularum ignearum, vere flammei et ignei coloris, et Lutherum dixiſſe, ſe nihil in vita ſimile vidiſſe; alio die, eodem fere tempore, ſtrepitus in aëre concurſantium quaſi exercituum auditos fuiſſe. Ad hæc notat Jonas, Lutherum, contemtorem Diaboli, et tentationes expertum, omnia pro Diaboli præſtigiis habuiſſe, falſis terroribus, cum veris non poſſet, homines exterrefacientis. *Seckendorf* L. III. 66.

[s] Knight, p. 245.

A. D. 1533. " fore mentioned with great honour by him, that though ſo " great and powerful, ſo nobly deſcended, and who had the " world at will, yet, amidſt all theſe amuſements and dazzling " vanities, he could apply his mind to religion, and the more " durable riches. He tells him how he was affected with pious " thoughts whilſt he was about this little work, and if he in " reading ſhould receive the ſame impreſſions, he ſhould not be " a little pleaſed that he had put him upon this taſk. He con- " feſſeth that ſome of the Fathers had written upon the ſame " Pſalm, but what they had done were rather ſhort notes than an " expoſition; and moreover adds, that he had made little or no " uſe of them in this work; and concludes with his deſire of its " being ſerviceable to religion. This Epiſtle is dated Aug. 1537, " in the London Edition; which, as it was the year after the " death of Eraſmus, we muſt bring it back to the year 1532, " or 1533: eſpecially ſince we have another Epiſtle to this Lord, " dated 1533; wherein mention is made of the aforementioned " Expoſition, and of the encouragement he received from his " kind acceptance of that work, to gratify him in that of " expounding the Creed, or any other work which he ſhould " deſire from him: and therefore, though St. Cyprian and other " ancient Fathers had done this before, yet he would not excuſe " himſelf from obeying his commands, eſpecially ſince his Lord- " ſhip's deſign was for the general benefit of religion, not ſo " much for his own uſe, as for the inſtruction of thoſe who were " novices in religion; that, for his part, he was very indifferent " as to the reputation he might get or loſe by it, his aim being " the good of thoſe who were not ſufficiently inſtructed in " Chriſtianity. — He concludes with earneſt wiſhes, that God, " who had inſpired his Lordſhip with that zeal and affection for " religion, would give good ſucceſs to it.—Once more this great " man put Eraſmus upon a third pious work, of *Preparation* " *for Death.* Eraſmus readily complied, and told him that it

" was

" was the very ſubject he was engaged in, for his own private A. D. 1533.
" uſe, when he received his commands, which ſhould be obeyed
" now, in making it more publicly ſerviceable to the world; and
" he hopes that God would proſper it to both their ſatisfaction.
" This Engliſh Peer, as well as Eraſmus, was in an advanced
" age, and conſequently the meditation on death was proper
" for them both: and ſoon after this we find that this good Earl
" had occaſion enough for conſolations of this kind, having his
" beloved daughter beheaded, and his ſon George, Lord Roch-
" ford, (created ſo upon his father being made Earl of Wiltſhire)
" impriſoned in the Tower firſt, and then taken off, as his ſiſter was.

" The aforementioned Nobleman was a great favourer of
" learned men; amongſt others (as Wood ſays) Robert Wake-
" field, a great linguiſt, was patronized by him. Biſhop Burnet
" hath retracted his miſtake, that this Lord was one of thoſe
" who ſat in judgment upon his daughter, which would have
" impeached him of great unnaturalneſs.

" There is one Nobleman more, whom I may here alſo men-
" tion, who was a great admirer of Eraſmus, Henry Lord
" Stafford, the only ſon of Edward Duke of Bucks (attainted
" and executed for treaſon in 1521.) He was one of the
" moſt accompliſhed perſons of his time, and though not
" the inheritor of his father's honours, yet he was a man of
" great virtue, piety and learning; his education was chiefly at
" Cambridge, to which place his father was a benefactor, where,
" under good inſtruction, he profited ſo much as to become a
" finiſhed ſcholar. The Oxford Antiquary, who lays claim to
" part of his education, ſays, that he wrote ſeveral things both in
" proſe and verſe, but mentions not what they were; only that
" he tranſlated a piece of Biſhop Fox, entituled, *De vera diffe-*
" *rentia Regiæ poteſtatis et Eccleſiaſticæ:* as alſo two Epiſtles of
" Eraſmus, wherein is declared the brainſick headineſs of the
" Lutherans, &c. Lond. 1523. He died in 1558.

A. D. 1533. " It was an ambition in all our countrymen of note, as well " as in others abroad, to court Eraſmus for his friendſhip, and " to affect to have ſome mention made of them in his immortal " works, &c."

A. D. MDXXXIV. Ætat. LXVII.

A. D. 1534. After all the proteſtations of Eraſmus concerning his innocence, he ſtood juſt as he did before in the opinion of the Monks. He ſays to Cholerus; Theſe animals are omnipotent at the Emperor's Court. Mary is a mere puppet, maintained by our nation; Montigny, a man of authority, is a tool of the Franciſcans; the Cardinal of Liege is an ambiguous friend, and when he takes offence, a violent enemy; the Archbiſhop of Palermo is a giver of good words, and nothing elſe.

After this, it is needleſs to conjecture why Eraſmus could not get his penſion duly paid, and why he would not go to Brabant. He dictated and wrote this letter, which he ſent to his friend Cholerus, *voce propria, manu aliena*. Ep. 1266.

The beginning of this year he was very ill of the gout, and loſt almoſt the uſe of his limbs: ſo that we have few letters written or ſent by him.

[t] Sepulveda, who is mentioned up and down in ſome epiſtles written about this time, and a little before it, was an enemy to Eraſmus, and a man of tolerable erudition. This Wretch ſignalized himſelf in defending the curſed conqueſts and the Diabolical behaviour

[t] Bibl. Univerſ. XXIII. 198. Du Pin T. XVI. 64, and 113, &c. Thuanus L. LIV, at the end. Baillet III. 61. Maittaire II. 400, 512. Bayle ALCYONIUS, Not. B. ARISTOTE, Not. R. Wetſten. Proleg. ad N. T. p. 33.

Sepulveda, cum caſtigatam, quam commendamus, interpretationum fidelitatem repudiare ſe declaraſſet, aditum ſibi ad hujus artis perfectionem obſtruxit. *Huetius de Clar. Interpr.* p. 235.

P. Jovius compliments and extols him, *Elog.* p. 225.

behaviour of his countrymen the Spaniards in America; for which his memory ought to ſtink for ever. Du Pin, though he hath not treated him with the aſperity which he deſerved, yet hath ſufficiently intimated his diſlike of him. Thuanus hath done the ſame. Eraſmus treats him with much [u] contempt. Sepulveda died A. 1573, aged 73. A. D. 1534.

From a letter of Sepulveda to Eraſmus, it appears that Stunica, who was dead, had drawn up ſome new animadverſions upon Eraſmus, and had ordered the manuſcript to be tranſmitted to him, giving him leave and power to make ſuch uſe of them as he thought proper. Sepulveda exhorts Eraſmus to ſelect ſuch as were to the purpoſe, and to make honourable mention of the Deceaſed. After profeſſions of reſpect and eſteem for Eraſmus, he takes the liberty [x] to tell him, that he had not ſufficiently applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Geography.

Le

[u] Stunica periit, ſed illi ſucceſſurus videtur Sepulveda, Alberti Pii alumnus, et Stunicæ ſodalis, Hiſpanorum omnium glorioſiſſimus, cujus libellum in me opinor te vidiſſe, inſigniter ſtultum et contumelioſum. Itali quum inſaniunt, inſaniunt luculenter. Auguſtinus Eugubinus reſpondet epiſtolæ meæ, ſed furioſe et indocte. Ep. 1266.

Sepulveda rediit in ſuam Hiſpaniam in comitatu Inachi, Cardinalis et Epiſcopi Burgenſis, cujus fideli opera nactus ſum Notationes Stunicæ in Hieronymum, et in Annotationes meas in Novum Teſtamentum, quas moriens reliquit, non edendas, ſed ad me tranſmittendas. Quod tamen per Sepulvedam nunquam fuiſſet factum, ni Inachus id diligenter curaſſet. Mire placet ſibi de ſuo Libello, quum nihil ſit ſtolidius. Nihil legit meorum; tantum quæ in fabulis audivit, exaggerat. In literis tamen ad me ſuis, fatetur quædam odioſius dicta, non ex ſuo ſtomacho, ſed in gratiam Pio faventium. Annon bella purgatio? —

Valde laborat ut doceat Pium a nullo adjutum, quum ex iis, quos ad hoc negotium conduxerat, quidam ad me ſcripſerint, quidam hic apud me confeſſi ſint. Ep. 362. c. 1758.

[x] Cæterum hic locus admonet, ut pro mea in te ſingulari benevolentia et obſervantia illud te horter, ne cum tibi eſt de oppidorum ſitu differendum, oſcitanter agas, ſed Strabonem, Melam, Plinium, aut Ptolemæum reviſas: nam his paucis diebus dum Hieronymi Epiſtolas evolverem, incidi in quædam ſcholia tua, ubi multo etiam magis diligentiam

A. D. 1534. Le Clerc hath alſo obſerved that Eraſmus had neglected to make himſelf maſter of that part of literature, and cenſures ſome of his Geographical errors, in the *Ars Critica*, P. I. C. I. §. 1, 3.

Baker, in his *Reflections upon Learning*, defended Eraſmus; and attacked Le Clerc with a virulence, which one would not have expected from a man, who, as I remember, was accounted, and who deſired to be accounted, a candid, genteel, and polite perſon. But party zeal guided his pen:

Tantum religio potuit!

Le Clerc gave him a ſhort anſwer, in the *Index* to the fourth Edition of the *Ars Critica*, under the word *Eraſmus*.

Baker hath one chapter upon *Metaphyſics*, in which he hath made no mention of Locke; juſt as if a man ſhould write the lives of the Greek and Latin poets, and only omit Homer and Virgil!

He

tiam tuam deſideravi. Scribis enim in Epiſtola ad Evagrium, Rhegium eſſe oppidum in Græcia, Conſtantinopolim in Macedonia, cum hæc haud dubie, quæ prius Byzantium dicebatur, ſit in parte Thraciæ, a Macedonia prorſus averſa, Rhegium in Brutia, qua parvo freto Italia disjungitur a Sicilia; quod ſi ad Magnæ Græciæ Ciceroni quoque vetus vocabulum ſpectaſti, tamen meminiſſe debebas, qui Græciam ſimpliciter dicit, hunc non partem Italiæ videri, ſed Atticam, et finitiſſima loca deſignare. Memini etiam, ſed locus excidit, me legere in alio tuo ſcholio Urbem Nicopolim nuncupatam ex Auguſti victoria, eſſe urbem in Thracia, quam eſſe conſtat in Epiro prope Actium, ad quod Antonius fuit prælio ſuperatus navali. Sed tibi videlicet impoſuit, quod altera eſt ταύτῃ * ὁμώνυμος ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ. In Libello Ciceronis de Senectute adſcriptum a te notavi Capuam eſſe urbem in Apulia, quæ tamen caput eſt Campaniæ, et olim præter Romam Italiæ nobiliſſima. Nec eſt abſimile hujus incuriæ, quod in Ciceroniano me, quem Cordubenſem eſſe ſciebas, Luſitanis annumeraſti. — Ac de his quidem, quæ tamen leviſſima ſunt, tum tibi, duntaxat non dormitanti, facillima, ſed indicantia magnam negligentiam, te amicitiæ, ut dixi, officiique gratia admonendum putavi.—Tuum erit omnia in bonam partem accipere: quod ſi a te ſecus factum intellexero, non amplius tibi officiis ingratis ero moleſtus. Ep. 376. c. 1761.

* *It ſhould be* ὁμώνυμος.

He obſerved, c. 16, that there was little or nothing left for the ſagacity and induſtry of modern critics; and thereby he ſhewed that he was no critic himſelf, and not at all acquainted with the true ſtate of Claſſical books, and particularly of Greek authors. A. D. 1534.

[y] Egnatius, a learned Profeſſor at Venice, wrote a civil [z] letter to Eraſmus, recommending Sabinus to him: in it he declareth an high eſteem for Eraſmus, who alſo hath ſpoken as favourably of Egnatius. But Egnatius, in a former letter to a friend, in the year 1518, had undervalued Eraſmus as much as he hath here extolled him. The cauſe of his diſcontent was this: [a] A diſpute aroſe between Budæus and Portius concerning the coins and the meaſures of the Ancients. It happened that Egnatius, ſomewhere in his Commentary on Suetonius, followed the calculations of Portius; and Eraſmus, publiſhing a [b] Preface to a new edition of Suetonius with this Commentary, obſerved expreſsly that Egnatius was not in the ſentiments of Budæus. Egnatius was ſadly afraid of provoking Budæus, and extremely angry that Eraſmus had made ſuch a remark, and *awakened a ſleeping cat*. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to [c] Grolierus, a conſiderable man in.

[y] Bayle EGNATIUS. Maittaire II. 29. III. 640. Thuanus L. XII. p. 377. Menckenius Vit. Polit. p. 82.

[z] Ep. 1272.

[a] Bayle BUDÉ, Not. X.

[b] Appendix.

[c] Cum nudius tertius in Tranquillum Cæſareſque meos Baſileæ nuper excuſos annotationes, et in his neſcio quid ab Eraſmo noſtro de nummis ſcriptum legiſſem, ubi diſſentire me a Budæo doctus alioqui vir et amiciſſimus aſſerebat, dum Portium ſequor; animadverti aliquanto altius vulnus deſcendiſſe, quam ego ab initio ſuſpicatus eſſem, affecitque me vis minime exſpectata, uti ſolet, non admiratione ſolum, verum etiam moleſtia. Quæ enim mihi cum Budæo ſtudiorum diſſentio eſſe poteſt, ubi tanta ſit animorum conjunctio? aut quæ teſtificatio mea honeſtior aut amplior eſſe potuit tum benevolentiæ erga Budæum meæ, tum judicii, quam ea, quæ a me in eis annotamentis adhibita eſt? Uti facile declararim me tantum in hoc ſtudiorum genere Budæo tribuere, quantum mihi ipſi vix optarem: ut ſi aliter vel Budæus vel Eraſmus ſentit, næ ambo cum..

A. D. 1534. in France, intreating and adjuring him by all that was good, to reconcile him to Budæus; and then he diſchargeth his ſpleen upon Eraſmus in uncourteous terms, and with much contempt.

Egnatius is deſcribed by [d] Eraſmus, and by others, as a good man, not leſs eminent in virtue than in erudition.

cum ſummo animi mei mœrore id ſentiant. Quare ego te, Grolierie, per eam animi propenſionem, quam in doctos præ te fers, oro; per humanitatem et divinam iſtam tuam beneficentiam obteſtor; per eam pietatem, quam tibi reliquæque genti debeo, adjuro, uti hunc Budæo ſcrupulum per literas etiam tuas eximas, meque illi ita concilies, ut intelligat vir doctiſſimus, eſſe in terris hodie neminem, cujus ego doctrinam magis admirer, de cujus ingenio libentius prædicem, quemque ego pluris faciam. — Quare non poſſum non vehementer admirari, quid tandem Eraſmo in mentem venerit, ut etiam aliud agens, de ſtudiorum diſſentione noſtrorum, præſertim falſa, publicandum ſibi cenſuerit, cum Budæi veſtigia me ſequi profitear, cum doctrinam hominis tantopere laudem, et ejus præſertim libros quinque dē Aſſe. Sed homo alioqui doctus cum numerorum rationem non probe calleat, et ſcriptione multa ſeſe oblectet, et ſibi plus æquo placeat, dummodo aliquid edat, quid tandem dicat non ſatis penſi habuit. Ita fit ut dum verborum copiæ ſtudet, minus res obſervet. Quod ſi maturare ſibi pateretur diutius ea quæ parturit, pareret ille ſæpe eos liberos, qui et vitales eſſent, nec vitioſi illi et morboſi ſæpe in lucem prodirent. *See* Bayle Budé, Not. X.

[d] Virum non minus probum et integrum quam eruditum et eloquentem nominaſti, ſed cui Tulliani cognominis honorem negant doctorum ſuffragia. Docte loqui maluit quam Ciceroniane; et quod voluit aſſequutus eſt. *Ciceronian.*

Egnatius, in the letter abovementioned, (Ep. 1272) amongſt other handſome compliments to Eraſmus, ſays;

Tu igitur, qui Germanis tuis princeps *hanc literarum facem prætuliſti* —

There is nothing particular in this uſe of the word *princeps* for *firſt*: but it reminds me to do juſtice to a paſſage in Cicero, which hath been miſinterpreted.

Here is the paſſage, *De Legibus* II. 6.

Sed ut vir doctiſſimus fecit Plato, atque idem graviſſimus philoſophorum omnium, qui princeps *de republica conſcripſit, idemque ſeparatim de legibus ejus.* —

Here is the miſinterpretation:

Plato, — *who wrote* beſt *of a republic.*

It ſhould have been tranſlated: *who wrote* firſt *of a republic:* and it can admit no other ſenſe.

When *princeps* means *beſt*, it cannot mean the adverb *beſt*, *(optime,)* but the adjective *beſt*, *(optimus.)* Come then, try it, and ſubſtitute *optimus* in the room of *princeps*.

Plato,

Plato, — qui optimus *de republica conſcripſit. —*

This, I think, will not paſs for a Ciceronian phraſe. Let us throw it aſide, and proceed.

Plato (ſays Cicero) *wrote* firſt *of a republic:* and he hath ſaid the ſame in another place of this treatiſe, as his learned editor Davies obſerves. *Principem Platonem de republica diſſeruiſſe, teſtatur noſter infra.*

It is in III. 6.

Nam veteres verbo tenus, acute illi quidem, ſed non ad hunc uſum popularem atque civilem, de rèpublica diſſerebant. Ab hac familia magis iſta manarunt, Platone principe. *Poſt Ariſtoteles,* &c.

Plato then, according to Cicero, was the firſt, who treated the ſubject in an *extenſive, uſeful,* and *practical* way. Cicero hath alſo hinted the ſame thing in another treatiſe:

Atque his libris adnumerandi ſunt ſex de Republica, quos tunc ſcripſimus: — magnus locus philoſophiæque proprius, a Platone, *Ariſtotele, Theophraſto, totaque Peripateticorum familia tractatus uberrime.* De Divin. II. 1.

Princeps is he, *qui primum capit,* and in its original ſignification it means the *firſt* in time or order; and then, by a very eaſy metaphor, it means *the chief, beſt,* and *moſt excellent.*

In *Princeps exiit, rediit, ſcripſit, invenit, ſententiam dixit, verba fecit,* in theſe and ſuch-like expreſſions, *princeps* means *firſt,* and not *beſt.* To many paſſages collected in Geſner, theſe may be added:

Sicilia princeps *ſe ad amicitiam populi Romani applicuit.* Cic. de Cl. 171. b.

Is princeps *ex Latinis hæc tractavit.* De Orat. 154.

Gorgias princeps *ex omnibus auſus eſt,* &c. Acad. 44. A. D. 1534.

Theſe citations I take, as I find them in Nizolius.

Lucretius I. 94.

Nec miſeræ prodeſſe in tali tempore quibat,
Quod patrio princeps *donarat nomine regem.*

Horat. *Carm.* III. 17.

Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, *et innantem Maricæ*
Litoribus tenuiſſe Lirim. —

Lambin knew that *princeps conſcripſit* could only mean writing *firſt*; and therefore he propoſed to alter the place, becauſe, ſaid he, Plato did not write firſt concerning a Republic. *Falſum eſt Platonem principem, id eſt, primum de republica ſcripſiſſe.* But this was not a ſufficient cauſe for attempting an emendation, as Lambin might have ſeen, if he had conſidered the caſe a little better.

Horace ſays of himſelf, *Carm.* III. 30.

Princeps *Æolium carmen ad Italos*
Deduxiſſe modos.

He meant that he was the *firſt.* And yet here it might be objected, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, he was not the firſt; ſince Catullus, before him, had compoſed ſome Sapphic Odes. But either Horace did not recollect it, or he might think that Catullus had not done enough that way to earn the name of a Lyric poet.

The perſon, whoſe interpretation of Cicero is here examined, hath alſo informed us, *ex abundanti,* that as *princeps,* ſo likewiſe *primus* is uſed for *beſt* or *chief:* which he gravely proves from Virgil, *Æn.* I. 27.

—— *veteriſque memor Saturnia belli,*
Prima *quod ad Trojam pro charis geſſerat Argis.*

A. D. 1534. Luther attacked Eraſmus again, and Eraſmus replied, as [a] Sleidan informs us.

This year [f] Clemens VII died, leaving behind him no good character. He is repreſented as a niggard and a poltroon.

Burnet hath publiſhed part of a paper written by Luther to Bucer, in which the former is willing to make ſome conceſſions to the Zuinglians: but Luther, as [g] Seckendorf obſerves, had no ſuch inclination, and hath been miſunderſtood.

The

There is a paſſage in Terence, which would ſuit him better; *Eunuch.* II. 11, 17.

Eſt genus hominum, qui eſſe primos *ſe omnium rerum volunt,*
Nec ſunt.

Where *primus* certainly and undeniably means *ſummus, præcipuus.*

[a] Quomodo ſcriptis adverſariis egerint Lutherus et Eraſmus, de libero arbitrio, dictum eſt libro quarto: ſed hoc anno recruduit ſimultas, et Lutherus, per occaſionem epiſtolæ cujuſdam amici, graviter incuſat Eraſmum, quaſi Religionem Chriſtianam in dubium vocet, rideat et condemnet, adductis etiam aliquot ipſius lucubrationum locis, demonſtrare illud conatur, et in ſcribendo flexiloquum eſſe docet, et eloquentia ſua tyrannidem quandam exercere dicit: et quoniam in rebus divinis ad eum modum ludat verbis ambiguis, cum apertius loqui poſſit atque debeat, adverſus ipſum interpretanda eſſe omnia contendit. Huic deinde ſcripto reſpondet Eraſmus, et aſpere quidem: nam omnium rerum maxime timebat, ne gratiam et auctoritatem amitterent ſua ſcripta. L. IX. p. 221. *See alſo* Seckendorf L. III. p. 77; and Scultet, in Von der Hardt, P. V. p. 197.

[f] Du Pin XIII. 88, 149. Sleidan L. IX. 226. Seckendorf L. I. 287. L. III. 74, 519. Jovius Vit. Pomp. Columnæ, p. 157, &c. 164. Hiſt. L. XXXII. p. 234. Vit. Ferd. Davali, p. 384.

[g] Non poſſum hic bona fide reticere, quod ſcriptum Lutheri ad Bucerum a Burneto in laudatiſſimo opere Hiſtoriæ Reform. Part. II. Collect. L. I. num. XXXIV. p. 166, adductum, quod ex MS. Collegii Corporis Chriſti *Cantuariæ (he ſhould have ſaid,* Cantabrigiæ) nactus eſt, cujuſque mentio fit in Actis Erud. Lipſ. an. 1687, p. 63, nihil aliud ſit quam pars quædam Inſtructionis — quam paulo ante retulimus. Sed non ſaltem mutila, verum etiam interpolata eſt: cujus quidem facti culpa Burnetum facile abſolvere poſſumus, qui aliorum de Manuſcripto relationem videtur eſſe ſecutus. Senſus enim Lutheri, contra clara ejus verba, ſupra fideliter et integre allegata, ita refertur, ac ſi mediam ſententiam probaret, et per eam litem ſopire velit; cum plane ab illa compoſitione abhorreat. Error et æquivocatio eſt in voce *nihilominus*, qua in ſcripto a Burneto producto concedi aliquid videtur. Sed Lutherus ſcripſit *nihil minus*, et

The Franciſcans at Orleans, being offended at a lady who died, A. D. 1534.
and at her own requeſt was buried privately, and hating her huſband alſo, ſuborned a young fellow to perſonate the ghoſt of the woman, and to declare, by ſigns, that ſhe was tormented in hell, &c. The Ghoſt and two Fathers were ſeized and convicted, and put into jail, and the Ghoſt honeſtly confeſſed the whole matter: but they were diſmiſſed without any farther puniſhment. *Sleidan* L. IX. The ſame ſtory is related in Luther's *Colloq. Menſal.* p. 315, where it is ſaid that the boy, who acted the ghoſt, was baniſhed from France.

About this time Calvin left France, after having publiſhed at Orleans a book againſt thoſe, who taught that the ſouls of the dead ſleep till the day of judgment. See Bayle CALVIN, Not. E. In the year 1536, Calvin ſettled at Geneva, as Preacher and Profeſſor. *Ibid.* Not. A A.

Florimond de Remond tells us, that Bucer preſented Calvin to Eraſmus at Baſil, who having converſed with Calvin, told Bucer that this young man would prove a pernicious creature to the Church. Others have adopted this idle ſtory from Florimond. It is a romance, and its author is a writer of no credit, veracity, and conſiſtency. Florimond, ſays ſomebody, was a man, *who judged without conſcience, wrote without learning, and built houſes without money.* Of theſe three accompliſhments, the firſt and ſecond are far more common than the third. One cannot help admiring the decent manner, in which the illuſtrious Thuanus hath [b] ſpoken of Calvin.

et Germanice *in ſeine wege*, innuens nullo modo fieri poſſe ut media ſententia ineatur; tolerare tamen tunc voluiſſe videtur ad tempus utramque. Itaque pro Manuſcripto Lutheri id non poteſt haberi, quod dicto loco aſſervari dicitur, cum nihil ſit niſi fragmentum, et quidem ſenſu inverſo, et omiſſis pro præſentia corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti in ſacra Cœna argumentis, relatum, ex illa quam exhibui Inſtructione. *Seckendorf* L. III. p. 80.

[b] —— Acri vir ac vehementi ingenio, et admirabili facundia præditus; tum inter Proteſtantes magni nominis Theologus. L. XXXVI. 287.

A. D. 1534. In a letter to Melanchthon, Eraſmus highly commends Georgius Sabinus [i], who afterwards married Melanchthon's daughter. Ep. 1273.

Ep. 1267 is from Eraſmus to his friend Grapheus, in which he repreſents himſelf as quite worn down with age, pain, and ſickneſs.

" Cornelius Grapheus, alias Schryver, of Aelſt or Aloſt, and " Secretary of the town of Antwerp, a man of uncommon learn- " ing, a good poet, and a dear friend of Eraſmus, fell into great " troubles on account of religion. What befell him on account " of a preface writ ſome years before, and a relation he publiſhed " of the cruelty of his Judges, who turned him out of his employ- " ment, notwithſtanding his modeſt behaviour and ſubmiſſion, " may be ſeen in a certain [k] Latin letter which he writ from " Bruſſels, then his priſon, to Carondiletus, the Archbiſhop of " Palermo, and Chancellor of the Court of Brabant. The ſaid " letter, which fell into my hands accidentally, and which " deſcribes the miſerable ſtate of thoſe times in ſuch eloquent " terms, and ſets it before our eyes in ſo pathetical and moving " a manner, will, I make no doubt, be read with as much " ſatisfaction by others, as it is here tranſlated by me, &c.

" What effect this letter produced, does not appear to me. " But among the Epiſtles of Eraſmus we meet with one written " about twelve years after, in which he takes [l] notice, that the " affairs

[i] In reditu Eraſmum Friburgi agentem ſalutavit Sabinus, cui ab Egnatio literis accurate ſcriptis erat commendatus: ac vidit ſummum iſtum virum et venerandum ſenem in extrema ſenecta: cum jam et corpus ejus et oculi, et ipſæ ingenii vires langueſcere, et quaſi in declinatione eſſe viderentur. *Melch. Adam.* Vit. Sabini.

[k] The Letter is a very good one, but too prolix to be here inſerted. It ſets forth the brutality of the Eccleſiaſtical perſecutors, and confirms the character which Eraſmus gives to Hulſt, the Carmelite and the Inquiſitor, that *he deſerved to be hanged.* This letter of Grapheus is dated 1552: but it is a fault of the preſs, and ſhould be, I ſuppoſe, 1522.

[l] Eraſm. Ep. 1267.

" affairs of Grapheus were in a better condition." — *G. Brandt*, Vol. I. p. 42. A. D. 1534.

A. D. MDXXXV. Ætat. LXVIII.

There is a remarkable Epiſtle, aſcribed to Eraſmus, and dated this year, which, as Le Clerc obſerves, is ſpurious in all probability. However, it ſets forth that Cardinal Matthæus was returned to Germany; that Eraſmus wrote to a friend, who was one of the Cardinal's domeſtics, to know whether any ſchemes of pacification were carried on at Rome; that the Cardinal, hearing this letter read, ſent Eraſmus a preſent of a gold cup elegantly wrought, which he happened to be ſhewing to ſome company at that time; and ordered his Domeſtic to inform Eraſmus, that Paul III (who had ſucceeded Clemens VII in the year 1534) had promiſed to call a Council, with a view to appeaſe the religious quarrels. This Eraſmus writes to Petrus Curſius, Profeſſor of Rhetoric at Rome, to ſhew him that the Cardinals and other great men were far from deſpiſing him. A. D. 1535.

This Curſius had railed at Rome againſt Eraſmus, for having ſaid, under the proverb *Myconius calvus*, that it was an ironical expreſſion, juſt as if you ſhould ſay, *Learned as a Scythian, Honeſt as a Carthaginian, Warlike as an Italian*; *Italum bellacem*. Hereupon Curſius made a Declamation, to extol the valour of the Italians, and to depreſs that of the Germans. Eraſmus anſwers in this epiſtle, that it was a mere fault of the preſs; that he had written *Attalum bellacem*, and that it ſhould be thus corrected in the next edition of his Proverbs. He adds, that [m] one of the work-men

[m] Nuper enim cum inter imprimendum excuſores aliquot conqueſti fuiſſent me ſibi xenia nondum perſolviſſe, exortus eſt inter eos quidam cæteris vinolentior, qui profiteretur ſe pœnas a me exacturum, ni darem: atque id profecto veterator tam egregie effecit, ut aureis nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluiſſem. Cum enim in *Vidua* mea, quam Sereniſſimæ Hungariæ Reginæ

A. D. 1535. work-men at the preſs, vexed that Eraſmus would not give him money, had revenged himſelf moſt maliciouſly, and, by a ſmall alteration of a word in the text of his *Vidua Chriſtiana*, had made him utter a groſs [a] obſcenity.

But by the Defence which Eraſmus drew up againſt Curſius, at the end of the Tome of his Apologies, it appears that the letter, of which we are ſpeaking, muſt be a forgery: for Eraſmus there defends himſelf in a quite different manner. He doth not change *Italum* into *Attalum*, but he ſays that he took the word [b] *bellax* in a bad ſenſe, not for a man of valour, but for one who had the luſt and the rage of fighting; and accordingly the word *Italum* was not altered. This is his defence; and, to ſay the truth, it is an excuſe, which could hardly appear ſatisfactory to an Italian. The letter to Curſius was not in Froben's Edition, but was inſerted in that of London: and perhaps this is the very letter which Eraſmus diſclaims, and denies to be his, in the above-mentioned [p] Apology.

Eraſmus.

ginæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cujuſdam ſanctiſſimæ fœminæ, inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba ſubjunxi: *Atque mente illa uſam eam ſemper fuiſſe, quæ talem fœminam deceret.* Unde ſceleſtus ille animadvertens ſibi vindictæ occaſionem oblatam eſſe, ex *mente illa*, *mentula* fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impreſſa. Ep. 1276.

[a] Bayle makes mention of a typographical blunder, in citing a paſſage of Scripture, which makes a ſenſe horribly profane. ECCHELLENSIS, Not. E.

[b] *Thus he alſo ſays*, Ep. 1279:

Hoc interpretantur, quaſi notarim Italos quod ſint imbelles, quum his verbis Italia laudata ſit, non vituperata. *Edere*, *bibere*, *loqui*, verba ſunt media: *edacem*, *bibacem*, ac *loquacem* eſſe, ſonant in vitium. Ita *bellacem* eſſe, non eſt laudis, ſed vituperii.

[p] Finxerunt prolixam epiſtolam veſut a me ſcriptam ad Petrum Curſium, plenam ſcurrilibus ineptiis: eamque multis exemplaribus per urbem ſparſerunt, affingentes id ita me fieri juſſiſſe: imitati ſunt manum meam, atque etiam phraſim. In ea faciunt Eraſmum hoc ſuppliciter agentem cum Curſio, ut premat ſuam apologiam, me proxima editione caſtigaturum ea quibus offenditur. Tom. X. c. 1756.

Eraſmus ſeems to have ſeen this forged letter, or to have heard an account of it, and [q] complains of it as of a piece of ſcurrilous impudence in *Ep.* 1279. A. D. 1535.

The writer of this letter, ſays Le Clerc, hath imitated the ſtyle of Eraſmus well enough. I am of a different opinion, and think that the ſtyle is laboured and affected, and by no means the ſtyle of Eraſmus. Bayle takes it for granted that this letter is genuine, and that the ridiculous ſtory contained in it is true. HONGRIE (MARIE REINE DE) Not. H. So doth Heumannus. *Parerg. Critic.* p. 56.

In the *Vidua Chriſtiana* of Eraſmus, there is no ſuch paſſage to be found as, *Atque mente illa uſam eam*, &c. or any thing that looks like it.

In Ep. 1277, he complains of ſome young men, who had publiſhed ſcurrilous libels againſt him in favour of Ciceronianiſm, and amongſt others of Doletus and Julius Scaliger.

Petrus Tomicius, Biſhop of Cracow, had ſent him a preſent of thirty ducats, for which he thanks this Prelate. He laments his death ſoon afterwards in a letter to Critius, Archbiſhop of Gneſna. Ep. 1277, 1278, 1293.

Bembus congratulates him upon the high regard which the Pope had for him, and hopes that it would end in great preferment, meaning probably a [r] Cardinal's Hat; for the words of Bembus are ſo [s] expreſſive, that they can hardly denote any thing leſs. The enemies of Eraſmus have affirmed, that the Court of Rome never deſigned him ſuch a favour: Eraſmus hath affirmed the contrary. So it comes to, *Utri creditis, Quirites?* Ep. 1282.

He

[q] Romæ ſparſerunt epiſtolam, quaſi a me ſcriptam, plenam jocis ſcurrilibus.

[r] De Eraſmo in Collegium Cardinalium cooptando actum fuerat. *B. Rhenanus* Vit. Eraſmi.

[s] Itaque, modo recte valeas, neque te imbecillitas impediat tua, mihi ſpes eſt te ab eo omnia ſumma honoris et dignitatis inſignia brevi conſecuturum.

A. D. 1535. He wrote to Paul III, ſoon after his promotion to the Pontificate, and Paul returned him a very civil anſwer, thanking him for his prudent and moderate counſels, and exhorting him to defend the Catholic faith. Ep. 1280.

[t] Paul was accounted by ſome people to have been not inferior in wickedneſs and debauchery to Pope Alexander VI. His ſucceſſor [u] Julius III was a Pontif of the ſame ſtamp. The infamous lives of theſe Popes contributed doubtleſs very much to the increaſe of Proteſtantiſm. Thuanus ſays that Paul was a man of prudence and of erudition.

Eraſmus received a letter from Barth. Latomus, which could not fail to give him ſome pleaſure, as it informed him that his old calumniator [x] Bedda had been obliged in France to do public penance for his ſaucy behaviour and his ſeditious diſcourſes.

He claims Longolius as a [y] Dutchman, and an honour to that nation.

This

[t] See Sleidan L. XXI. p. 616. L. XIX. 547. Perizonius, p. 400, 401. Seckendorf L. III. p. 74. Thuanus L. IV. p. 130, 131. L. VI. p. 178, 181. L. XV. p. 458.

Vir fuit prudentiæ ſummæ ac moderationis, adhæc raræ, ut erant illa tempora, in quæ juventus illius incidit, eruditionis; ſed, &c. Mortuo plurima etiam editis libris et per Italiam ſparſis vitio criminoſe data. — Quæ ſive vera, ſive propter odium a pleriſque credita, magnum mortuo ac familiæ dedecus in Italia, longe vero maximum ſedi Romanæ apud Germanos et Anglos ad offenſionem proniores infamiam peperere. *Thuanus.*

[u] Bayle JULES III.

[x] Bedda tuus fecit *amendam*, ut vocant, *honorabilem*, cum hac confeſſione, quod contra veritatem et Regem locutus eſſet, quæ verba ante ædem Divæ Virginis magno populi concurſu præeunte præcone palam pronunciavit; ne forte Lutheranum illum fuiſſe putes. Sed tamen detinetur adhuc in carcere, detrudendus in Monaſterium aliquod, ut ferunt, ubi et quando Regi viſum fuerit. Ep. 1283.

[y] Longolium hinc Galliæ ſibi vendicant, hinc Mechlinia ſibi aſſerit, quum revera fuerit purus putus Hollandus, prognatus e patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiæ, cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit, Schoonhovia. Hic ne quis mihi protinus obſtrepat, quod dico patruus ipſius Petrus Longolius vir apprime doctus mihi narravit. Non arbitratus ſum committendum ut hoc decoris Hollandiæ præriperetur: et ipſius

Longolii

This year he printed his *Ecclesiastes*, or a Treatise on the manner of preaching, which is in the Vth Tome, and is dedicated to Christ. Stadius, the Bishop of Augsburg. As this book was in the press at Basil, Erasmus went thither to take care of the edition, and also to try whether he could * recover his lost health; and he returned no more to Friburg. In his dedicatory letter to the A. D. 1535.

Longolii gloriam illustrat, quod in ea regione natus, tantus evaserit. Ep. 1284.

* Friburgi Universitas est, ut vocant, cum primis celebris, et omni studiorum genere satis florens; nec illibenter vivebam in ditione Regis Ferdinandi, cujus haud vulgarem in me favorem multis argumentis sum expertus. Sed ejus loci coelum mihi semper visum est meo corpusculo parum amicum, atque ipsa etiam domus, quamvis elegans, nonnihil suspecta fuit. Hic aliquanto minus male habeo: nam bene habendi spes omnis ademta est, in hac quidem vita. Siquidem a puero fui delicati corpusculi, rariſſimæque, ut medici loquuntur, texturæ, eoque coeli injuria facilius offendebar: sed vigor ætatis partim negligebat, partim vincebat hæc incommoda. Nunc posteaquam non labores tantum, sed multo magis tot lethales calculorum nixus, et his succedentes articulorum diri cruciatus, absumto corpore præter cutem et ossa nihil reliquerunt, consentaneum est ut indies corpusculo magis ac magis attenuato, facilius offendar aurae incommodis. Sic plane fio coelestis, ut ad omnem coeli habitum pejus aut commodius habeam: sed levius feruntur mala, quae non possint esse diuturna. Ep. 1287.

Articularis morbus, quo Friburgi conflictatus ante fuerat, sic hominem loco sub autumnum rursus afflixit, ut hunc raro sit egressus, cubiculum semel tantum. Et tamen in tantis membrorum cruciatibus, si quando vel minimum conquievissent, nunquam scribere destitit. Testis est Commentariolus De Puritate Ecclesiae, et haec Origenis recognitio. *B. Rhenanus* Præf. ad *Origenem*.

Erasmo Basileam reduci, et vitæ ibidem cataſtrophen exspectaturo, vinum honorarium officii causa offerebat Joannes Oporinus. In mutuum complexum postquam venissent, et dextras junxissent, Erasmi manum Oporinus durius compressit. Ille, ut erat chiragricus, graviter se laedi exclamat. Sive serio sive joco hoc ab Erasmo factum, Oporinum constat attonitum obmutuisse. Id animadvertens Erasmus, amice compellat, vinum infundi jubet, et ut animum recipiat hortatur. Consedit cum suo comitatu, qui ob Erasmi adventum frequens erat, Oporinus; et semel atque iterum in orbem redeunte poculo, ad se quoque reversus, docta et gravi oratione, atque Erasmo ipso digna, Erasmum excepit. Digressi sunt non absque mutui amoris fomite, quo veræ benevolentiæ sanctæ cultæ igniculos semper aluerunt. *Melch. Adam* Vit. *Oporini*.

Thuanus gives a good character to Oporinus, L. XLIII. p. 528.

A. D. 1535. Biſhop, he [a] deplores the death of his Engliſh friends, particularly of Fiſher and More.

In many places Eraſmus highly commends Sigiſmundus Gelenius, who was Corrector of Froben's preſs. His uncommon erudition, ſays he, and the probity and ſincerity of his manners render him worthy of a much better fortune. And yet I dare not wiſh that he were rich. Why ſo? you will ſay. Leſt it ſhould make him indolent, and leſs active in advancing the cauſe of literature. Poverty is a great ſpur to induſtry.

This may be true: but when a learned and a modeſt man hath long drudged in occupations which are really beneath him, and hath ſhewed evident marks of his attachment to literature, of his zeal to ſerve the public, and of his capacity of doing greater things, if he were more at his eaſe, and at liberty to chuſe ſuch works as beſt ſuited his abilities, he is ſurely worthy of ſome recompenſe; and it is a ſcandalous thing when ſuch favours are only beſtowed upon people, who procure them by ſolliciting, by flattering, &c. Ep. 1284, 1292.

Eraſmus at this time was very uneaſy on account of the news, which had reached him concerning the impriſonment and death of Fiſher, and of More, and other troubles in England. My ſurviving

[a] Quando Præſul Roffenſis mihi infelici fato ademtus eſt, viſum eſt hoc, quicquid eſt laboris, felicibus tui nominis auſpiciis in manus hominum emittere. — Quid igitur hac tempeſtate crudelius, quæ me tot ſpectatiſſimis amicis ſpoliavit? Pridem Guilhelmo Waramo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, nuper Guilhelmo Montjoio, Epiſcopo Roffenſi, et Thoma Moro, qui fuit ejus regni ſupremus Judex, cui pectus erat omni nive candidius, ingenium quale Anglia nec habuit unquam, nec habitura eſt, alioqui nequaquam infelicium ingeniorum parens. In tanta calamitate duæ mihi res præcipue dolorem leniunt. Primum, dum cogito nos brevi felicius apud Chriſtum jungendos eſſe: deinde, dum reputo quam inſignem amicorum chorum mihi dederit Auguſta Vindelicorum, cujus Tu ut primus es, ita longe ſinceriſſimus, niſi quod tecum paria facere tendit magnus ille Joannes Paungartnerus, cui proximus eſt Antonius Fuggerus, benigniſſimus ſtudiorum altor. Hic eſt funiculus triplex, quem Solomon negat facile rumpi: ſed is fit firmior acceſſione Joannis Choleri, &c.

ſurviving friends, ſays he, who uſed to write me letters and ſend me preſents, now neither write nor ſend, becauſe they are afraid. Ep. 1217, 1284, 1286. A. D. 1535.

He ſays alſo, that having, by the advice of Lud. Berus, written to Paul III, the Pope, before he had unſealed his letter, had ſpoken of him in a moſt honourable manner. He had reſolved to add to the College of the Cardinals ſome learned men, of whom he might make uſe in the General Council which was to be called: and [b] I, ſays Eraſmus, was propoſed to be one. But to my promotion it was objected, that my bad ſtate of health would make me unfit for that function, and that my income

[b] The Biſhop of Rome, to ſtrengthen the See of Rome againſt the Lutherians, made dyvers learned men Cardinals about this time, as Contarenus, Reginald Poole, John Bellay, Frideric Frigoſe, and ſhortly after Sadolete, Aleander, Bembus, and once appointed upon Eraſmus: ſome talk he preferred theſe learned men, becauſe he was very ill talked of for his two young nephews which he made Cardinals in 1534. *Cooper's Chronicle. Knight*, p. 324.

Paulus III, initio ſui Pontificatus, in Cardinalium numerum allegerat ſuos nepotes: cum autem hoc nomine minus bene audiret, alios quoſdam nobilitate ac doctrina præſtantes viros hoc etiam eſt honore dignatus, partim ut invidiam et offenſionem leniret, partim ut idoneos haberet propugnatores, qui ſcriptis et eloquentia valerent. In his erat Caſpar Contarenus, Reginaldus Polus, Joannes Bellaius, Fridericus Fregoſius, quibus deinde per intervalla temporis adjunxit Sadoletum, Alexandrum, Bembum. Sed et de Eraſmo cogitavit, ut quidem in epiſtola quadam ad amicum Eraſmus ipſe refert. Exſtant etiam Sadoleti quædam ad Eraſmum literæ, ubi de Pontificis egregia voluntate multa locutus, fore dicit, et brevi quidem, ut ipſum ad ſummam dignitatem perducat. Contarenus erat Patricius et Senator Venetus, magni nominis, propter doctrinam; et præter omnem exſpectationem dicitur, cum nihil ambiviſſet, ad hunc fuiſſe gradum evectus. *Sleidan* L. XI. p. 298.

Ferunt illi a Pontifice oblatam Cardinalitii ſtatus dignitatem, quam cum recuſaſſet, cum miraculo a cæteris Patribus Eccleſiaſticis exceptum fuiſſe hunc contemptum, vocatumque Eraſmum *ſapientem beſtiam*, qui tantam dignitatem, tamque ſpecioſos et fructuoſos titulos imprudenter reſpueret, quos alii ſummis votis et laboribus ambirent, et quovis pretio ſibi compararent. *Boiſſard* Icon. p. 222.

See alſo Bayle, who ſuppoſes that there was ſuch a deſign, ERASME, Not. N.

A. D. 1535. was not ſufficient: for it is ſaid, that by a Decree of the ſacred College none can be admitted, whoſe annual revenues are leſs than three thouſand ducats. So at preſent they think of loading me with preferments, that I may be qualified for the red hat. This is, as the proverb ſays, [c] *To dreſs a cat in a gown and petticoat.* He declares that his health would not permit him to accept ſuch favours, and that he could ſcarcely ſtir out of his chamber with ſafety; and he refuſed every thing that was offered to him. Indeed he was on all accounts unfit to be a *Cardinal*; a creature which, according to the definition of Guy Patin, is *Animal rubrum, callidum, et rapax; capax et vorax omnium beneficiorum.* A good Commentary might be made upon this Text of Guy Patin, which (excepting the *rubrum)* is applicable to other people beſides Cardinals. But in this caſe the fault, I think, is as much in the *Feeder*, as in the *Eater*.

The Pope had [d] appointed him, as he ſays, Provoſt of the College of Canons at [e] Deventer: but he declares that he would have nothing to do with preferments; and that, as he muſt ſoon die, he would not now take a burden that he had refuſed all his life long. Ep. 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1291.

The Cardinals above-mentioned, together with ſome eminent Prelates, of whom Aleander was one, were employed by Paul III, in 1537, to draw a plan for a [f] reformation of abuſes in the Court and in the Church of Rome. The Lutherans treated with the utmoſt ſcorn this farce of a half-reformation, which at laſt came to nothing.

We

[c] Feli, aiunt, crocoton.

Quoſdam novi, qui in extremo vitæ magnis impendiis redemerunt galerum cardinalicium, ut in ſepulcro titulus adſcriberetur. *Adag.* c. 1146, A.

[d] See B. Rhenanus, *Vit. Eraſm.*

[e] Præpoſitura —— quæ ſexcentorum aureorum reditum tribuere dicebatur. *Melch. Adam.*

[f] See Sleidan L. XII. p. 303. Seckendorf L. III. p. 163, &c. Relat. Gotting. V. III. Faſc. II. p. 372. Amœn. Literariæ, Tom. VII. p. 263, &c. F. Paul, B. I. §. 56, 57. p. 135.

We have ſpoken of it under the year 1522, and of the cenſures which theſe Reformers paſſed on the Colloquies of poor Eraſmus: upon which Luther ſaid; Hath Eraſmus alſo fallen under your correction? I wiſh he were alive: he would give you ſuch an anſwer as ſuch infamous wretches deſerve, and expoſe your pious grimaces to ſome purpoſe. A. D. 1535.

Eraſmus, as he had falſely aſcribed to Aleander, whom he could not endure, the book of J. C. Scaliger, was miſtaken in aſcribing to him alſo a [g] book of [h] Doletus in favour of Ciceronianiſm. Ep. 1288.

Doletus, a printer at Lions, was burnt at Paris, in [i] 1546, for Atheiſm or Lutheraniſm, aged about 39. He had applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the Latin tongue, but never acquired a very good ſtyle: of the Greek language he ſeems to have had little knowledge. A proper man, no doubt, to vindicate Cicero, and to cenſure the compoſitions of Eraſmus! He hath been accuſed of plagiariſm by ſome, and defended by others. His proſe is tolerable; his verſes, of which he voided a conſiderable quantity, are deteſtable; and one may apply to this Ciceronian thoſe lines of Martial:

Carmina quod ſcribis Muſis et Apolline nullo,
Laudari debes; hoc Ciceronis *habes.*

Gruter inſerted the Latin poems of Doletus amongſt his *Deliciæ*, &c. But this learned man was himſelf a wretched verſifier, and underſtood poetry as much as a Hottentot.

Julius

[g] Doleti Dialogus de imitatione Ciceroniana pro Chriſtophoro Longolio contra Eraſmum, apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 4to, 1535 et 1536. *Maittaire* II. 568. III. 18.

[h] Bayle DOLET. Baillet I. p. 372. II. 651. III. 109. IV. 379, and the notes of La Monnoye. Gallandius Vit. Caſtellani, p. 62, 63. Baluzius, p. 157. Scaligeran. p. 127. Geſner's Theſaurus. Diſſert. de Lexicis. Maittaire III. 9, &c.

[i] Others ſay A. 1545, aged 36.

A. D. 1535. Julius Scaliger hath repreſented Doletus as the moſt contemptible and execrable of all writers, and as a moſt profligate Atheiſt. In Bayle's opinion, Scaliger fell into this fit of railing, becauſe Doletus had preſumed to write for Ciceronianiſm, and againſt Eraſmus, after he himſelf had undertaken the cauſe and exhauſted the ſubject. Scaliger alſo thought that Doletus had pillaged his divine Orations, and had ſtolen bright hints and pretty thoughts out of that treaſure.

Gallandius, in his elegant Life of Caſtellanus, having remarked that his friend Caſtellanus was for obſerving a due medium between cruelty and lenity towards heretics, ſays, that he delivered poor Doletus from priſon, by his intereſt with Francis I; and that a Cardinal (probably the Cardinal of Lorraine) cenſured him for it, and called him a patron not only of Lutherans, but of Atheiſts. To this accuſation Caſtellanus, who was a man of ſpirit, made a warm reply [k].

Baluzius,

[k] Doletum non atheiſmi, in quem relapſus ſit, ſed Lutheraniſmi crimine damnatum, ſuſpenſum, combuſtum eſſe, probare ſtudet auctor. [Utrum partibus, quæ hic contendunt, ſit honorificentius, non dixerim: multa Chriſtiano certe homine indigna in (Doleti) Latinæ linguæ Commentariis, præſertim in digreſſionibus illis, quarum index eſt in fronte Tomi II, leguntur. Non bene ſibi ominatum hominem, apparet ex precatione illa, [*It is cited by Maittaire* III. 101.] quam intexuit To. II. p. 1328, quamque ob ſummam libri raritatem huc repetere non piget:

" Superi, rerum omnium præpoten-
" tes Superi, hanc mihi unam, hanc
" unam largimini felicitatem, ut mea
" nunquam exiſtimatio, mea nunquam
" ſalus, mea nunquam vita (fortunæ
" bona, ut caduca et inania, curis
" veſtris digna non cenſeo, neque vos
" pro iis prece ulla velim obtundere) ex
" judicum pendeat ſententiis. Bonis
" omnibus abundaſſe, felicitate omni
" cumulatus, voluptate omni in vita
" colliquiſſe mihi ſane quidem videbor,
" ſi hoc precibus a vobis aſſequor."

An ita precatur homo ſanus, et non male ſibi conſcius, et Chriſtianus?] *Remarques ſur Bayle*, in the *Relat. Gotting.* Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 101.

The moſt charitable thing that can be ſaid for the author of ſuch a *prayer* is, that he was *mad:* and probably it was the truth of the caſe. Perpetual application to ſtudy, continual quarrels, violent paſſions, poverty, a ſeries of calamities,

Baluzius, in his notes on Gallandius, affirms that Doletus was burnt, not for atheiſm, but for Lutheraniſm. Beza probably thought the ſame, elſe he would hardly have honoured him with a civil and pompous epitaph. He was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt. A. D. 1535.

His Commentaries on the Latin tongue were ſold, at Bridges' auction, for nine guineas.

[1] Melanchthon warmly cenſures the book of Doletus againſt Eraſmus.

" Maittaire, in his *Annales Typographici*, hath collected many " things concerning the perſon and the works of Doletus, who " was ſkilled in the Latin language, but very conceited, and " very cenſorious. He was a Ciceronian, or one of thoſe who " pretended that Cicero was to be cloſely imitated by writers " of Latin: yet Doletus was for joining Cæſar to Cicero, as a " model for ſtyle. Againſt theſe men Eraſmus wrote his *Cice-* " *ronianus*, a work abounding with wit and good ſenſe. Julius " Scaliger, one of the above-mentioned pedants, wrote againſt " Eraſmus; and Doletus did the ſame, which drew upon him " the indignation of Scaliger, who treated his proſe and his verſe " with the utmoſt ſcorn. Doletus, who by nature was nothing " leſs than long-ſuffering, paid him in kind, and alſo railed " plentifully againſt him in converſation, as Maittaire ſhews. " Quarrelſome and ſcurrilous, he drew upon himſelf a multitude " of enemies, and offended the Parliament of Toulouſe, which " put him in priſon, whence however he was diſmiſſed. Many " particularities relating to theſe tranſactions are collected by " this Author, who alſo gives us ſeveral fragments of his works.

" At

calamities, and infinite pride and vanity, had ſowered his temper, heated his blood, and ſhattered his brains. Pride alone hath turned many a man's head, without the other aſſiſtants.

[1] Vidiſtine Doleti petulantiſſimum ſcriptum contra Eraſmum? Curavi ut reſpondeatur. A. 1535. Ep. XLII. p. 91.

A. D. 1535. "At length he was burnt at Paris; ſome ſay, for making profeſſion of atheiſm; others, for Lutheraniſm or Calviniſm. But "it is hard, as Maittaire hath ſhewed, to prove that he was an "Atheiſt. He uſed to ſpeak with great contempt of Eraſmus, "as of a writer, whoſe works could not poſſibly deſcend to "poſterity: and as for his own, they were, in his opinion, ſecure "of immortality. He was quite miſtaken both ways. The "works of Doletus, never being printed a ſecond time, are "become ſo ſcarce, that few perſons have ever ſeen them: the "works of Eraſmus are to be found in all places, and are ſtill "read, and read with pleaſure.

"Yet his Commentaries on the Latin tongue might deſerve "the favour of being reprinted. They are a kind of Dictionary "of that language, not diſpoſed according to the letters of the "alphabet, but ranged under diverſe heads and common-places." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. & M. XXV. p. 74.

Calvin [m] hath repreſented Doletus as a man of no religion. Maittaire hath given us a copious account of him, and alſo large extracts from his proſe, and abundance of his verſes, which, if they entertain the Reader, it muſt be, not with their beauty, but with their deformity. And indeed poems may be ſo extravagantly and execrably bad, as to become diverting; like a Monkey, whoſe uglineſs is his merit. Here are two, which for [illegible], effrontery, hobbling and unmuſical numbers, falſe quantities, falſe measure,

[m] Agrippam, Villanovanum, Doletum, et ſimiles vulgo notum eſt tanquam Cyclopas quoſpiam Evangelium ſemper faſtuoſe ſpreviſſe. Tandem eo prolapſi ſunt amentiæ et furoris, ut non modo in Filium Dei exſecrabiles blaſphemias evomerent, ſed quantum ad animæ vitam attinet, nihil a canibus et porcis putarent ſe differre. Alii, ut Rabelæſus, Deperius, et Goveanus, guſtato Evangelio, eadem [illegible] ſunt percuſſi. Cur iſtud? [illegible] ſacrum illud vitæ æternæ pignus [illegible] ludendi aut ridendi audaci[illegible] profanarant. *Calvinus.*

Goveanus fuit doctus Lut[illegible] vinus vocat illum atheum, [illegible] fuerit: debebat illum melius nouſſe *ligeran.*

Bayle GOVEA, Not. H.

meaſure, and nonſenſe, are incomparable. The [n] firſt he had the aſſurance to addreſs to Hieronymus Vida: the [o] other is to Salmonius Macrinus. A. D. 1535.

Maittaire hath alſo inſerted ſome poems in praiſe of Doletus, written by Salmonius Macrinus, Nicolaus Borbonius, and others. But Maittaire did not ſuſpect, what moſt readers will diſcern, that theſe Poets bantered Doletus, and that their extravagant praiſes were ironical. Buchanan did him juſtice, when he ſaid;

Carmina quod ſenſu careant; mirare, Doleti,
Quando qui ſcripſit carmina, mente caret?

Erafmus, ſoon after his return to Baſil, ſold the houſe which he had purchaſed at Friburg, where he had never enjoyed his health. Froben's heirs were ſo glad to have him again at Baſil, that they had built a chamber on purpoſe to accommodate him. Ep. 1289.

[n] Colluſimus, quæ ſi Criticus putat
Jejuna, componat Criticus vera
Exempta Criticis: mihi ipſe
Concino, non Criticis probanda.

Quod ſi Heſperæ oræ me minus audient,
Nec me ſcient vatem Auſoniæ ſcholæ,
Teſtabitur tamen poëtam
Gallia chara ſuum Doletum.

[o] Nullum negaverunt mihi verſus genus
Muſæ. Fundo Elegos tam facile,
Quam quiſquam alius: Heroico bombo, ſi libet,
Diſtendo guttur feliciter:
Sapphon ſui cantus genere laceſſere
Poſſim, æquareque ſperem: denique
Nullum negaverunt mihi verſus genus
Muſæ: ſed Iambicum placet
Plus cæteris verſus generibus mihi,
Quod ſenſa animi plurimo
Splendore verborum efferat pulchre foras,
Nec eloquium noſtrum impediat.

A.D. 1535. There is a letter this year, under the name of *Nucerinus*, giving an elegant and pathetic account of the [p] death of More, and of Fiſher, which hath been commonly aſcribed to Eraſmus. Ep. 378. c. 1763.

He ſays of More; I wiſh he had never meddled with that dangerous affair, (of the Divorce, I ſuppoſe, and the Supremacy) and had left Theological points to thoſe who are of the Theological order. In the ſame Epiſtle he obſerves how the [q] Anabaptiſts ſwarmed in Germany: and he ſpeaks very coldly of his *Eccleſiaſtes*, and owns that he never was much [r] pleaſed with that performance.

In

[p] In Maittaire's *Annales* we find;

Eraſmi Carmen in Martyrium Roſſenſis Epiſcopi et Thomæ Mori, 4to, 1536. Bibliothec. Carlſonian. p. 158. *Ann. Typ.* II. p. 855.

There is no ſuch poem to be found in the Editions of the works of Eraſmus; and no ſuch poem, I dare ſay, was ever compoſed by him. He was not in a verſifying humour at this time.

[q] Tota inferior Germania mire infecta eſt a Retinctis; in ſuperiore diſſimulantur. Turmatim huc affluunt; quidam Italiam petunt. — Non arbitror Galliam ab hac colluvie eſſe liberam: ſed muſſant iſthic formidine fuſtis. Ep. 1286.

Oppidum Weſtphaliæ *Monaſterium*, quod occuparant Retincti, vi expugnatum eſt, animadverſum in omnes qui duodecimum exceſſerant annum. Ea lues nonnihil compreſſa eſt verius quam extincta. Ex Hollandia Anabaptiſtæ turmatim in has regiones affluunt, nec diſſimulant ſuam profeſſionem; ferantur, ac diſſimulantur, ſi nihil moveant tumultus. — Multorum ſententia non minus operæ pretium feciſſet (Cæſar) ſi Germaniam inferiorem ab iſtis peſtibus defendiſſet, quam expugnando *Guletam*. Neque enim res jam intra λογομαχίας conſiſtit, ſed ferro et ſanguine graſſantur Δόλοφοι, inſidiis, dolis, ac vi civitates occupant, cæde ac violentia invitos ad ſuam ſectam adigunt, creant novos reges ac reginas, condunt novas leges pro ſua libidine. Ep. 1287.

See above, p. 355, &c.

[r] Prodit *Concionator* meus, utinam bonis avibus: nam mihi quidem hoc argumentum nunquam arriſit. Feſtivum eſt quod adfers de puellis, quæ joco nonnunquam recipiunt, quod cum dolore coguntur reddere; optaſque ut ſæpius ad eum jocer modum. Verum, *illud* quoque nonnunquam evenit puellis, ut quod per luſum receperunt abortu cogantur rejicere, aut in ipſo partu emori. Quorum poſterius metuebam, prius illud evenit. Ep. 1286.

See alſo Ep. 1287.

In Ep. 1292, he tells us that he did not underſtand the Italian language. A. D. 1535.

* This year an edition of Livy was publiſhed at Baſil, with a preface of Eraſmus.

A. D. MDXXXVI. Ætat. LXIX.

We are now come to the laſt year of the life of Eraſmus, who this winter publiſhed his Commentary on the fourteenth Pſalm, which he intitled, *Of the purity of the Chriſtian Church.* It is in the fifth Tome of his works; and it conſiſts of allegorical interpretations, and moral reflections upon the text. He alſo republiſhed his Letters, adding ſeveral which he had received from Popes, from the Emperor, from Kings and Princes, and men of high ſtations, to let the world ſee that, though deſpiſed by ſome and inſulted by others, he had enjoyed the approbation and the eſteem of the Great: A. D. 1536.

Cum magnis vixiſſe invita fatebitur uſque
Invidia.

He ſays that for ſome time paſt he had neglected to preſerve copies of his own letters, becauſe they were ſo numerous that his *Amanuenſes* were not able to tranſcribe them. Many were found after his death, and were retrieved whilſt the Leyden Edition of his works was carried on. It were to be wiſhed that he had taken the pains himſelf to range his Epiſtles in a proper order.

He complains that, whilſt he was reviſing them, he had found that within the ſpace of ten years many of his beſt friends and old correſpondents were dead; which made him meditate on the ſhortneſs and uncertainty of human life. Ep. 1295.

* Baſileenſis editio eximia, cum Sigiſmundi Gelenii et Beati Rhenani notis, atque Eraſmi præfatione, A. 1535, fol. apud Frobenium. *Fabricius* Bibl. Lat. Tom. I. p. 196.

A. D. 1536. He ſays that Petrus Tomicius, Biſhop of Cracow, was dead in Poland, and Zaſius at Friburg, and that all his Engliſh friends were either dead, or in a manner dead to him, through fear of correſponding with him in thoſe dangerous times. Dangerous indeed: for in 1535 Fiſher and More were executed, the Monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, and many Papiſts and Proteſtants ſuffered together; and in 1536 Anne Bulleyn and her brother the Lord Rochford were put to death, the King's marriage with her was annulled, the Engliſh nation abounded with diſcontented people, and inſurrections and rebellions enſued.

The later times of Henry VIII may be compared well enough with thoſe of the Emperor Conſtantius, who, as Ammianus Marcellinus obſerves, was cruel towards all, who, truly or falſely, were charged with treaſon. Any accuſation, (ſays this Hiſtorian) how ſlight ſoever, ſerved to ruin a man; and his ſubjects were ſo far from daring to tell their dreams, leſt they ſhould have a treaſonable interpretation put upon them, that they durſt not own that they ever ſlept.

They, ſays Eraſmus, who paid me penſions, now excuſe themſelves: but yet Thomas Cromwell, the King's Secretary, and the perſon who is moſt in his favour, hath ſent me, I know not why, twenty angels, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (t Cranmer) eighteen, and the Biſhop of Lincoln fifteen; but none of them have ſent me a letter. This he ſays to Gilbertus u Cognatus (Couſin) who had been his ſervant and Amanuenſis, and was then a Canon, in ſome place of Franche-Comté.

Eraſmus boaſts that, amongſt other benefits which he had conferred upon Cognatus, he had taken care to preſerve him from the infection of the Lutherans and the Reformed. "I know not, ſays

t Boiſſard Icon. p. 127. Burnet Hiſt. of the Ref. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

u Bayle Dict. Cousin. Act. Erudit. XLIII. 146. Maittaire II. 357.

ſays Bayle, what might be the ſentiments of Cognatus during the life of his friend Eraſmus; but I dare ſay that afterwards he was either a Proteſtant, or a favourer of Proteſtantiſm. Bayle gives us no reaſons for his opinion: but I find in [x] Baluzius, that the poor man fell under the Pope's indignation, and died in a jail, for hereſy. A. D. 1536.

[y] The *Adages* of Cognatus give us great cauſe to ſuſpect him of Proteſtantiſm. See, amongſt the reſt, the chapter intitled, *Magis phantaſticus quam Papæ mula.*

This year Hermanus, Archbiſhop of Cologn, held a Council for reforming the Church in his dominions. Afterwards he became a Proteſtant. Eraſmus [z] wrote a letter of compliments to him, and received from him a courteous anſwer, in the year 1528. Ep. 945, 959.

See an account of this illuſtrious Prelate in Bayle, WIDA (HERMAN DE.)

Seckendorf [a] hath given us an account of a woman, who was ſaid to be poſſeſſed with a Devil, and of Luther's ſentiments upon it, A. 1536.

Damianus

[x] Notari quoque meretur — Pii V Breve adverſus Gilbertum Cognatum, Eraſmi quondam librarium, et ob hæreſin in carcerem detruſum, in eoque mortuum. *Act. Erudit.*

[y] Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 3100. *Rem. Crit.*

[z] [illegible]. 442.

[a] Ancilla quædam, Lebuſii prope Francofurtum ad Viadrum nata, Gertrudis Fiſcheria, a Dæmone mire vexata fuit, ut, illo ſuggerente, numiſmatibus, quoties vellet, manum replere poſſet, dein illa manducaret et devoraret, idque toto menſe faceret; poſtea enim acicu-las deglutivit. Promiſerat ei Satan, ſe tantam pecuniæ copiam illi daturum eſſe, ut, quod in proverbio dicitur, comedere illam poſſet. Sexcenties id ſe vidiſſe cum plurimis ſive univerſis, ut ſcribit, aliis, teſtatur Jodocus Willichius, Profeſſor Francofurtenſis, in Commentariolo in prophetam Jonam anno 1549 ſcripto, quo tempore Gertrudin illam adhuc Francofurti vivere et famulari aſſeverat. Accitus eſt a ſuperſtitionis veteris tenacibus ſacerdos Romanenſis, ut exorciſmis liberaret miſeram, ſed fruſtra fuit: poſt multas deinde deliberationes relatum eſt ad Lutherum negotium, qui ſententiam

A. D. 1536. Damianus [b] à Goes tells Eraſmus, that, if he outlived him, he ſhould be glad to print his works at his own expenſe, and to write his life. Ep. 381. c. 1771.

The [c] *Colloquies* had been prohibited at Dole, by the credit of two Franciſcans, as Eraſmus tells Franciſcus Bonvalot, to whom he was obliged for a preſent of wine. Ep. 1297.

At

ſententiam ſuam hac epiſtola Eberto aperuit:

" Multis videntur incredibilia, quæ " tu ſcribis, mi Andrea, et, antequam " tu ſcriberes, cum hic narrarentur, " ipſe quoque putabam me audire jo- " cum quendam aut fabulam. Sed ſi " ita res habet, uti tu ſcribis, arbitror " oſtentum eſſe, quo Deus permittat " Satanam oſtendere figuram et ima- " ginem quorundam Principum, qui " rapiant et vorent undecunque opes, " et tamen nihil proficiant. Cum ergo " jocularis ſit iſte Spiritus, et otio ſuo " ſecuritatem noſtram rideat, nobis pri- " mo ſerio pro puella eſt orandum, " quæ propter nos cogitur iſta pati. " Deinde ipſe Spiritus viciſſim eſt con- " temnendus et ridendus, nec ullis ex- " orciſmis aut ſeriis tentandus, quia " omnia iſta ridet ſuperbia Diabolica. " Sed perſeveremus in oratione pro " puella, et contemtu in Diabolum, et " tandem, favente Chriſto, ceſſabit. " Etiam bonum eſſet, ſi vitia ſua, quæ " hoc oſtento indicantur, emendarent " Principes, in quibus ille nequam Spi- " ritus ſignificat ſeſe potenter et ſecure " dominari. Rogo te, quandoquidem " res iſta digna eſt evulgari, omnia ve- " lis certiſſime explorare, ne ſubſit ali- " quid doli; et imprimis, an moneta " ſeu nummi iſti ſint veri nummi, et " uſum fori ſuſtineant. Nam ego tot " fucis, dolis, technis, mendaciis, ar- " tibus, hactenus ſum exagitatus, ut " cogar difficilis eſſe ad credendum om- " nia et omnibus, niſi quæ ego ſcio me " facere et dicere. Tanta eſt Diaboli " vis, mundi malitia et hominum con- " fidentia hodie. Quare vide et pro- " ſpice tibi, ne quoque fallare, et ego " per te fallar. Experto crede Ruperto, " ut eſt proverbium."

Ebertus, ad quem ſcribit,—Evangelicam doctrinam Francofurti profitebatur, et ancillam illam in cœtum ſuum adduci fecerat. Numiſmata, quorum certitudinem explorari volebat Lutherus, minutioris monetæ erant, *groſſi* et *nummuli*, *groſchen und pfennige*. Conſilium autem Lutheri ſucceſſum habuit, licet aliquamdiu reniteretur Satanas, et Ebertum, cum Chriſti nomen invocaret, fœdis proſcinderet convitiis. L. III. 136.

[b] Gallæi Imagines.

[c] Demiror Dolæ tantum poſſe duos Franciſcanos. Colloquia et venduntur et excuduntur Lutetiæ, et Dola exſulant. Qui dicunt in illis aliquid eſſe hæreticum, ſive docti ſunt, ſive indocti, mentiuntur.

At this time he was reviſing and printing the works of Origen, A. D. 1536.
and adding a few ſhort notes. But this work did not come forth till after his deceaſe, with a Preface of Beatus Rhenanus, containing a ſmall abridgment of his life.

Eraſmus hath given an account of Origen, and of his works, in Ep. 457. c. 1846. Towards the end of this Epiſtle, he chuſes to call Origen's *Hexapla* rather *Exapla* than *Hexapla*; upon which La Monnoye hath made the following remarks:

" Every one knows the true origin of the word *Hexapla:* " Eraſmus knew it, and yet in his Preface to his edition of " Origen, he chuſeth rather to write it *Exapla*, becauſe, ſays he, " although it ſhould ſeem beſt to ſay Ἑξαπλᾶ, with relation to " the *ſix* columns, yet ſince the firſt letter is not found with an " aſpirate in any manuſcript, it may be better to write Ἐξαπλᾶ, " from ἐξαπλόω, to intimate that the word Ἑξαπλᾶ comes not " from the number of columns, but from this, that the volume, " being unfolded and laid open, preſented the whole at one view " to the reader. To this it is obvious to anſwer, that ἐξαπλᾶ, " for ἐξαπλᾶ, in the manuſcripts, is a fault; and that, if we " argue from the ſignification of ἐξαπλόω, *to unfold*, we may by " parity of reaſon give the name of ἐξαπλᾶ to the *Tetrapla*, *Heptapla*, and *Octapla*, unfolded in the ſame manner before " the eyes of the reader. This notion of Eraſmus hath found " no followers, and the learned Montfaucon hath not even men- " tioned it in his Preliminaries to the *Hexapla* of Origen." *Menagian.* IV. p. 131.

Eraſmus had been ill at Friburg, and he continued ſo at Baſil. Rhenanus and Amerbachius ſay that he intended, from the preceding year, to depart from Baſil to Brabant, as he had promiſed to Mary, Queen of Hungary, who had ſent him long before a ſum of money to defray the charges of the journey. But, from the letters of Eraſmus, it may be queſtioned whether he entertained ſuch a deſign.

In

A. D. 1536. In the ſummer he grew worſe, and the laſt letter which we have of his writing is dated June 28. He ſubſcribes it thus, [d] *Eraſmus Rot. ægra manu.* It is a letter to his old friend Goclenius, who had adviſed him to write to a Lady of the houſe of Naſſau. If you had known exactly, ſays he, the ſtate of my affairs, you would have ſent word to this Lady, that I had been obliged to depart from Friburg, on account of my bad health, with a deſign to go to Bezançon as ſoon as I had finiſhed my *Eccleſiaſtes*, that I might ſtill continue in the Emperor's territories. But my diſeaſe growing worſe, I have been obliged to paſs the winter at Baſil: for although I am here with my beſt friends, and ſuch as I could not have at Friburg, yet becauſe of the difference of religious ſentiments, I could have been glad to end my days elſewhere. I wiſh Brabant were nearer at hand. Ep. 1299.

[e] He was for almoſt a month ill of a dyſentery, and he ſaw plainly that his diſeaſe would prove mortal. He had foreſeen for ſeveral months, that he could not hold out long; and he foretold it again three days, and then two days before his death. Amerbachius, Froben, and Epiſcopius coming in to pay him a viſit, he told them that in them he beheld Job's three friends, and aſked them ſmiling, why they had not rent their clothes, and put aſhes upon their heads. The reſt of his time he conſtantly implored the mercy of almighty God, and of Jeſus Chriſt, without ſpeaking of thoſe minute [f] devotions that he had ſo much derided and blamed in the Monks, and he preſerved his reaſon to

[d] This ſubſcription is omitted in the Leyden Edition; but it is in *Eraſmi Vita et Epiſt.* by Scriverius, 1649, p. 390.

[e] See *Rhenani Dedic. Origenis*, which is in the Firſt Volume of Eraſmus.

Vidiſſes in ſummis cruciatibus tolerantiam mirabilem, et manſuetudinem vix credendam.—Libellum *de Puritate Tabernaculi* adfixus lecto ſcripſit, adhoc Origenem recognitum ſcholiis illuſtravit.—Sanctiſſime vixit, ſanctiſſime mortuus eſt. *Ep. Amerbach.* in Tom. I.

[f] In many paſſages of his writings he declares himſelf no friend to auricular confeſſion, though he ſpeaks cautiouſly, after his accuſtomed manner.

to the end of his life. He [g] died calmly on the twelfth of July, A. D. 1536. and was buried with a great concourſe in the Cathedral Church of Baſil, where his tomb is to be ſeen, with a Latin inſcription on the marble, of which a copy is inſerted in the firſt Tome of his works. The Monks might juſtly have ſaid, according to their accuſtomed jargon, which Eraſmus hath derided more than once, that he died, *Sine crux, ſine lux, ſine Deus:* and they did not fail to ſay it.

" A learned man was ſaying that Charles V, being arrived at " Baſil, two or three days after the burial of Eraſmus, ordered " his body to be taken up, and interred again with more ſolem- " nity, and aſſiſted himſelf at the obſequies. I ſhewed him " that Charles was at that time preparing to enter into France, " and had on this very month reviewed his army in the plain of " Cony." *Longueruana* I. 215.

John à Laſco generouſly offered *centum aureos*, an hundred pieces of gold, to Froben and Epiſcopius, to aſſiſt them in publiſhing the works of Eraſmus. Ep. 385. c. 1775.

Eraſmus had made his [h] will in February, in which he left handſome legacies to ſeveral friends, and the reſidue he ordered to be diſtributed by his executors, to relieve the ſick and the poor, to marry young women, and to aſſiſt young men of good character, and ſuch as they ſhould judge to be neceſſitous and deſerving.

With his accuſtomed diſcernment and prudence, he choſe for his executors [i] Amerbachius, Froben, and Epiſcopius, men of honour, probity, and generoſity, who fulfilled his orders exactly,

[g] Anus Morellus Grineus egerat bonam adoleſcentiæ partem apud Helvetios in Eraſmi contubernio, cui ad Baſileam clauſit oculos, et honorifico carmine parentavit. *Sammarthanus* Elog. L. III. p. 78. This is not *Simon Grynæus.*

Eraſmo ægrotanti ac morienti ad extremum uſque halitum adfuit Simon Grynæus. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Grynæi.

[h] Appendix.

[i] Ep. Amerbach. ad Paungartnerum, *in the firſt Vol.*

A. D. 1536. and more than exactly, and to their own detriment, in diſtributing his charitable donations.

From his teſtament it appears, that he was not in low circumſtances, nor ſo bad an Oeconomiſt as he ſometimes ſeemed, between jeſt and earneſt, to repreſent himſelf. We cannot too much extoll the liberality of the Engliſh Nobles and Prelates, and of other illuſtrious perſons, who enabled him to live decently, and to ſerve the public by ſuch ſtudies and ſuch works as ſuited his own genius and inclination beſt. His generoſity to his old friends, and his charities to the poor, were infinitely more laudable than the pretended piety of thoſe ſuperſtitious perſons, who leave their effects to Monks, who are to pray to God for them after they are deceaſed; as if the Almighty could be ſuppoſed to ſhew any regard to prayers bought and ſold, and ſung or ſaid after a man is in his grave!

Such was the laſt will of Eraſmus, and thus he departed this life, aged [k] ſixty-nine, in the arms of his deareſt friends, who yet were then in the religious ſentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. If it had been his lot to die in a Catholic country, he could not have eſcaped teizing ſolicitations of officious Prieſts to make ſome ſort of ſordid retractation, or to perform ſome act of minute ſuperſtition, which would have tarniſhed his memory, and which he could not have eaſily ſhunned, if he would have received the Sacraments of the Church, and then have ſlept in holy ground.

He hath drawn his own character in his letters, from which we have principally collected this account of his life; and he hath performed it in ſo maſterly a manner, that we could not have wiſhed for better materials to work upon. He may be juſtly cenſured for one thing, for his weakneſs in flattering a party, whoſe ſentiments and conduct he in many things diſapproved, and in finding fault with thoſe, whom upon the whole he

[k] *Almoſt.*

he reſembled much more than he did their adverſaries. But if he deſerved ſome blame upon this account, they who compelled him to diſſemble in this manner, who hated the very name of a reformation, and who treated as vile heretics all thoſe who dared even to wiſh for ſome amendment, were beyond meaſure more blameable. There was the ſame difference between them and him, as between a tyrant and his poor ſubjects, who are obliged to humour him, that they may ſave their lives and effects, and to do what they would never have done, if violence had not conſtrained them. The overbearing maſter is the chief cauſe of all the wrong ſteps which they take, and hath the heavier account to give for it hereafter. If Eraſmus was deficient in courage, they who took advantage of his infirmity were far more deficient in honeſty and piety. A. D. 1536.

He died in a friendly and charitable diſpoſition towards [1] Pellicanus

[1] Conradum Pellicanum, Tigurinum tunc Eccleſiaſten, cum quo acriter diſputaverat, comiter ab eo, dum decumberet, exceptum fuiſſe, rogante, ut offenſas ſibi condonaret, nec quicquam [illegible]ile poſthac a ſe exſpectaret, Bullingeri etiam honorificam mentionem feciſſe, Hoſpinianus annotavit. Hæc non ſunt viri, qui diſſentientes a Romana Eccleſia, et diverſa publice docentes, pro damnatis haberet.

Pietatis haud exigua documenta ex teſtamento ejus, tum aliis geſtis dictiſque circa finem vitæ colligi poſſunt. *Seckendorf* L. III. 137.

John à Laſco, in a letter to Pellicanus, A. 1544, *ſays:*

—— De tuo in Eraſmum animo non dubitavi unquam, neque ullam inter te et illum, cum una eſſemus, ſimultatem deprehendere potui, niſi quod, cum doctrinam Oecolampadii de Cœna Domini ſibi nondum ſatis probari poſſe diceret, non ferebat, ſi quis ſe cum Oecolampadio idem docere affirmaſſet; tametſi tu in doctrinam Oecolampadii tum propenderes, ille vero non tam damnaret illam, quam diceret potius, ſibi illam nondum ſatis probari poſſe, non ideo tamen amicitiam veſtram diſſolutum iri putabam; præſertim cum Eraſmus ipſe pro ſua apud me libertate, non obſcure teſtaretur, ſe certam habere non poſſe etiam doctrinæ ſuæ rationem. Fatebatur enim eſſe quædam, quæ in ſua ipſius doctrina offenderent; ſed ſe non habere, rurſum dicebat quidquam ſolidum, cui inniteretur, ſi doctrina ſua ſibi mutanda eſſet. Et proinde ſe in veteri ſententia permanere malle affirmabat.

A. D. 1536. canus and [m] Bullinger, two Proteſtant Divines, with the firſt of whom he had been at variance, as we have obſerved.

[n] BEATUS RHENANUS hath given us a deſcription of his perſon, temper, and behaviour: and tells us that he was low of ſtature, but not remarkably ſhort; that he was well-ſhaped, of a fair complexion, with hair, in his youth, of a pale yellow, grey eyes, a chearful countenance, a low voice, an agreeable elocution; that

Atque ita ego tum Eraſmum reliqui: atque in eadem ſecum, ut verum fatear, ſententia quoque fui. Nihil tamen dubito, quin Eraſmus haud dubie, ſi nunc viveret, æquior multo nobis futurus eſſet. Sed habet quiſque donorum ſuorum modum, ut non omnes poſſimus ubique omnia. Noſtrum eſt de iis nobis gratulari, quæ Deus, prout vult, juxta fidei noſtræ menſuram, conferre in nos dignatur. Ita et de Eraſmi donis, quæ ſane et *plurima* et *maxima* fuiſſe negare nemo poteſt, gratulari nobis merito, Deumque in illis agnoſcere debemus. Si quid autem amplius aſſequuti videmur, id quoque a Domino nobis datum eſſe cogitemus. Quod ad illius Epiſtolas ad me attinet, fateor illum libere nonnunquam multa ad me ſcripſiſſe, tu enim ipſe teſtis es, ut me amarit, ac tui quoque non raro meminiſſe; ſed putabat omnino te auctore id fieri, ut idem cum Oecolampadio ſentire diceretur. Neque vero id tam grave erat, quam ille grave videri volebat; ſed hoc ille rebus ſuis vehementer noxium eſſe putabat, et nolebat præterea nomen ſuum hac opinione gravari. Deinde habebat fortaſſis inſtigatores ſuos, quibus id potius quam Eraſmo ipſi imputandum eſſe cenſeo. *Vid.* Hottinger. H. E. P. II. p. 34, 36.

[m] Melchior Adam.

[n] Statura fuit infra proceritatem, ſupra tamen prorſus notabilem humilitatem. Corpuſculo ſatis compacto et eleganti, ſed quod eſſet tenerrimæ complexionis, et minimarum rerum mutatione, puta vini, cibi, cœli, facile offenderetur, in ſenio crebris quoque calculi doloribus obnoxium: ut de pituita nihil dicam, alioqui perpetuo communique ſtudioſorum omnium malo. Cute corporis et faciei candida, capillitio in juventa ſufflavo, oculis cæſiis, multo feſtivo, voce exili, lingua pulcre explicita, cultu honeſto et gravi. Fuit in retinenda amicitia conſtantiſſimus. Memoria feliciſſima. In egenos liberalis, quos, ut alibi, ſic a ſacro domum rediens per famulum nunquam non munerari ſolebat: maxime vero in bonæ ſpei et indolis adoleſcentes ſtudioſos, ſi qui ad ſe viatico deſtituti veniſſent, largus, benignus, et munificus. In convictu comis et ſuavis citra omne ſupercilium. *Vit. Eraſmi.*

Solitus (erat amicus quida[illegible] calvum dicere, quod eſſem raro cap[illegible] *Eraſmus*, Tom. I. c. 441.

that he was neat and decent in his apparel; that he had a very tender and infirm conſtitution, and a vaſt memory; that he was an agreeable companion, a very conſtant friend, generous and charitable, &c. Eraſmus hath declared of himſelf that he was not [o] fond of money, and appeals to every one who knew him. A. D. 1536.

WE have obſerved in many places that Eraſmus could not endure even the ſmell of fiſh, and had a moſt Lutheran ſtomach. Our learned Aſcham reſembled him in this, and obtained a Diſpenſation from Cranmer.

" Roger Aſcham, the Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge, " was a man of a weak conſtitution, and had contracted more " frailty by reaſon of a long ague that then hung about him, " and his complexion became melancholy by the relicts of that " ſtubborn diſtemper. He had alſo in his nature a great averſe- " neſs to the fiſh-diet. Upon theſe reaſons he addreſſed his " letters to the Archbiſhop with an humble [p] ſuit, very handſomely " penned, that he might be diſpenſed with as to abſtinence from " fleſh-meats, Lent and Fiſh-days being then ſtrictly obſerved in " the Colleges. And this Licence he deſired might be, not " only temporary, but perpetual,—which was ſomewhat extra- " ordinary. But to incline the Archbiſhop to yield to his ſuit, " he told him;" That it was not to pamper his fleſh, nor out of an affectation of doing that which was unuſual, or againſt common cuſtom, but only for the preſerving his health, and that he might the more freely purſue his ſtudies. That the air of Cambridge was naturally cold and moiſt, and ſo the fiſh-diet the more unwholſome. He deſired, therefore, that by his authority he might no longer be tied by that Tradition, which forbad the uſe of certain meats at certain times. *He ſaid*, That thoſe who granted this liberty to none but ſuch as laboured under a deſperate diſeaſe,

[o] [illegible] fuit unquam tam iniquus mei judex, ut pecuniæ ſtudium mihi imperarit. Fuerunt complures, qui neglectum exprobrarent. Tom. IX. c. 100.

[p] It is amongſt the Latin Epiſtles of Aſcham, L. II. p. 248.

A. D. 1536. diſeaſe, did like them who never repaired their houſes, but when they were juſt ready to fall down by age. Thrifty houſekeepers did otherwiſe: ſo did ſkilful Phyſicians, who did not uſe to preſcribe their phyſic when it was too late, but always put a ſtop to beginnings. That they who never would impart the uſing of this liberty of eating fleſh to any, but when all health was deſpaired of, knew not what good a prudent foreſight did in all commonwealths, &c.—Then he ſubjoins a paſſage from Herodotus in his *Euterpe*, concerning the Egyptian Prieſts, from whom iſſued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always converſant in learned ſtudies. Theſe, ſaid that Author, religiouſly tied themſelves from all eating of [q] *fleſh*. No, doubt for this only cauſe, ſaith Aſcham, *Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præſtantia, ullo frigido ſucco, quem eſus piſcium ingeneraret, extingueretur:* That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality in them, might not be quenched by ſome cold juice, which the eating of fiſh might ingender. And that it was ſomewhat unjuſt, he adds, that when ſo many kinds of ſuperſtition flowed in ſuch a plentiful meaſure from the Egyptians, as might eaſily be proved, and thence derived themſelves, firſt to the Greeks, then to the Romans, and afterwards to our times, through that ſink of Popery, that that ſingle worthy counſel and remedy of theſe moſt learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and ſpreading of learning, ſhould be debarred us to follow; and that by ſuch as were either unlearned themſelves, or ſuperſtitious men: whereby the beſt Wits received ſo great prejudice and damage. That none knew better than his Lordſhip whence this cuſtom aroſe, by whom cheriſhed, and by what kind of men brought down to us. And, laſtly, how unwholeſome and unfit all eating of [q] *fleſh* was in the ſpring-time. And that, if he might obtain this favour, he would uſe it without giving offence, or making any common ſpeech

[q] *Fleſh.* It ſhould be *fiſh.* Ἰχθύων guſtare nefas eſt illis. *Herodotus* II. ὃ δὲ περὶ ἐξέστι πάσασθαι. De piſcibus p. 102.

ſpeech of it, with quietneſs and ſilence, with abſtinence and thankſgiving. A. D. 1536.

" This letter he got his friend Poinet, the Archbiſhop's Chap-
" lain, (the ſame I ſuppoſe who after was Biſhop of Wincheſter)
" to put into his Grace's hand, and to further his requeſt what
" he could. The iſſue whereof was to his heart's deſire: for
" though the Archbiſhop knew him not, nor was eaſily drawn
" to diſpenſe with the Church's ancient diſcipline and rites, yet
" he received his ſuit with all humanity; and ſuch he found to
" be the modeſty and ingenuity of the man, and what he
" requeſted to be grounded upon ſuch reaſonable and juſt cauſes,
" that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out
" of his power to grant a Licence of that latitude, to diſcharge a
" perſon, for all time to come, from the obligation of keeping
" Lent, or to avert the cenſure he might incur, if he ſhould
" have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of
" Law rather than Religion, he put himſelf to the trouble of
" procuring the King's Licence under the Privy Seal for this
" man: and when he had done that, conſidering an Academic's
" poverty, he releaſed him of the whole charges of taking it out,
" paying [r] all the fees himſelf.

" And indeed the Archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent made
" way for his more ready yielding to Aſcham's requeſt; for he
" held the keeping of Lent, as founded in a poſitive Law, rather
" than as a religious duty, and thought it neceſſary that ſo the
" people ſhould be taught and inſtructed." *Strype*'s Life of *Cranmer*, B. II. c. 6.

Concerning Licences to eat fleſh in Lent, in the year 1585, ſee Strype's Life of Whitgift, B. III. c. 15. p. 246.

" ALL [s] THE learned men of Baſil, ſays Moreri, carried Eraſ-
" mus upon their ſhoulders to the Cathedral Church, where he
" was

[r] Aſcham returns him a letter of thanks for this favour, p. 260.

[s] Bayle ERASME, Not. A A.

A. D. 1536. " was buried. If ſo, his coffin muſt at leaſt have been as " big as the bed of Og, the king of Baſan, mentioned in " Deuteronomy."

IN THE year 1557, Farellus and Beza attacked the memory and reputation of Eraſmus, at Baſil, with much malignity and effrontery; upon which the [t] Heirs of Eraſmus treated them as they deſerved, and gave them the lie in a public manner.

[u] "ERASMUS was not leſs abuſed and inſulted by the Catho- " lics, both living and dead, as it may be ſeen in the book of " Caſpar Chicotius, &c."

WE WILL conclude, ſays Le Clerc, with a ſymbolical repre- ſentation which was exhibited before Charles V, and his broth Ferdinand, at Augſburg, in 1530, at the time when the Luthe- rans preſented their Confeſſion of faith to that aſſembly.

As the Princes were at table, a [x] company of perſons offered to act a ſmall Comedy for the entertainment of the company. They

[t] Intelleximus haud ita dudum, Farelle et Beza, hic in publico Sylveſtris Hominis diverſorio, ante prandium vos multis audientibus in D. Eraſmum Roterodamum debacchatos: et a te nominatim, Farelle, diſertis verbis Eraſmum omnium mortalium deterrimum, improbiſſimum, nequiſſimum, ſceleratiſſimum ac impuriſſimum nebulonem: a te vero, Beza, eundem Arianum appellatum fuiſſe. Id ſi feciſtis, ſique ſanctæ memoriæ defuncti exiſtimationem tot pudendis atrocibuſque conviciis conſulto laceraſtis, Nos ſubſcripti factum veſtrum improbum ac puram putam calumniam dicimus, ut qui confidamus, perſuaſiſſimumque habeamus, eum ipſum [illegible] mum, vere ac pro meritis, a quoquam probo, bono et integro viro ejuſmodi calumniis conviciiſque laceſſiri aut proſcindi nec poſſe nec debere. Hæc, pro integerrimi viri memoria exiſtimationeque tuenda, ne diſſimularemus, legibus etiam civilibus admonemur. Dat. Baſileæ,

Bonifacius Amberbachius, mea manu.
Hieronymus Frobenius, mea manu.
Nicolaus Epiſcopius.

Wetſtein. Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 12

[u] Bayle ERASME, Not. T, an SAWICKI.

[x] J. L. Fabricius de Ludis Scenicis, p. 142.

They were ordered to begin; and firſt entered a man in the dreſs of a Doctor, who brought a large quantity of ſmall wood, of ſtraight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth, and retired. On his back was written the name of *Reuchlin*. When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled alſo like a Doctor, who attempted to make fagots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the ſtraight; but having laboured long to no purpoſe, he went away out of humour, and ſhaking his head. On his back appeared the name of *Eraſmus*. A third, dreſſed like an Auguſtinian Monk, came in with a chafing-diſh full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of *Luther*. A fourth entered, dreſſed like an Emperor, who, ſeeing the crooked wood all on fire, ſeemed much concerned, and to put it out drew his ſword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the briſker. On his back was written *Charles* V. Laſtly, a fifth entered, in his Pontifical habit and triple crown, who ſeemed extremely ſurpriſed to ſee the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed exceſſive grief. Then looking about on every ſide, to ſee if he could find any water to extinguiſh the flame, he caſt his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water, and in his hurry he unfortunately ſeized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze ſo violently that he was forced to walk off. On his back was written *Leo* X. A. D. 1536.

This little Farce wanted no commentary: but if the merry Actors had taken it into their heads to repreſent the whole ſ luct of *Eraſmus*, they ſhould have introduced him a ſecond :, and have repreſented him as conſtrained by the menaces . *Leo* X to take up the ſtraight wood, and burn it along with the crooked.

A. D. 1536. I FIXED the birth of Eraſmus to the year 1467, truſting almoſt implicitly, I confeſs, to Bayle, to Le Clerc, and to many others; but I find no reaſon to depart from this date, which is as probable as any other. Upon this computation, Eraſmus lived ſixty-eight years, eight months, and ſome days, i. e. he was in his ſixty-ninth year, or almoſt ſixty-nine complete.

The year of his birth is uncertain: Eraſmus himſelf knew it not, and in his letters ſets it ſometimes higher and ſometimes lower, from 1464 to 1467; and in one of his letters declares himſelf uncertain whether he was of ſuch an age at that time, or a year older.

In his *Compendium* of his own Life, he names not the year of his birth, but only the month and the day.

In the Inſcription of the Statue at Roterdam, he is ſaid to be born October 28, 1467; and to have died July 12, 1536. This I think will juſtify our choice; and it ſeems not improbable that his fellow-citizens, who erected this monument to his memory, might find the year of his birth or baptiſm in ſome record, public or private.

The Epitaph compoſed by his friends and executors ſays that he died in 1536, *jam ſeptuagenarius*. This is a vague expreſſion, and may ſuit a man who died almoſt ſeventy, or almoſt ſeventy-one years old. But it agrees not with the Inſcription of the Statue; it places his birth A. 1466, or 1465.

Eraſmus, in a [y] letter to Curſius, dated Jan. 9, 1535, ſays that he was ſeventy years old: but nothing can be collected from this, ſince there is great reaſon to ſuſpect that the letter is ſpurious.

Du Pin is of opinion that we can only fix the time of his birth to 1465, or 1466, or 1467.

Dr. Knight (pag. 3) ſays that he was born in the year 1467, on the eve of St. Simon and Jude; and (pag. 349) that he died on the 12th of July 1536, having lived ſeventy years, eight months,

[y] Ep. 1276. See above, p. 557.

months, and fifteen days. Dr. Knight forgot himſelf; and theſe two accounts will not tally together. Other writers have made the very ſame miſtake. A. D. 1536.

As the year of the birth of Eraſmus, ſo the day of the month ſeems alſo to be uncertain. Eraſmus, in the *Compendium* of his own life, ſays that he was born *in Vigilia Simonis et Judæ*, that is, October 27: but in his [z] poem to Copus, he ſays that he was born on the fifth of the Calends of November, that is, October 28. Perhaps he had been told that he was born October 27, at midnight, and ſo was in doubt on which day to fix it.

" NOTHING hath made the city of Roterdam more famous " than her having given birth to the great Eraſmus: nor hath " ſhe been inſenſible to this honour, or in the leaſt degree defi- " cient in duty and reſpect to the memory of the illuſtrious " perſon, from whom ſhe hath received ſuch ſplendor.

" If Homer had been as much eſteemed during his life, as " after his deceaſe, in vain would ſo many cities have claimed " him; for the true Parent would have made her title to him " clear and indiſputable, before length of time could have fur- " niſhed rival cities with matter for conteſt and chicanery. " Therefore we find none of theſe litigations concerning the " birth-place of Eraſmus. The great reputation which he " enjoyed in his life-time hath prevented them. Roterdam was " ſoon attentive to her own intereſts, and ſo fully eſtabliſhed her " rights, and the reputation annexed to them, that ſhe is in " ſecure poſſeſſion. Indeed there was no time to loſe: length of " years would have involved in darkneſs a birth like his, ſince " his mother, a perſon of ordinary rank, had repaired to Roter- " dam, on purpoſe to conceal her lying-in. As to the place of " his conception, it muſt be ſurrendered to the town of Tergou, " which alſo accounts this no ſmall advantage. How much " greater would this advantage have been, and more to be boaſted " of,

[z] See above, p. 27.

A. D. 1536. " of, if this conception had not been ſullied with a double " original ſin? or rather with actual added to original ſin? There " was a Burgomaſter of Tergou, who attempted to honour his " own city with the nativity of Eraſmus, and to allow Roterdam " only the credit of his education. This man was a phyſician, " called Reynerus Snoyus, who had ſeveral good poſts, who " wrote ſeveral books, and who had been a friend of Eraſmus. " Val. Andreas Deſſelius, in his *Bibliotheca Belgica*, ſays that he " had peruſed this atteſtation of Snoyus amongſt the papers " belonging to the Monaſtery of Stein, where Eraſmus had " reſided many years. But to little purpoſe hath Snoyus affirmed " this, and depoſited his falſe teſtimony in the regiſters of the " Convent of Stein: all the world is firmly perſuaded that Eraſ- " mus is not a native of Tergou, but of Roterdam. Here is a " [a] full acknowledgment of it, made by the intereſted parties, " and contained in a Letter of the Burgomaſters and Counſellors " of Tergou, inſerted in a Deſcription of the Low Countries, " tranſlated from the Italian of Guicciardin.

" In the Library of Tergou they ſhew a Head of Eraſmus, " which may paſs for a public monument of this City's renun- " ciation to all pretences of being the birth-place of Eraſmus; " for the legend which is round the head teſtifies that he was " conceived at Tergou, and born at Roterdam.

" Almeloveen hath lately [b] renewed the diſpute of theſe two " cities, by a curious incident. He pretends that Eraſmus is " rather a burgeſs of Tergou than of Roterdam, becauſe, accord- " ing to the laws, the place where children are born accidentally " is not accounted their country. If a woman, upon a journey, " is brought to-bed in a town where ſhe hath no deſign to " remain,

[a] Oriundus etiam hac urbe magnus ille Deſiderius Eraſmus, Goudæ enim conceptus et utero geſtatus, Roterodami, quo cum ad pariendum vicina eſſet mater ſe certa de cauſa contulerat, in lucem editus eſt.

[b] In his *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ.*

" remain, and if ſhe hath a fixed habitation elſewhere, her child A. D. 1536.
" is not reckoned a citizen or burgeſs of that town, but belongs
" properly to the place where his parents have a ſettlement.
" Upon theſe principles, Eraſmus ſhould rather have been called
" *Goudanus* than *Roterodamus*; for his parents dwelt at Tergou,
" and if his mother was not delivered of him at Tergou, but at
" Roterdam, it was by accident. She abſented herſelf to hide
" her fault, and was concealed for a few days in a neighbouring
" city, till ſhe had depoſited a burden, which to her diſgrace ſhe
" carried in her boſom [c].

" I ſhall obſerve by the way, that ſome French Authors,
" founding their pretenſions on a moſt antiquated right, I mean,
" on the old Geography, and the Diviſion of Gaul mentioned
" in Cæſar's Commentaries, have claimed Eraſmus for a country-
" man. Robert Cenalis, Biſhop of Avranches, in his *Hiſtoria*
" *Galliæ*, hath ſaid expreſsly that France is the country of Eraſ-
" mus. Eraſmus hath thrown out ſomething to favour this
" pretenſion, having ſaid ſometimes that he belonged to Gaul;
" and ſpeaking of the honour which the learned Budæus did
" to France, he [d] claims a ſhare in it, as being himſelf a French-
" man. This excited the jealouſy of ſome Germans, who, as
" Eraſmus informs us, humbly beſought him not to ſuffer
" France to deprive them of their right to him. His anſwer,
" expreſſing much affection for literature, and no leſs modeſty,
" amounts to this, [f] that he was born in the confines of Gaul
" and

[c] See a Letter of a Lawyer called Coſterus, written to Almeloveen upon this ſubject, and inſerted in his *Amœnitates*.

[d] Et priſtinam illam laudem noſtræ aſſeras Galliæ. Nihil enim vetat eundem ditione Germanum eſſe, et veterum Coſmographorum deſcriptione Gallum.

[e] Ne patiar ut Gallia ſibi me aſſerat, ſed ingenue fatear Bataviam eſſe Germaniæ partem, videlicet ne tanta gloria fraudetur.

[f] An Batavus ſim non mihi ſatis conſtat. Hollandum eſſe me negare non poſſum, ea in parte natum, ut ſi Coſmographorum picturis credimus, magis ver-

gat

A. D. 1536. " and Germany, yet a little nearer to the former than to the " latter. Therefore in another letter he ſays, that he will neither " affirm [g] nor deny that he is a Frenchman, accounting it an " ambiguous point.

" The city of Roterdam hath teſtified her regard to Eraſmus " in the following manner:

" 1. The [h] houſe in which he was born is adorned with an " Inſcription, to inform both natives and ſtrangers of this " illuſtrious prerogative.

" 2. The College, where Latin, Greek, and Rhetoric are " taught, bears the name of Eraſmus, and is conſecrated to him " by the Inſcription on the frontiſpiece.

" 3. A ſtatue of wood was raiſed to him in the year 1549.

" 4. In its ſtead a ſtatue of ſtone was erected in the year " 1557. The Spaniards having [i] thrown it down in 1572, the " inhabitants ſet it up again as ſoon as they were delivered from " this tyranny.

" 5. They [k] erected one of [l] copper in 1622, which is admired " by the Skilful. It is in an open part of the city, by the ſide of " a canal, upon a pedeſtal adorned with inſcriptions, and ſur- " rounded with iron rails. If the materials of theſe different " ſtatues advanced in intrinſic value, Eraſmus had this in com- " mon

gat ad Galliam quam ad Germaniam, quamquam extra controverſiam eſt totam eam regionem in confinio Galliæ Germaniæque eſſe.

[g] Gallum eſſe me nec aſſevero, nec inficior, ſic natus ut Galluſne an Germanus ſim anceps haberi poſſit.

[h] See Knight, p. 1, 2.

[i] Verheiden, in his *Elogia*, ſays that the Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were in garriſon at Roterdam, did not proceed to this act of violence, till they were irritated by a Spaniſh Monk, who in his ſermons inveighed againſt Eraſmus; and that the Magiſtrate did not ſet up the ſame ſtatue again, but cauſed a new one to be made.

[k] Quenſtedt is miſtaken in thinking that it was made of marble.

[l] *Erônze.*

" mon with the Deities of ancient Rome; for not only the [m] offer- A. D. 1536.
" ings made by private perſons, but thoſe of cities and of nations
" were at firſt of low price, and afterwards of a more expenſive
" kind.

" There are few travellers, who, relating what they had ſeen
" in the United Provinces, have not ſpoken of the ſtatue of
" Eraſmus. Joli, a Canon of Paris, having mentioned this
" ſtatue, and the houſe where Eraſmus was born, adds, that *the*
" *great reputation of the man hath made theſe two things the moſt*
" *memorable curioſities of the City, though ſmall in themſelves; and*
" *yet in reality they cannot be called inconſiderable, ſince Sebaſtian*
" [n] *Munſter relates in his Coſmography, that Philip, king of Spain,*
" *ſon of the Emperor Charles V, going to Roterdam in the month*
" *of September, and the year* 1545, [It is a miſtake; and it ſhould
" be 1549] *this ſtatue was erected, to honour his joyful advent,*
" *and that they put into the hand of Eraſmus a poem in honour to*
" *this prince, to be preſented to him; and that afterwards the*
" *King, and Mary Queen of Hungary, and all the Princes who*
" *attended them, inflamed with a love for the memory of ſo illuſtrious*
" *a perſon, paid a reſpectful viſit to the houſe, and to the chamber*
" *in which he was born.*

" Monconis, in his Voyages, ſays not ſo much: he only men-
" tions the poſture of the ſtatue, and gives the inſcriptions on
" the ſmall houſe where Eraſmus was born.—But Bullart con-
" firms the relation of Joli; for he ſays that *when Philip II made*
" *his ſolemn entry into the city of Roterdam, as ſovereign Prince of*
" *the Low Countries, the Senate placed, as its greateſt ornament, the*
" *ſtatue*

[m] Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus: at tu
Si fœtura gregem ſuppleverit, aureus eſto.
Virgil.
Fictilibus crevere Diis hæc aurea templa.
Propertius.

[n] Fuit imago Eraſmi ad vivum expreſſa, advenienti (Philippo) oppoſita, quæ exſerto brachio gratulatorium carmen Principi offerebat.

A. D. 1536. " *ſtatue of Eraſmus, before the houſe in which he was born, dreſſed* " *in an Eccleſiaſtical habit, holding a pen in the right hand, and* " *with the left preſenting to the Prince a roll, in which was* " *written:*

" *Sereniſſimo Hiſpaniarum Principi D. Philippo a Burgundia* " *Deſiderius Eraſmus Rotterodamus.*

" *Rotterodamus ego non inficiabor Eraſmus,*
" *Ne videar cives deſeruiſſe meos.*
" *Ipſorum inſtinctu, Princeps clariſſime, ſalvum*
" *Ingreſſum precor ad limina noſtra tuum:*
" *Atque hunc, quo poſſum ſtudio, commendo popellum,*
" *Maxime, præſidiis, Cæſare nate, tuis.*
" *Te Dominum agnoſcunt omnes, te Principe gaudent,*
" *Nec quicquam toto charius orbe tenent.*

" Obſerve, that Joli might have cited a more authentic author " for this ſtory, than Sebaſtian Munſter, namely, a Spaniſh " Relation of the Voyage of Don Philip Prince of Spain, com- " poſed by Juan Chriſtoval Caluata de Eſtrella. Note alſo, that " in 1672, the populace having riſen in moſt of the towns of the " Province of Holland, Roterdam was ſome days at the diſcre- " tion of theſe rioters; and during this anarchy, the ſtatue of " Eraſmus was taken down, as an object that reſembled Popery, " and was carried into the town-houſe, and it was in deliberation " whether it ſhould be melted down. The Magiſtrates of Baſil, " as ſoon as they heard of it, ordered ſome merchants of their " city to deſire a correſpondent of theirs at Roterdam to buy the " ſtatue at a certain price. He accordingly made his propoſals, " and had almoſt agreed for it, and come up to their demands. " Having given an account of his negotiation, he received a " new commiſſion to pay the Magiſtrates of Roterdam all their " demand. But, during this interval, they had thought better " of it, and reſolved that they would neither melt nor ſell the " ſtatue,

" ſtatue, but put it in its place again; and this was done ſome A. D. 1536.
" time after. The merchant, who was thus employed by the
" Magiſtrates of Baſil, told me the ſtory two days ago.

" I find few writers, who, having occaſion to ſpeak of the
" life of Eraſmus, do not mention the glory which he caſt upon
" his own country. Thus Verdier Vau-Privas and Bullart begin
" their Eloges of this child of Roterdam. The words of Rhe-
" nanus on this ſubject, addreſſed to the Emperor Charles V,
" are ſo elegant and expreſſive, that they well * deſerve to be
" cited. I could produce abundance of Authors, who to exalt
" the glory of Roterdam join theſe two things together: the one,
" that ſhe is the country of the Great Eraſmus; the other,
" that ſhe hath erected a ſtatue to his memory." *Bayle*,
ROTTERDAM.

" THE CLERGY of Rotterdam had a party amongſt the
" Senators, as well as among the people, many of whom, ſome
" ſay to the number of three hundred, entered into an aſſociation,
" — not to return any more to the communion, till the *Idol*
" was removed, for ſo they called the image of Eraſmus, — at
" which Leuvius had a fling in his ſermon. An image of wood
" had been erected by the Magiſtrates of that town, in the
" year 1549, and placed on the arch of the Stone bridge, in
" honour of that illuſtrious man, who was born there. After-
" wards, in 1557, it was changed from wood to a fine blue
" ſtone; but the Spaniards, animated by a certain Monk of their
" nation, ſhot it down with their muſquets, and threw it into

* Natus eſt, abavi tui Friderici III. Aug. primis imperii annis ad quintum Calend. Novembris, Roterodami in Hollandia tua inferioris Germaniæ Provincia, quam olim Batavi poſſederunt, nunc magis notam ſtudioſis omnibus ob unius indigenæ Eraſmi incunabula, quam veterum incolarum memoria quamlibet bellico robore præſtantium. Hoc alumno Roterodamum oppidum ſemper ſe jactabit, et doctis erit commendatum.

A. D. 1536. " the water. However, the Spaniards being driven out of the " town, the ſaid image was ſet up again by order of the Ma- " giſtrates, where it ſtood till another was caſt of copper or braſs, " at the public charge, which was not quite finiſhed and expoſed " to view till the year 1622. It was a maſter-piece of wonderful " art, upon which the famous architect and ſtatuary Henry de " Keiſer had beſtowed his utmoſt ſkill and pains. It was rather " bigger than the life, nobly habited in a gown, and was repre- " ſented turning over the leaves of a book. The honour done " him by this ſtatue was extremely diſagreeable to thoſe who " hated his memory, and eſpecially his prudence and moderation " in religious matters, particularly to ſome bigotted Contraremon- " ſtrants, who uſed all their intereſt with the Magiſtrates to " prevent the ſetting up of this image; and indeed they prevailed " ſo far, that it would have been taken down again, if thoſe " who were for retaining it, had not carried their point in the " Senate by two votes only. Upon this the Clergy began to " inveigh publicly againſt the image. It was given out that " ſome of the ſimple people bowed the knee before it; that they " made a new Saint of Eraſmus; that his image occaſioned " ſcandal to weak minds, and might poſſibly give encouragement " to the Popiſh practice of image-worſhip.—After this, Zealots, " how much ſoever ſcandalized at it, were forced to bear with " the ſtatue.

" The famous poet Jooſt vanden Vondel wrote the following " verſes upon this ſtatue of Eraſmus:

" Whatever wiſdom Greece and Rome conceal'd,
" Eraſmus to the Chriſtian world reveal'd:
" Thus to himſelf he gain'd immortal fame,
" And grac'd his native city with his name.

" Proud of the glory by his merit won,
" The grateful city to her godlike ſon

" A Statue

A. D. 1536.

" A Statue rais'd aloft of ſolid ſtone,
" Whilſt Envy ſtrove to hurl him from the throne.

" Fruitleſs attempt! No ſtorms of envious breath
" The Hero move, triumphant ev'n in death.
" Immortal garlands do his temples grace,
" And time adds beauty to his rev'rend face.

" Tho' once but ſtone, in burniſh'd braſs his features ſhine:
" If Envy ſtorms at this, gold ſhall our Saint enſhrine.

Gerard Brandt, Hiſt. of the Ref. Vol. IV. p. 359.

" THE CONTRAREMONSTRANTS hated the memory of their " countryman Eraſmus, as much as they did the perſons of " Grotius and Epiſcopius, and wanted to have his ſtatue pulled " down. They could not bear the ſight of this hero, even in " braſs: it had the ſame effect upon them, as Statius ſuppoſes " the image of Hercules to have had upon the Argives;

" *Haud illum impavidi, quamvis et in ære, ſuumque*
" *Inachidæ videre decus.*"

Theb. VI. 272.

Six Diſſertations, p. 108.

[p] UPON the deceaſe of Eraſmus, ſome vile wretches (if we may believe Melchior Adam) who had intereſt in the Emperor's Court, repreſented him as one who died a Lutheran and an Heretic; and

[p] Carolus V Cæſar, ejuſque ſoror Maria, Belgii Gubernatrix, hunc (Mudæum) principem habuerunt ingenii et doctrinæ; hujus ſæpe conſilium quæſiverunt, plurimumque ejus prudentiæ tribuerunt. Itaque cum Stellionum quorumdam calumniis, et dolo malo, nihil propius eſſet factum, quam ut Eraſmi, tanquam hæretici et Lutheraniſmo immortui, bona, licet piis cauſis relicta, reſciſſo teſtamento honeſtiſſimo, publicarentur, et monumenta ab ipſo edita, Edicto Cæſaris proſcripta, de manibus ſtudioſorum excuterentur, Mudæi unius auctoritate et conſiliis tam fœda Reip. literariæ clades eſt averſa. *Vit. Mudæi.*

A. D. 1536. ſaid that his will ought to be ſet aſide, his effects confiſcated, and his works prohibited. They would have carried their point, if Mudæus, [q] once a diſciple of Eraſmus, an eminent Lawyer, and much in favour at Court, had not put a ſtop to their attempt.

[r] Tapper and his aſſociates, at Louvain, cauſed all the verſions "of the Scriptures to be condemned, the Vulgate excepted; and "endeavoured to have all the works of Eraſmus deſtroyed, but "could not ſucceed in the attempt, being croſſed by the Preſi-"dent of Brabant, and the Biſhop of Arras, &c."

[s] ERASMUS, ſays Bayle, at firſt, did not [t] care to ſit for his picture; but he conquered that averſion, and was frequently drawn by Holbein. Beza made this Epigram, to be put under his picture, which Bayle hath juſtly cenſured, as a piece of falſe wit:

Ingens ingentem quem perſonat orbis Eraſmum,
Hic tibi dimidium picta tabella refert.
At cur non totum? mirari deſine, lector,
Integra nam totum terra nec ipſa capit.

It is hardly good enough for a ſchool-boy.

Charles

[q] See above, p. 255, Not. y.

[r] Bayle TAPPER.

[s] Cum de ſe dicit in vita Eraſmus: *Ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, vixque extortum eſt amicorum precibus, ut ſe pingi pateretur*; hoc ita accepit Bælius (Rem. S.) diſplicuiſſe Eraſmo deformitatem ſuam: at ille modo ſe negabat φίλαυτον, aut Suffenum aliquem. Præcedunt proxime verba: Neque quidquam unquam ſcripſit, quod ipſi placeret: quod nemo ita accipit, illum offenſum ſcriptorum ſuorum deformitate. Quod reliquum eſt, nihil minus quam deformem fuiſſe, Holbeniana imago oſtendit. De religione Eraſmi, qui poſt Bælium diſputarint, memorantur. [Addi his poteſt B. Fabricii noſtri exercitatio critica de religione Eraſmi, in opuſculorum illius ſylloge recuſa 1738, 4to.] *Remarques ſur le Dict. de Bayle.* From the *Relationes Gottingenſes*, Vol. III. Faſc. I. p. 103.

[t] Il n'étoit guere content de ſon viſage.

Charles Patin hath given us [u] an account of the pictures of Eraſmus done by Holbein. A. D. 1536.

" ERASMUS had dwelt longer at [x] Baſil than at any place. " He delighted in that city: ſometimes he made an excurſion, " but he failed not to return back;

" —— *Hic illius arma,*
" *Hic currus fuit.*

" The

[u] Imago obliqua ſeu *κατάγεφος* Eraſmi ſcribentis Paraphraſtn in Evangelium D. Marci, manu variis annulis ornata. In Bibliotheca Acad. Baſil.

Imago ejuſdem minor circularis. In Bibliotheca Acad. Baſil.

Imago Eraſmi, in Muſeo Feſchiano.

Effigies Eraſmi a Le Blond emta Baſileæ ducatis aureis centum, quam poſtea delatam in Belgium inde accuratiſſime juſta magnitudine in æs incidi curavit, Wiſcheri chalcographi opera. Tabulæ huic ferreis ligamentis juncta erat ad dextram effigies Io. Frobenii. Has duas tabellas ſine libio Eraſmus in gratiam et honorem Frobenii, quem impenſe amabat, fieri curavit, atque eidem dono obtulit; unde dextram illi ceſſit. Opinor haſce duas effigies Eraſmi et Frobenii eas eſſe quas in cimeliarchio Regio Londini obſervaſſe memini, anno 1672.

Eraſmum ſæpius ab Holbenio pictum, et in Galliam, Angliam, aliaque loca delatum fuiſſe, ex illius epiſtolis liquet.

Effigies Eraſmi in Theſauro Cæſareo. Vindobonæ.

Imago Eraſmi ſcribentis, forma minori. In pinacotheca R. Chriſtianiſſimi. *Eraſmi Op.* T. IV. c. 394.

[x] Many of the (Proteſtant) Fugitives took up their reſidence at Baſil (in 1554) upon two reaſons: one was, becauſe the people of that city were eſpecially very kind and courteous unto ſuch Engliſh as came thither for ſhelter: the other, becauſe thoſe that were of ſlenderer fortunes might have employment in the Printing-houſes there, the Printers in Baſil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactneſs and elegancy of their printing. And they rather choſe Engliſhmen for the overſeers and correctors of their preſſes, being noted for the moſt careful and diligent of all others. Whereby poor Scholars made a ſhift to ſubſiſt in theſe hard times. *Strype*'s Life of *Cranmer*, p. 356.

Multa hic commoda. — Cœlum ſalubre, urbs amœna, — typographorum ad manum prompta facilitas, loci claritudo: nec dubito quin ſi laboris non pigeat, nobilium adoleſcentulorum catervam brevi collecturus ſis, e quibus non parum tibi utilitatis. Habuit hoc perpetuo Baſilea, ut doctis gratiſſima fuerit civitas. Quid putas Eraſmum hic detinet? inveniſſet ſane et alibi locorum typographos. *Oecolampadius*

A. D. 1536. " The revolution in religion was the only cauſe that hindered " him from fixing his tabernacle there for all his days. At Baſil " they ſhew his houſe in which he died; and the place where " the Profeſſors of Divinity read their winter-lectures is called " the College of Eraſmus. His cabinet is one of the moſt con- " ſiderable rarities of the city: it contains his ring, his ſeal, his " ſword, his knife, his pencil, his will written with his own " hand, his picture by Holbein, which is a maſter-piece. The " Magiſtrates bought this cabinet in 1661, for nine thouſand " crowns, of the deſcendants of Bonif. Amerbachius the heir of " Eraſmus. If we may believe Patin, they made a preſent of it; " but, as another traveller ſays, they ſold it to the Univerſity for " a thouſand crowns." *Bayle* ERASME, Not. H.

THUANUS, in his travels, was courteouſly received by [y] Amerbachius, in whoſe hands was the library, and other things once belonging to Eraſmus.

BAYLE

Oecolampadius Epiſt. ad *Grynæum*. Vide *Gerdeſium* Hiſt. Evang. Renov. T. II. Append. p. 144.

[y] Baſilius Amerbachius, vir humaniſſimus, ad quem commendatitias a Franc. Pithæo, ut et ad Theodorum Zuingerum, literas habebat Thuanus, a latere ejus nunquam diſceſſit. Ante omnia ei in propriis ædibus D. Eraſmi bibliothecam et adverſaria manuſcripta, tum nummos antiquos, aliamque modicam ſupellectilem Vito parenti ab ipſo legatam oſtendit, in eaque globum terræ argenteum, cælatura et miniatura egregium, a Tigurino quodam aurifice factum, quem dum curioſis oculis inſpicit, medio eo aperto vinum utrinque infuſum eſt, et more gentis Thuano propinatum. *Thuani Vita* L. II. p. 20.

Eraſmus and Amerbach's Muſeum belong to the Univerſity (of Baſil) which purchaſed them for [illegible] dollar from the heirs of the [illegible]. Amongſt other things are twenty admirable originals of Holbein, as Lucretia, Venus and Cupid, Eraſmus, Amerbach, Holbein himſelf, the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, but more eſpecially the dead body of our Saviour, for which piece alone a thouſand ducats have been offered. In the Library are a great number both of Manuſcripts, and old coins and medals, of the latter no leſs than twelve thouſand, together with many other curioſities of art and nature, as paintings, ——. *Keyſler*'s Travels, Vol. I. p. 139.

Extract

BAYLE hath obſerved of Eraſmus, that he had rather too much ſenſibility, when he was [z] attacked by malicious and inconſiderable adverſaries, made too many complaints of them, and was too ready to anſwer them. It is true. He wanted ſome Friend to overrule him, and to ſay to him, LET *thoſe men alone: they cannot live in their own writings; and why ſhould they live in yours?* Yet thus much may be obſerved, by way of excuſe, that he was fighting for his honour, and for his life, being often accuſed of nothing leſs than heterodoxy, impiety, and blaſphemy, by men whoſe forehead was a rock, and whoſe tongue was a razor. To be miſrepreſented, as a Pedant and a Dunce, this is no great matter; for Time and Truth put Folly to flight: to be accuſed of hereſy by Bigots, Hypocrites, Politicians, and Infidels, this A. D. 1536.

Extract from a letter written to the Reverend Mr. Wetſtein from Baſil, by Mr. Profeſſor Burcard, 1758.

Deſiderii Eraſmi Roterodami Reliquiæ in Bibliotheca publica Baſilienſi et Muſeo exſtantes.

Scholia in D. Hieronymi Epiſtolas, manu propria.

Epiſtolæ aliquot autographæ.

Expoſtulatio ad amicum quendam de Euchariſtia.

Judicium de Libero Arbitrio et de Fide.

Ex Plutarcho quædam in linguam Latinam tranſlata. Autographa.

Teſtamentum Eraſmi autographum.

Epiſtolium ad Lud. Berum, Præpoſitum Baſilienſem, cum librum ſuum de Libero Arbitrio ad eum mitteret.

Diploma Academiæ Taurinenſis, quo S. Theologiæ Doctor renuntiatus eſt, cum ſigillo.

Breve Pontificis Rom. Leonis X. ad Eraſmum.

Eraſmi annulus aureus cum gemma Terminum præferente.

Nummus aureus primæ magnitudinis cum imagine Sigiſmundi Regis Poloniæ. In averſa parte inſcriptio: Deſiderio Eraſmo Roterodamo Sigiſmundus Bonar.

Alius ſecundi moduli cum imagine et inſignibus Sigiſmundi Bonar Caſtellani Ozarnoinenſis.

Imago Eraſmi in rotunda tabella ab Holbenio depicta.

Alia major ejuſdem imago ab eodem picta.

Encomium Moriæ primæ editionis, cum figuris Holbenii manu appictis.

Sigillum plumbeum cum Termino et inſcriptione, *Cedo nulli:* quo in ſignandis literis ordinario utebatur.

[z] Ut canes loca mundiora veſtigant, ubi immingant; ita iſti non temere in ullum genus hominum maledicam linguam ſolvunt, aut virulentum ſtylum ſtringunt, niſi in quibus aliquid invidioſum eſſe ſuſpicantur. *Joſ. Scaliger.*

A.D. 1536. this is a ſerious affair; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it.

The celebrated Peter Ramus never replied to the invectives of his numerous adverſaries; and the writer of his Life [a] mentions it as an inſtance of his uncommon patience and prudence.

LE CLERC hath ſometimes obſerved, that Eraſmus was not recompenſed ſuitably to his deſerts; and that is true enough. But yet, if we conſider how many [b] preſents, and invitations, and favours

[a] Adverſus contumelias doctorum quamlibet et eruditorum hominum perpetuum ſilentium juraverat. Nil Goveano, Gallandio, Perionio, Turnebo reſpondit: nil ingenii et doctrinæ per univerſam Germaniam principi Melanchthoni reſpondit. Cumque divulgatis per orbem terrarum Gallica et Latina lingua probris eſſet notatus, publicis ludis ignominioſiſſime traductus: conſtricta lingua, vinctis manibus prohibitus quicquam de philoſophia vel publice vel privatim dicere, ſcribere, cogitare etiam (ſi menti tantum potuiſſet imperari) proſiibitus eſſet: adverſus tantas tot acerbitatum plagas, unicum patientiæ remedium adhibuit, in animoque ſemper illud habuit;

Grata ſuperveniet, quæ non ſperabitur, hora.

Freigius *Vit. Rami.* Bayle RAMUS, Not. L.

[b] Nec ſolum a Principibus honoratus eſt Eraſmus; ſed etiam a civitatibus Germaniæ. Nam ſi qua tranſiret, idque Magiſtratus reſciſſet, vino fuit donatus: qui honor Magnatibus et civitatum Legatis, more gentis, impenditur. *Melch. Adam* Vit. Eraſmi.

Ingreſſus domum (Eraſmi) putare potuiſſes te videre ædes aliquas ſuperborum olim Corinthiorum, adeo ornate cælatis auratiſque operibus inſtructum abacum vidiſſes. Ne vero etiam ſordide parcum fuiſſe credas. Splendore ædificiorum eſt delectatus: Friburgi namque contuliſſe ad impenſam domus a ſe conſtructæ plus mille aureos nummos fertur. In reliquis autem ſumtibus faciendis, nonnulli nimium diligentes et accurati æſtimatores rerum, volunt ipſum minimæ quam nimiæ liberalitati proniorem fuiſſe. Sed quam ii perverſe judicent, facile advertet, cui Eraſmi conditio fuerit aliquanto exploratior. Eraſmus paucis admodum reditibus vivebat; plerumque ſuſtentabatur liberalitate Principum et Bibliopolarum, quibus forte operam navabat. Deinde infirmum illud et valetudinarium corpuſculum ſingulari quadam et exquiſita curatione indigebat, quam nequeat adhibere, cui non abunde facultates ſuppetunt.—Nam qui intolerabili calculi et veſicæ dolore per omnem vitam laboraret, lauta et diligenti curatione opus habebat.—Renum veſicæque morbi malitiam in eo gravabant tuſſis et podagra.

—Accedebat

favours he received, and how many he refuſed, and how little inclination he had for Eccleſiaſtical preferments, more of which he might have obtained, we cannot well place him amongſt the [c] *Infelices Literati.* A. D. 1536.

THE STYLE of Eraſmus is that of a man, who had a ſtrong memory, a natural eloquence, a lively fancy, and a ready invention, who compoſed with great facility and rapidity, and who did not care for the trouble of reviſing and correcting; who had ſpent all his days in reading, writing, and talking Latin; for he ſeems to have had no turn for modern languages, and perhaps he had almoſt forgotten his mother-tongue. His ſtyle therefore is always unaffected, eaſy, copious, fluent, and clear; but not always perfectly pure, and ſtrictly claſſical. He hath been cenſured, as a dealer in barbariſms, by perſons, who not only had not half of of his abilities and erudition, but who did not even write Latin half ſo well as he.

His verſes are plainly the compoſitions of one, who had much learning and good ſenſe, and who underſtood proſody, or the technical part of poetry; but who had not an equal elegance of taſte, and an ear for poetical numbers. So that upon the whole he is rather a verſifier than a poet, and is not to be ranked amongſt the Italian poets of thoſe days, Sannazarius, Fracaſtorius, Vida, &c. many of whom wrote better than any of the ancients, except Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and a few more.

—Accedebat ſenectus ipſa per ſe morbus habitus. Accedebant inſuper quotidianæ vigiliæ et nocturnæ lucubrationes. — Cæterum Eraſmus, qui omnes notiones naturæ ſuæ exploratas meditataſque haberet, certa quadam et artificioſa victus ratione mederi ſibi didicerat. — *Guil. Inſulanus* Orat. Funebr. in obitum Eraſmi, T. X. c. 1856.

[c] Benſerade would have ſaid, *J'en connois de plus miſerables.*

A. D. 1536. ERASMUS [d] uſed to dine late, that he might have a long morning to ſtudy in. After dinner he would converſe chearfully with his friends about all ſorts of ſubjects, and deliver his opinions very freely upon men and things. So ſays Milichius, who was a ſtudent at Friburg, and there had the pleaſure of being well acquainted with Eraſmus.

ERASMUS, in the earlier part of his life, carefully ſtudied the Greek and Latin grammar, read lectures upon them, and tranſlated Greek books into Latin. This was laying a right [e] foundation for criticiſm and philology; and it is much to be wiſhed, that our young ſtudents of promiſing abilities would, in ſome meaſure, follow his example. Be you ever ſo ingenious and induſtrious, yet if you neglect to cultivate and to preſerve this humble part of knowledge, you will be perpetually ſtumbling, when you tread on Claſſic ground, when you attempt to explain, to tranſlate, or to correct ancient authors, or to diſcuſs any learned ſubject, or to compoſe a few pages of Latin in proſe, or in verſe. Then beware of blunders; and think not to make amends

[d] De Eraſmi privata ac domeſtica conſuetudine, ac ſermonibus, multa narrare fuit ſolitus Jacobus Milichius cum magna voluptate: quomodo diurnas operas partiri, et ut matutino tempore rebus ſeriis vacare commodius poſſet, veterum more, tardius prandere: inde vel amicis ſeſe dedere, vel obambulare, et inter obambulandum, vel colloquiis ſuavibus ſe invitare ad hilaritatem atque oblectare, vel ea recitare ſolitus ſit, quæ ex ore ejus excepta, poſtea *Familiarium Colloquiorum* titulo prodierunt. Cum cenſuras referret, quas Eraſmus in efflorescentia ſub id tempus ingenia Germaniæ ſuo more, et pro ea qua valuit autoritate liberius agere conſueverat, aiebat illum de Philippo Melanchthone adoleſcente affirmaſſe, Quodcunque quamcumque artem nervos ingenii intenſurus eſſet, in ea omnes ſummos artifices eſſet ſuperaturus. Hac voce Eraſmi aiebat, incenſum fuiſſe Philippi viſendi. *Melch. Adam. in vita Milichii.*

[e] Quo minus ſunt ferendi, qui hanc artem [Grammaticam] ut tenuem ac jejunam cavillantur: quæ niſi oratori futuro fundamenta fideliter jecerit, quicquid ſuperſtruxeris, corruet: neceſſaria pueris, jucunda ſenibus: dulcis ſecretorum comes: et quæ vel ſola omni ſtudiorum genere plus habet operis, quam oſtentationis, &c. *Quinctilianus* I. 4.

amends for them by inſulting and ridiculing [f] Grammarians, A. D. 1536.
Scholiaſts, Commentators, Lexicographers, Verbal Critics, Word-Catchers, Syllable-Mongers, and Poachers in Stobæus and Suidas.

" It

[f] Quand on vouloit meſpriſer Monſieur Cujas, on l'appelloit Grammairien; mais il s'en rioit, & diſoit que telles gens eſtoient marris de ne l'eſtre pas. *Scaligeran.*

Utinam eſſem bonus Grammaticus; ſufficit enim ei, qui auctores omnes probe vult intelligere, eſſe bonum Grammaticum. Porro, quicunque doctos viros Grammaticos *pour tout potage* vocant, ſunt ipſi indoctiſſimi; idque ſemper obſervabis. *Scaligeran.* p. 116, 176.

Dorpius, writing againſt Eraſmus, repreſented himſelf as a Divine, and Eraſmus as a Grammarian. Sir T. More replies to him:

Quanquam Grammatici nomen, quod tu frequentius quam facetius irrides, Eraſmus, opinor, haud aſpernabitur; imo, ut eſt modeſtus, quanquam meretur maxime fortaſſis, nec agnoſcet tamen. — Quod ſi tu eos tantum Grammaticos eſſe vis, quos ais ferulas ſceptrorum vice geſtantes in antro plagoſo regnare, &c. ego, medius fidius, mi Dorpi, etiam eos, quanquam procul ab diſciplinis eſſe conceſſerim, tamen aliquanto propius acceſſiſſe puto, quam Theologos illos, qui et ſtructuram orationum et voculas ipſas ignorant: ex quo genere, et ego aliquot, et tu, ut opinor, plures (quanquam uterque ſedulo diſſimulamus) agnoſcimus. *Epiſt.* ad *Dorpium.*

Quid eſt quod tam procul a ſacris ablegamus Grammaticos, de divinis Literis aliquanto melius meritos, quam ſint frigidi quidam ac jejuni Dialectici, ne dicam Sophiſtæ? *Eraſmus* ad *D. Marcum*, VIII. not. 23.

Rideat qui volet has Grammatiſtarum annotationes, modo fateatur terque quaterque Theologos in his labi. Tolerabile, ſi tantum laberentur, niſi lapſui jungerent impudentiam calumniandi.— Quanto melius ageretur cum re Theologica, ſi qui Theologiam abſolutam profitentur, a Linguacibus et Grammatiſtis comiter acciperent, quod illi pro ſua qualicunque portione conferunt in medium; et illis viciſſim illa ſublimiora myſteria fraterne communicent, hoc majore modeſtia, quo penitius ingreſſi ſunt in ejus philoſophiæ penetralia, quæ dedocet faſtum omnem et ſupercilium, ſummamque docet tolerantiam erga imbecilles? *Ad D. Lucam*, I. not. 53.

Qui tam indoctas nænias evulgant libris, miro ſupercilio objurgant, miro faſtu inſultant ac tantum non triumphant, rectius facturi, ſi diſcerent interim Græcæ Latinæque Grammatices rudimenta. *Ad* 1 *ad Corinth.* X. 16.

In his ne turpiter hallucinentur hamaxiæi Doctores, et Coloſſei Theologi, præſtant illi monogrammati Grammatiſtæ, ac Pygmæi Theologi. *Adverſ. Sutorem*, T. IX. c. 765.

A. D. 1536. " It is no wonder that no bookſeller could be found, who " would venture to print the Commentary of Meziriac upon " Apollodorus. The taſte for this kind of erudition is entirely " extinct; and if Meziriac were to return to life in theſe days, " he might ſtay long enough at Breſſe, before he would receive " an invitation to be a Member of the French Academy. The " ſame qualifications, which formerly procured him that honour, " would now ſuffice to exclude him. It was not the politeneſs " of his ſtyle, or the beauty of his verſes, which made him " accounted worthy of being an Academician, for in this reſpect " he was inferior to moſt of the Fraternity; but it was his repu- " tation for learning, and the proofs which he had given of a " vaſt erudition. Times are altered: no regard is paid to an " Author, who perfectly underſtands Mythology, Greek Poets " and Scholiaſts, and by this knowledge can clear up difficulties " in

Et quoniam per ſaltum, ut aiunt, Doctor factus eſt Bedda, redeat ad neceſſariam Grammaticam et Latinam et Græcam, ex cujus inſcitia toties gravem calumniam intendit proximo, toties non intelligit Auctores qui Latine ſcripſerunt, ut de Græcis taceam. Ne pudeat ſero diſcere, quod ſcire neceſſarium eſt. *Adverſ. Beddam*, T. IX. c. 698.

Nec te grammaticas opus eſt ediſcere nugas,
Et tetricis languere ſcholis, tantum elige gnomas
Priſcorum e libris—nec te vox barbara turbet,
Aut temere erumpens lingua titubante ſolœcus:
Tot ſanctos oppone patres: myſteria ſacra
Turpe eſt grammaticis ſubmittere colla capiſtris.
Buchanan. Franciſcan.

I remember to have met with a paſſage in a certain Writer, which is not at all favourable to the Grammarians. It runs thus:

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ὅσα φιλία· πρὸς μέν τοι σοφιστὰς, ἢ γραμματιστὰς, ἢ τοιοῦτο γένος ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ὅσα φιλία, μήτε ὕστερόν ποτε γένοιτο.

My friendſhip I beſtow upon Philoſophers: as to Sophiſts, little Grammarians, and ſuch ſort of Scoundrels and Cacodæmons, I neither have, nor ever will have any regard for them.

The man abhors *Grammarians*, it ſeems; and *Grammars* too, I ſuppoſe. But who is the Author of this bit of Greek? An extraordinary perſon, I aſſure you; a Projector, a Viſionnaire, a Linguiſt by inſpiration, a Crack, a Conjurer —— in ſhort, APOLLONIUS TYANENSIS. He is the man; and the *Grammarians* account it no diſgrace to be vilified by a *Mountebank*.

" in Chronology, Geography, Grammar, &c. Not only com- A. D. 1536.
" poſitions without the leaſt tincture of literature are preferred to
" the works of ſuch an Author, but he is treated as a mere
" Pedant: and this is the ſure way to diſcourage all young men,
" who have talents for the ſtudy of humanities. There is ſome-
" thing odious and contemptible in the very name of Pedantry;
" and who would take pains to acquire nothing beſides ſcorn and
" infamy by becoming very learned, and appearing to be well
" verſed in the works of the Ancients? Nothing hath more con-
" tributed to bring literature into contempt, than the cuſtom
" which the Wits and the fine Geniuſes, real or pretended, have
" taken up to condemn, as ſchool-learning and pedantry, citations
" from Latin and Greek Authors, and Philological remarks.
" They have been ſo unjuſt, as to deride even thoſe Scholars,
" who had, beſides erudition, a politeneſs and a knowledge of
" the world, Coſtar for example. Had they been contented to
" ridicule thoſe, who, to make a parade of their reading, cite a
" Plato, a Varro, and an Ariſtotle, either to prove nothing at all,
" or to confirm ſomething which no man ever denied, and
" which every man knows, they had not done amiſs: but with
" diſdainful airs and inſolent ſcoffs they have baniſhed from the
" polite world all thoſe who dared to ſhew that they had made
" collections from the Ancients; they have laughed at the
" Coſtars, and even at thoſe letters of Voiture which are ſprinkled
" with Latin. Theſe cenſures have had the more effect, be-
" cauſe there is ſomething plauſible in them; and it is certainly
" true, that men ſhould be more careful to poliſh their mind,
" and to form their judgment, than to load their memory with
" the remarks and the ſayings of other people. The more
" truth there is in this maxim, the more it charms and ſeduces
" the Conceited, the Superficial, and the Lazy, and incites them
" to turn to ridicule every thing that is called Erudition. Per-
" haps at the bottom, the principal motive is to depreciate the
" goods

A. D. 1536. " goods of their neighbours, with a view to enhance the value " of their own: for if one was to ſay to them, You condemn " ſuch and ſuch Authors for citing Latin and Greek. Lay your " hands upon your heart, and tell me whether you would not do " the ſame if you were able; we ſhould put their ſincerity to a " hard trial. — Now things are come to ſuch a paſs (that is, " A. 1700) that, as we are informed, the Bookſeller at Paris, " who deſigns to print Madam Dacier's Tranſlation of Homer, " dares not join the original to it, leſt the very ſight of Greek " ſhould diſcourage and diſguſt his cuſtomers. — Judge by this " of the reigning taſte, and conclude that the Commentary upon " Apollodorus would be hiſſed off the ſtage at Paris. It con- " tains too much erudition." *Bayle* MEZIRIAC, Not. C.

IN ERASMUS we behold a man, who in the days of his youth, lying under no ſmall diſadvantages of birth and education, depreſſed by poverty, friendleſs and unſupported, or very ſlenderly ſupported, made his way through all theſe obſtacles, and, by the help of bright parts and conſtant application, became one of the moſt conſiderable ſcholars of the age, and acquired the favour and the protection of Princes, Nobles, and Prelates, of the greateſt Names in Church and State.

Every man of letters muſt not indulge the vain hope, though he ſhould be as learned, as ingenious, and as induſtrious as Eraſmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was. — But this is not a ſufficient cauſe to deter any perſon from a ſtudious life. Learning is in many reſpects its own reward; learning applied to uſeful purpoſes, and adorned with good manners. Without theſe, though it may be of ſome ſervice to the Public, it will be of ſmall comfort to the Poſſeſſor.

" After perſonal merit, (ſays *Bruyere*) it muſt be confeſſed " that high ſtations and pompous titles are the principal and the " moſt ſplendid marks of diſtinction: and he who cannot be " an *Eraſmus*, muſt think of being a *Biſhop*." The

The [g] high ſtomach of the learned Joſeph Scaliger, and his reſentment againſt the age in which he lived, made him talk in a manner beneath himſelf, when he adviſed all parents to keep their children from literature, and to turn them entirely to occupations more lucrative, and more reſpected by the world. Such ſentiments did not become either the Prince of the Republic of Letters, or the Prince of Verona. A. D. 1536.

As for the Writer of the Life of Eraſmus, if he may be permitted here to ſpeak of himſelf, and to throw away a few lines upon ſuch a ſubject, he hath no cauſe to wiſh that he had followed other occupations. Not to his erudition, (for many things have concurred to hinder him from making any conſiderable progreſs in it) but to his conſtant love and purſuit of it he owes his late Patron; he owes ſeveral worthy Friends ſtill living, ONE in particular; and a ſituation and ſtation, better than he expected, and as good as he ought to deſire.

OF ALL the Theological works of Eraſmus, his [h] *Paraphraſes* were beſt received, and met with the leaſt oppoſition. Yet our good Biſhop Gardiner inveighed vehemently againſt them.

" As

[g] Monſtrorum pater eſt hoc ſeculum. Nemo non vult haberi doctus: nemo tamen vel labro tenus bonas literas deguſtavit. — Puduit me magni cujuſdam viri, magnique in Theologicis nominis, qui ignorat, quæ puerum neſcire nefas eſſet. Ego totum me literis dedidi, quum eæ vigerent, et maximi in illis florerent viri, quorum exemplo quivis ad eas excitari poſſet. Nunc non mirum eſt juventutem has artes contemnere, ad quarum amorem nullius exemplo excitatur. Ego tamen, quem tam ingratum ſeculum a virtute deterrere poterat, non committam ut hoc exiguum vitæ quod mihi ſupereſt, in iis ſtudiis non tranſigam, in quibus primam puritiam exegi. Nulli tamen auctor fuerim, ut liberis ſuis plus temporis in literis ediſcendis indulgeat, quam quantum Latinæ linguæ percipiendæ ſatis eſt; ut inde ad aliud inſtitutum vitæ ſeſe conferat, quod melius audiat, et fructuoſius ſit, quam literarum ſtudium, quo hodie nihil deſpicacius, nihil inutilius. *Epiſt.* ad *Gruterum*, p. 794.

[h] Above, p. 128, 424.

A. D. 1536. " As to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, Gardiner pretended that he " found divers things in it to condemn the work; and that he " agreed with them that ſaid, Eraſmus laid the eggs, and Luther " hatched them; and that of all the monſtrous opinions that have " riſen, evil men had a wondrous occaſion miniſtred to them from " that book.—He ſaid he might term it in one word *Abomination*, " both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Eraſ- " mus's pen; and alſo for the arrogant ignorance of the Tranſ- " lator of it; conſidering that book was authorized by the King, " and a charge laid upon the realm of twenty thouſand pounds, " by enjoining every pariſh to buy one: whereof he had made " an eſtimate by the probable number of buyers, and the price " of the book. He charged the Tranſlator with ignorance both " in Latin and Engliſh; a man, he ſaid, far unmeet to meddle " with ſuch a matter, and not without malice on his part.—

" In vindication of the Learned Author of the Paraphraſe, ſo " bedaſhed by Gardiner, I will here uſe the words of him that " writ the Epiſtle Dedicatory before the tranſlated Paraphraſe " on the Acts:

I cannot but judge, that whoſo are prompt and haſty condemners of Eraſmus, or eager adverſaries unto his doctrine, do, under the name and colour of Eraſmus, rather utter their ſtomach and hatred againſt God's Word and the Grace of the Goſpel, which Eraſmus for his part moſt diligently and moſt ſimply laboureth to bring to light.

" And to ſuch as ſaid that his doctrine was ſcarcely ſincere, " and that he did ſomewhat err, he anſwered;"

That Eraſmus, foraſmuch as he was a man, and ſo eſteemed himſelf, would that his works ſhould none otherwiſe be read or accepted, than the writings of other mortal men. And that, after his judgment, a little trip among ſo many notable good works for the interpretation of Scripture, and for the help of the Simple, ſhould rather be borne withal, than ſo many good things

things to be either rejected, or kept away from the hungry Christian Reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing; and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of nothing, would have the Ignorant to lack so much good edifying, as may be taken of [i] Eraſmus. *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer*, B. II. c. 3; and *Appendix*, N°. xxxvi. p. 77, containing Gardiner's frivolous and malicious remarks againſt Eraſmus. A. D. 1536.

I HAVE been aſked whether I would decide the queſtion, *What was the Religion of Eraſmus?* In one reſpect, I account myſelf qualified for the undertaking; for I am unprejudiced, and have nothing to bias me. But I think it beſt to leave the Reader to judge for himſelf, and to make his inferences from the premiſſes. Therefore I ſhall only obſerve, that Eraſmus, if he had had an abſolute power to eſtabliſh a form of religion in any country, would have been a moderate man, and a Latitudinarian, as to the *Credenda*. He would have propoſed few Articles of faith, and thoſe with a primitive ſimplicity. This Syſtem indeed would have been highly diſagreeable to the men, who enjoy no comfort in believing; or in pretending to believe, what they think fit, unleſs they can vex, harraſs, and torment all thoſe, who will not ſubmit to their deciſions.

Eraſmus hath been accuſed of Arianiſm by many Eccleſiaſtics; he hath alſo been claimed as an Arian by [k] Sandius and others. Yet

[i] Leo Judæ Eraſmi in Novum Teſtamentum Paraphraſim eximiam prorſus, atque auro gemmiſque pretioſiorem, in linguam Germanicam transferre ferrea prorſus induſtria ſuſcepit, occultato licet proprio nomine. *Gerdeſius* Hiſt. Evang. Renov. Tom. I. p. 109.

[k] Eraſmum non ſolum Miniſtri Sarmatiæ et Tranſſylvaniæ probarunt ſecuti ſenſiſſe; ſed et Bellarminus, Poſſevinus, aliique volunt eadem eum tum Arianis ſenſiſſe. Hoc ſane conſtat infinita eum ſcripſiſſe in favorem Arianorum, et plurima loca Scripturæ, quæ contra Arianos allegantur, ſuis explicationibus penitus enervaſſe. Præfatione (ni fallor) in tertium tomum operum Hieronymi admodum ſcripſit in gratiam Arianorum; ſcilicet,

A. D. 1536. it is certain that he denied the charge, and that he expreſſed himſelf often upon this ſubject like thoſe who were called Orthodox. I began to mark the paſſages which ſhew this, but was ſoon weary of the work. They are to be found quite through his fifth [l] Volume, and in many other places.

And yet Eraſmus ſaid [m] enough, and more than enough, to make himſelf ſuſpected by violent and unreaſonable men. He gave up ſome paſſages of Scripture, which had been, and are now frequently urged againſt the Arians, and which prove nothing beſides the ignorance, diſingenuity, or prejudices of thoſe who make uſe of them: he ſaid, that Arianiſm was rather a faction and a ſchiſm than an hereſy; that the Arians ſurpaſſed their adverſaries in learning and eloquence; that they were ſkilful in the knowledge of the Scriptures; that they might be good men, and in the favour of God, notwithſtanding their error; that Arius and his followers were ill uſed by the Conſubſtantialiſts; that Creeds ought to be drawn up with ſimplicity; that the Chriſtians in the fourth century did wrong to inſert the word ὁμοούσιος in the Nicene Creed; that the Apoſtles Creed was ſufficient; and that the Athanaſian Creed, unleſs very favourably interpreted, was rather heterodox than orthodox.

He alſo defended the doctrine of Subordination; he thought that the Son, though of the ſame *nature* with the Father, yet, *perſonally* conſidered, was leſſer than the Father, and inferior to him,

licet, ut memini, Arianos ſeculo quarto, numero, præſtantia, moribus et eruditione potiores fuiſſe Homouſianis, adeo ut Eccleſia fuerit dubia, in quas partes potius inclinaret. Dictum quoque mihi eſt, eum alicubi ſcripſiſſe: *Cum Arianis ſentirem, ſi Eccleſia id feciſſet.* Sandius *Nucl. Hiſt. Eccl.* p. 423. See alſo his *Appendix ad Nucl.* p. 84.

[l] Tom. V. c. 472, 475, 480, 483, 494, 510, 511, 526, 532, 535, 601, 836, 903, 914, 939, 1011, 1037, 1057, 1073, 1139. Tom. IX. c. 171, 414, &c.

[m] See above, p. 136, Ep. 329; above, p. 197. Ep. 478; above, p. 222. Ep. 525; above, p. 286, &c. Ep. 613. Tom. IX. c. 270, 273, 275.

him, as the Father was the fountain of Divinity, from whom the Son and the Spirit received their being and their perfections. A. D. 1536.

If he could have ſeen the [n] Confeſſion of Faith, preſented to Francis I by the poor perſecuted remains of the Albigenſes, or Valdenſes,

[n] A. 1544, Merindoliani et Caprarienſes in Venaſcinenſi comitatu, ſub patrocinio olim Dominorum de Cabriera habitantes, exiſtenteſque reliquiæ Albigenſium, ſequentem fidei ſuæ confeſſionem obtulerunt Franciſco I, Regi Galliæ, quam a majoribus quaſi per manus acceperant, abhinc anno poſt Chriſti incarnationem 1200, quemadmodum ex omni memoria ætatum atque temporum a veteribus intellexerant. Eadem legitur in Caroli Molinæi Monarchia Francorum, quæ in Latinum ex Gallico verſa ita ſonat:

CREDIMUS unum tantum eſſe Deum, qui ſpiritus eſt, rerum cunctarum conditor, Pater omnium, ſuper et per omnia, in nobis omnibus, adorandus in ſpiritu et veritate, quem ſolum exſpectamus, datorem vitæ, alimentorum, indumentorum; proſperæ item valetudinis, infirmitatis, commodorum et incommodorum: hunc diligimus tanquam omnis bonitatis auctorem, et ceu cordium inſpectorem timemus.

Jeſum Chriſtum credimus eſſe Patris filium et imaginem, in quo omnis plenitudo deitatis habitat, per quem cognoſcimus Patrem, qui noſter et mediator et advocatus, nec ullum aliud ſub cœlo nomen hominibus datum eſt, per quod ſervari nos oportet. In hujus nomen ſolum invocamus Patrem: nec ullas preces effundimus coram Deo, præter eas quæ in Scriptura ſacra continentur, aut cum ejuſdem ſenſu plane conveniunt.

Credimus nos habere conſolatorem Spiritum ſanctum, a Patre et Filio procedentem, cujus inſpiratione precamur, et efficacia regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona opera efficit, atque per eum in omnem deducimur veritatem.

Credimus unam ſanctam Eccleſiam omnium electorum Dei a conſtitutione ad finem mundi congregationem, cujus caput eſt dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus. Hanc Verbum Dei gubernat, Spiritus Sanctus ducit. In ea ſinceri Chriſtiani omnes verſari tenentur: pro omnibus enim indeſinenter orat, grata Deo ad quem confugit, et extra quam nulla eſt ſalus.

Illud apud nos eſt conſtitutum, miniſtros Eccleſiæ, Epiſcopos nempe et Paſtores, in moribus et doctrina irreprehenſibiles eſſe debere: alioquin deponendos, alioſque ſubſtituendos, qui eorum locum et officium impleant. Nemo autem hunc ſibi honorem aſſumat, niſi a Deo vocatus, ut Aaron, gregem Dei paſcens, non turpe affectans lucrum, vel ut Clericis dominans, ſed promto animo exemplum piis præbens, in ſermone, converſatione, charitate, fide et caſtitate.

Reges, principes, et magiſtratus confitemur a Deo inſtitutos eſſe miniſtros, quibus parendum ſit: nam gladium geſtant, ut innocentes tueantur et malos

A. D. 1536. Valdenſes, he would probably have approved it; and the Learned Reader will, I dare ſay, be pleaſed to find it here.

I HAVE produced many teſtimonies of Eraſmus in favour of Warham; to which I will here ° add a very elegant Encomium, taken

puniant. Propterea honorem eis deferre, tributaque perſolvere tenemur. Nullus autem ab hac obedientia ſeſe eximere poteſt, ſi modo Chriſtianus dici velit, Jeſu Chriſti Domini et Salvatoris noſtri exemplum ſequens. Is enim tributum perſolvit, nec juriſdictionem dominationemve temporalem uſurpavit, in ſtatu illo humiliationis gladium verbi cœleſtis exſerens.

Credimus aquam in baptiſmi ſacramento eſſe ſignum viſibile et externum, nobis repræſentans illud, quod virtus Dei intus in nobis operatur, nempe ſpiritus renovationem, et in Chriſto Jeſu carnis noſtræ mortificationem: per quem etiam Chriſtum ſanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ membra efficimur, in qua fidei noſtræ profeſſionem et vitæ emendationem demonſtramus.

Sanctæ menſæ vel cœnæ Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ſacramentum, credimus eſſe ſacrum memoriale, et gratiarum actionem ob beneficia per Chriſti mortem nobis collata, in cœtu piorum, in fide, charitate, ſuique ipſius probatione celebrandam; et ita panem et poculum ſumendo Chriſti carni et ſanguini communicare, ſicuti in ſacris Scripturis edocemur.

Conjugium eſſe bonum, honorabile, ſanctum, et a Deo inſtitutum profitemur: nemini prohibendum, niſi verbum Dei intercedat.

Pios et Deum timentes credimus Deo ſe probaturos, ut bonis vacent operibus, quæ præparavit, ut in eis ambulent. Hæc autem opera ſunt charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, probitas, modeſtia, temperantia, aliaque opera in Scripturis commendata.

Contra, fatemur cavendum nobis eſſe a pſeudoprophetis, quorum ſcopus eſt populum ab adoratione religioſa, uni Deo et Domino debita, revocare, creaturis adhærere et confidere; bona opera in Scripturis mandata relinquere, et hominum figmenta ſequi.

Regulam fidei noſtræ Vetus et Novum Teſtamentum retinemus, Symbolumque ſequimur Apoſtolicum. Quiſquis autem dixerit, nos aliam profiteri doctrinam, longe eum falli et fallere demonſtrabimus, ſi modo per Judices ordinarios nobis liceat. *Sandius* Hiſt. Eccl. p. 425.

° —— Inter tot egregias dotes, quibus Principem ac præcipue Epiſcopum præditum eſſe oportet, non alia [eſt] qua vel ornetur decentius, vel commendetur efficacius, quam morum et ingenii lenitas ac manſuetudo, quæ fere non niſi eximiam probitatem et inſignem ſapientiam tum comitari ſolet, tum arguere. Vulgaris aut ficta probitas ſuum habet faſtum, ſuum habet ſupercilium, et ſibi plus æquo indulgens, ut alienarum virtutum

taken from his Notes on 1 *Theſſ.* ii. 7, and well deſerving to be attentively A. D. 1536.

tutum eſt maligna æſtimatrix, ita vitiorum alienorum acerba infectatrix eſt. Quamquam autem hujus laudis prima ſecundum Chriſtum gloria, penes Paulum noſtrum eſt, qui quum cæteros omnes omnibus et dotibus et officiis Apoſtolicis longe præcurreret, tamen unus Apoſtolum eſſe ſeſe velut ignorabat, hoc ſeſe gerens ſubmiſſius, quo major eſſet: tamen his quidem temporibus neminem novi, qui propius ad hanc laudem accedat, quam ille meus, imo non meus, ſed totius Inſulæ Britannicæ Mæcenas Guilielmus Warhamus,—in quo cum nihil ſit, quacumque contempleris hominem, quod non eximium ac maximum eſſe judices, tamen haud alia re major videri ſolet, quam quod modis omnibus maximus, ſolus ipſe magnitudinem ſuam non agnoſcat. Quo fit ut cum cæteris virtutibus ſuperet etiam maximos, hoc uno nomine ſuperat et ſeipſum, quod ſibi magnus non eſt. Si quis expendat dignitatis faſtigium, ſi negotiorum molem et amplitudinem, ſi judicium pene divinum, ſi vim ingenii incomparabilem, ſi eruditionem undiquaque abſolutam, ſi vitæ puritatem, ſi fortunæ ſplendorem, quem pro temporum ac regionis conſuetudine tolerat verius quam habet, ne inter ſummos quidem ullum invenies, quem cum hoc auſis conferre. Rurſum ſic, obvius et expoſitus eſt omnibus, ut vix reperias vel in media plebe, inter infimæ ſortis homines, quem hic non anteeat comitate, facilitate, manſuetudine. O mentem vere heroicam et Apoſtolico viro dignam, cum humanum prætergreſſus ſis modum, teipſum in ordinem redigere, ac nec infimum quemquam hominem faſtidire! Aliis paululum eruditionis criſtas erigit. Aliis imaginum ſplendor animos effert. Sunt quibus vita caſtior ſupercilium adducat. Neque deſunt, quos mediocris etiam auræ fortuna ſuſtollat, neque ſui finat meminiſſe. Hic ſemper in omni doctrinæ genere ſummas tenuit, ut qui ingenio longe feliciſſimo, quod naturæ Deique munere contigerat, ſtudium adjunxerit indefatigabile. Deinde in graviſſimis ſimul ac ſplendidiſſimis regni Regiſque negotiis toties ac tot annos verſatus eſt, idque non ſine ſumma laude, tum pietatis, tum prudentiæ. Nunc denique, ceu mirificus quidam Geryon, tergeminum heroa ſuæ præſtat univerſæ Britanniæ, Archiepiſcopum ac Primatem, Cancellarium, et Mæcenatem; Archiepiſcopum religioni, Cancellarium juſtitiæ et reipublicæ, Mæcenatem ſtudiis. Quis eſt tanto animi robore præditus, qui non ſub horum uno quolibet fudet anheletque, quæ vir ille ſolus ſuſtinet? præſertim qui prorſus intelligat quid quiſque titulus efflagitet. Siquidem Archiepiſcopi Primatiſque titulus, quem vir ille ſanctiſſimus Thomas ſuo martyrio reddidit auguſtiorem, illud exigit, ut quod Romanus Pontifex univerſo debet orbi, hoc ille univerſæ præſtet Britanniæ. Jam Cancellarii munus ſummum et incorruptum totius regni judicem requirit, et ad quem omnibus ſit

A. D. 1536. attentively perused by those, who ought to imitate the good qualities of this illustrious Prelate and Statesman.

THIS

aditus, Laicis pariter et Clericis, a quo tamen nulla jam sit appellatio. Quas hic negotiorum moles, quos causarum fluctus uno ab homine sustineri putas? Ut ne vocem interim ad hanc rationem neque pauca neque mediocria curarum pondera, quæ ex regiis accedunt negotiis; ut domesticas solicitudines dissimulem, quas in tam numerosa familia non mediocres esse consentaneum est. Et tamen unum illud pectus tot rebus obeundis non solum sufficit, verum etiam supereſt. In tam immenso circumstrepentium negotiorum agmine suppetit quod tribuat religioni, quod privatis amicorum affectibus, quod evolvendis libris, quos adeo non fastidit, ut cum nullis amicis confabuletur libentius, quoties a publicis functionibus otii nonnihil suffurari licet. Nimirum hoc illi tribuit admiranda quædam naturæ felicitas, et incredibilis ingenii dexteritas, hoc judicium non minus acre quam promtum et expeditum, hoc diutinus rerum usus, super omnia vero perpetua quædam vitæ sobrietas ac vigilantia. Ne minima quidem ætatis portio datur aleæ, nulla voluptatibus, nulla conviviis, nulla somno, imo naturæ quoque nonnihil detrahit, quod adjiciat juvandæ patriæ. Hac ratione fit, ut et tempus, et ætas jam alioqui grandior, et valetudo tot tantisque negotiis obeundis, sustinendis, exantlandisque sufficiat, quibus ne decem quidem alii pares esse possint. Jam fieri non potest, quin in tam varia negotiorum turba quædam existant non ingentia solum, sed etiam molesta periculosaque. Quandoquidem non temere dictum est illud, *Ne Jovem quidem placere omnibus.* At hunc nemo vidit tristem, nemo commotum, nemo vultuosum: tanta est infatigati pectoris vis et constantia. Tum æquitas ac suavitas tanta, ut ab hoc victi discedant æquioribus animis, quam a nonnullis solent victores. Sibi perpetuo tranquillus est, aliis comis et alacris. Jam vero Mæcenatis personam, quam ultro suscepit, ita tuetur ac sustinet, ut Insula semper viris et opibus pollens, olim religione nobilis, nunc optimis item literis ac disciplinis, hujus potissimum opera sic efflorverit, ut nulli regioni cedere debeat, seu Græcæ pariter ac Latinæ literaturæ peritiam requiras, seu spectes eloquentiæ vires, seu Mathematicorum acumina, seu reliquam Philosophiæ cognitionem, seu literarum arcanarum mysteria. Unus alit plurimos, evehit plerosque, favet, fovet, ornat, ac tuetur omnes, non solum eximios, sed et mediocres, nec suos tantum, sed exteros etiam et quovis sub cœlo natos. Quorum in numero me quoque, quantuluscumque sum, esse voluit illius benignitas. Cujus beneficentiæ, quanquam alias quoque profusæ et exundanti, illud etiam geminam addit gratiam, quod vix unquam admoneri sese patitur, rogari nunquam. Quin et gratias agentem mox interpellat, velut hoc ipsum nimium sit, eum, qui summo

THIS VOLUME was almoſt printed off, before I could procure *The Life of Eraſmus by M. de Burigni*. As ſoon as it came into A. D. 1536.

ſit affectus beneficio, verbis agnoſcere quod accepit. Abunde ſibi relatam gratiam putat, ſi ſtudiis profuit, ſi bene ceſſit omnibus quod ille de ſuo privato contulit munus. Et quemadmodum non jactat, ſi feliciter provenit benignitas, ita negligit ac ceu non meminit, ſi quando ſecus evenit. Quandoquidem fieri non poteſt, quin et id accidat nonnunquam ei, qui propenſus ſit ad bene merendum de omnibus. Judicio adſciſcit quos velit fovere, ſed eo ſane candido et amico magis quam ſevero. Cæterum quos ſemel complexus ſit, conſtantiſſime fovet, nec ullis invidorum obtrectationibus poteſt alienari. Quas ſi quando cogitur audire, mire diſſimulat, id quoque ſtudens, ne vel ad eum perveniant quem petunt, ne quid illius contriſtetur animus. Cujuſmodi Mæcenas ſi mihi primis illis contigiſſet annis, fortaſſis aliquid in bonis literis eſſe potuiſſem. Nunc natus ſeculo parum felici, cum paſſim impune regnaret barbaries, præſertim apud noſtrates, apud quos tum crimen etiam erat quicquam bonarum literarum attigiſſe, tantum aberat ut honos aleret hominum ſtudia, in ea regione, quæ Baccho Cererique dicata tum eſſet verius quam Muſis; quid, quæſo, poteram ingenio vix mediocri præditus? Nam clariſſimum virum Henricum Berganum Epiſcopum Cameracenſem, primum ſtudii mei Mæcenatem, mors invida præripuit. Huic proximum Guilielmum Montejovium, inclytum Angliæ Primatem, aulæ negotia bellique tumultus interceperunt. Quamquam, ut vere dicam, huic ipſe defui potius, quam ille mihi. Per hunc denique contigit ſummus ille Cantuarienſis, ſed provectiori jam et ad quadrageſimum devergenti annum. Et tamen hujus excitatus benignitate, in literarum ſtudiis veluti repubui reviguique; et quod nec natura dederat, nec patria, hoc hujus dedit benignitas. Habent hoc mortalium ingenia, habent hoc ſtudia literarum, præſidem aliquem ac ducem deſiderant, qui ſuppeditet otium, qui addat animum, qui tueatur adverſus excetram invidiæ, quæ non aliter quam umbra corpus ſequitur eruditionis gloriam: denique ad cujus judicium ſuas exigant vires, cui ſuas conſecrent vigilias. Vidit hoc, opinor, prudens antiquitas, quæ Muſis Virginibus ſuum præfecit Apollinem. Proinde ſicuti vere dictum eſt Græcorum proverbio, *Annum fructificare, non arvum*, quod cœli clementia plus afferat momenti ad ſegetis proventum, quam ſoli bonitas, ita Principum benignitas eſt, quæ facit ingenioſos. Nulla regio tam barbara, tam procul a ſolis equis, ut ait Maro, devergens, quæ non habeat dexterrima ingenia, quæ vel in media Græcia nata videri poſſint, ſi non deſint Mæcenates. Sed dum harum rerum cogitatione teneor, haud ſcio quo modo pene operis inſtituti immemor, diutius quam par eſt, immoror digreſſioni. Proinde ad id quod agitur recurrendum.

A. D. 1536. into my hands, I gave it an attentive peruſal, imagining that I ſhould receive inſtruction upon ſome points relating to our ſubject; and in this expectation I have not been deceived. Yet I think I can add with truth, that few very conſiderable things are contained in his book, which are not taken notice of either in this Volume, or in the next, which I have for ſome time been preparing for the preſs. How indeed ſhould it be otherwiſe, ſince we both draw from the ſame ſpring, and employ nearly the ſame materials?

As to religious matters, it is not to be expected that a Frenchman, who is a Member of the Church of Rome, and of the Royal Academy at Paris, and an Engliſh Proteſtant, ſhould think, or ſhould ſpeak alike. Thoſe paſſages in Eraſmus, which the Firſt calls *temeraires*, *hazardées*, raſh, daring, imprudent, offenſive to pious ears, and to pious ſtomachs, are, in the opinion of the Second, the moſt agreeable and uſeful remarks of our Illuſtrious Author, and do him the moſt honour. The zealous Romaniſts will perhaps think that even M. Burigni is half-ſpoiled by keeping bad company, and that here and there he ſmells a little of *Eraſmianiſm*. And indeed virtue and wiſdom, like vice and folly, are contagious; and a man may catch the ſpirit of moderation and freedom, as well as the ſpirit of perſecution and bigotry, by converſation with men and with books.

I ſhall here give a ſmall extract from M. Burigni, as a kind of ſupplement to the foregoing pages. If in the next Volume I ſhould alſo ſelect a few remarks from his Book, as perhaps I may, it ſhall not be without citing him, and making proper acknowledgments.

In his Preface he mentions thoſe who have drawn up the Life of Eraſmus, or given imperfect ſketches of it, as *Eraſmus* himſelf, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Merula*, *Malincrot*, *Mercier*, *Bizardiere*, *Knight*, and *Joli*. He obſerves that what *Malincrot* and *Joli* had written upon Eraſmus hath never appeared.

Bayle.

Bayle and *Du Pin* might have been added to theſe perſons; and *Le Clerc* ſtill more, whoſe account of Eraſmus, given in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, and in *Prefaces* to ſeveral Tomes of Eraſmus, ſurpaſſeth by far, in my opinion, all that hath been hitherto publiſhed upon that ſubject. A.D. 1536.

The ſhort and cold mention which he hath made of *Knight*, and his referring in the margin to the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, give room to think that he never peruſed, and perhaps never ſaw this book; and that he contented himſelf with a meagre account from a Journaliſt. Dr. Knight's work is indeed confuſed and not over-elegant; but it contains many good materials.

Tom. I. pag. 6.

M. Burigni places the birth of Eraſmus on the 27th or 28th of October, 1465; yet obſerving at the ſame time that the year is uncertain.

I. 47.

" Henry à Bergis was [p] Biſhop (not Archbiſhop) of Cambray."

I. 102.

" Eraſmus compoſed a poem in honour to Henry VII, in " Hexameters, and in Iambics, *& a trois pieds.*"

This [q] poem conſiſts of an Hexameter and an Iambic verſe alternately; and the Iambic verſes are *Iambi trimetri*, that is, of *three meaſures* indeed, but of *ſix* feet; not of *three* feet, *a trois pieds.*

I. 115.

" Eraſmus took his voyage to Italy in 1506."

He [r] is in the right, I believe.

[p] See Above, p. 5. [q] Tom. I. c. 1215. [r] Above, p. 28.

A. D. 1536.

I. 124, and 436.

" Eraſmus, whilſt he was in Italy, had ſome young pupils; " but in a letter, which he wrote many years after his departure " thence, he complains that his evil Genius had almoſt engaged " him to perform that office at Bologna.

" *Quod ad juvenes attinet, ſcito me a nullo inſtituto ſemper fuiſſe* " *alieniorem, quam exceptandis aut curandis adoleſcentibus: quan-* " *quam Bononiæ malus Genius meus propemodum involverat illi reti.* " Epiſtola manuſcripta, *de Baſle, 1528. 8 Paſchæ*, Franciſco " Aſulano.

" This letter hath never been printed: it was communicated " to me moſt obligingly by Cardinal Paſſionei, &c."

M. Burigni had done well, if he had given us this and all ſuch letters entire.

I. 133.

" Eraſmus, in a letter to Franciſcus Aſulanus, ſays; *Nec* " *oblitus ſum noſtræ priſtinæ conſuetudinis; nec, ſi velim obliviſci,* " *ſinat calculus, quem iſtic primum collegi, meque ſubinde repetens,* " *Venetiæ commonefacit.* De Baſle, 15° Cal. Aprilis, A. 1523.

" This letter is not printed: Cardinal Paſſionei did me the " favour to communicate it."

I. 143.

" The library of Cardinal Grimani, next to that of the Pope, " was at that time the moſt conſiderable of Rome. (Ughellus, " *Italia Sacra.)* It contained eight thouſand volumes. He was " himſelf a man of erudition, and tranſlated into Italian a treatiſe " of St. Chryſoſtom."

I. 145.

" Eraſmus at Rome compoſed his [a] *Querela Pacis.* Julius II, " being informed of this Declamation, and having ſentiments

" very

[a] Above, p. 30. [b] Above, p. 31.

" very different from thoſe of Eraſmus, ſent for him. It was A. D. 1536.
" not without fear that he preſented himſelf before this imperious
" and violent Pontif: but he came off with a gentle reprimand,
" and an advice never to meddle with the affairs of Princes."

I. 324.

" [u] It is ſomewhat ſtrange, ſays the laſt Editor of St. Cyprian,
" that Eraſmus ſhould have inſerted amongſt the works of this
" Father a book, which he had found, intitled *De duplici mar-*
" *tyrio*, wherein mention is made of Diocletian, and of the
" Turks. Gravius and Pamelius are inclined to think that Eraſ-
" mus himſelf compoſed this book, to delude the public. But
" the judicious Tillemont, though not at all prejudiced in favour
" of Eraſmus, juſtifies him, and ſays that Eraſmus had too much
" ſenſe to make a work, which carried in itſelf its own con-
" futation."

Tillemont here follows Du Pin, whom ſee Tom. III. p. 173. and Tillemont, Tom. IV. p. 196.

I. 352.

" There were four editions of the New Teſtament of Eraſ-
" mus, during his life."

There were [x] five.

I. 372.

" Edward Lee was *un Ecoſſois*, a Scot, a Maſter of Arts in the
" Univerſity of Louvain."

Lee [y] was born of Engliſh parents, in Kent, and educated at Oxford and at Cambridge. See Ant. Wood, Tom. I. c. 60, and the Authors whom I have cited.

[u] Above, p. 194. [x] Above, p. 312. [y] Above, p. 98.

A. D. 1536. Eraſmus, in his firſt Apology, in anſwer to Lee, (which is not publiſhed in the Collection of his Works) ſays, *Neque vero Leus gente* Scotus *eſt, etiamſi illic non de gente, ſed de auctore loquor, unde Scotiſtæ dicuntur.*

It appears from Lee's *Apologia*, that he had dwelt at Louvain.

I. 401.

" Eraſmus ſent [z] Adrian his project to reeſtabliſh peace in the " Church. This intereſting work is not extant, unleſs it be the " 649th letter; and that letter is not genuine. But it may be " conjectured that he adviſed the correcting of abuſes and " grievances, and the granting the Cup to the Laity, and Mar- " riage to the Clergy, and every thing that could be yielded, " without hurting the fundamentals of Chriſtianity."

M. Burigni's conjecture is ingenious and judicious.

I. 419.

" Otho Brunsfeld had prefixed to one of his libels a picture of " Eraſmus, under which was the name of *Baal.*"

I have not ſeen Brunsfeld's book; but I [a] believe that Eraſmus was pictured there amongſt the *Prieſts of Baal.*

I. 450.

" Eraſmus [b], before he would fix at Friburg, went to take a " view of it, once in February, and once in March, of the year " 1529. It is probable that in one of theſe voyages he had the " favourable reception, deſcribed in a letter of Falaix, in *Crenii* " *Animad.* The Magiſtrates, the Nobility, and the Univerſity " went forth to meet him, paying him high compliments, and " calling him the Supporter and the Protector of Literature.

" The

[z] Above, p. 312, &c. [a] Above, p. 352. [b] Above, p. 476.

" The Magiſtrates preſented him with a cup elegantly wrought: A. D. 1536.
" the College gave him a girdle embroidered with gold, and not
" inferior to the cup; and when he departed, ſome Gentlemen
" accompanied him back to the gates of Baſil. All the expenſes
" of his journey were defrayed."

I. 454.

" Boiſſard relates that Eraſmus was made Rector of the Uni-
" verſity of Baſil, &c. Theſe facts having appeared to me very
" improbable, I conſulted two learned men, who are well
" acquainted with every thing relating to that Univerſity. They
" have informed me, that no credit is to be given to the relation
" given by Boiſſard; that Eraſmus never was Rector of that
" Univerſity; and that its Privileges are ſafe and ſound, and ſtill
" preſerved in its Archives, &c."

I. 512.

" The [d] Sorbonne, in 1526, cenſured the Colloquies of Eraſ-
" mus; but Francis I was not well pleaſed with this behaviour of
" the Faculty, as it appears from a letter which he wrote to the
" Parliament, in which are the following words:
" *And becauſe we are duly certified that the ſaid Faculty, they*
" *and their Tools and Agents, attack whomſoever they think fit,*
" *blackening and blaſting their reputation, as they have done to*
" *Eraſmus, and will proceed to do to others alſo, we command you to*
" *let the Members of the ſaid Faculty know inſtantly, that they ſhall*
" *not all or any of them write, compoſe, and print any thing, which*
" *is not firſt ſeen and approved by You, or your Deputies, and deli-*
" *berated upon in full Court.*"

I. 524.

" The Colloquies of Eraſmus were [e] corrupted by Lambertus
" Campeſtris, as Eraſmus complains; ſo that we cannot doubt
" of

[c] Above, p. 309. [d] Above, p. 298. [e] Above, p. 404.

A. D. 1536. " of this Edition being ſold publicly, ſince Eraſmus ſaw it, and " names the Printer. Yet the Authors of the *Bibliotheque* of the " *Jacobins* have pretended to ſay, that Eraſmus in all probability " gave credit to falſe rumours, and that Lambertus never pub- " liſhed the Colloquies, becauſe they never could meet with " that edition, or with any perſon who had ſeen it.

" Lambertus ended his days in a manner not very edifying. — " The Authors of the *Bibliotheque* of the *Jacobins* have thought, " that a zeal for their own Order would excuſe them from " obſerving the rules of Hiſtory. They have not ſaid one word " of the apoſtaſy of this Lambertus, when they give the abridg- " ment of his life."

I. 551.

" The [f] edition of Ambroſe by Eraſmus hath not found much " approbation; and is repreſented as defective and faulty by the " Benedictins, and by Du Pin."

I. 578.

" The [g] Apology, which Eraſmus drew up for his *Terminus*, " occaſioned two works, mentioned by Crenius; one of Petrus " Rubus, who wrote againſt the plea of Eraſmus; the other of " Chriſtianus Philerenus, who refuted Rubus."

I. 580.

" In the Dialogue of Eraſmus *de* [h] *Pronunciatione*, the Inter- " locutors are a *Bear* and a *Lion*. *Les Interlocuteurs de ce Dia-* " *logue ſont un Ours & un Lion.*"

The Interlocutors are creatures who walk upon two feet; the name of the one is *Mr. Bear*, the name of the other is *Mr. Lion*; *Monſieur l'Ours, & Monſieur Lion.*

Tom.

[f] Above, p. 420. [g] Above, p. 467. [h] Above, p. 443.

A. D. 1536.

Tom. II. p. 5, and 224.

M. Burigni ſpeaks freely enough of the ſcandalous traffic of [i] Indulgences; more freely than our Fiddes in his Life of Wolſey. He alſo condemns the putting heretics to death, for which he deſerves to be commended.

II. 93.

" The [k] *Diatribe* of Eraſmus *de Libero Arbitrio* was tranſlated " into German (as Seckendorf obſerves) by Emſer, and had a " great run, which made Luther reply very ſpeedily to it."

II. 96.

" [l] Eraſmus complained of Luther to Frideric, Elector of " Saxony."

It was not to Frideric, (I believe) but to John, his brother, and at that time his ſucceſſor in the Electorate.

II. 246.

" [m] The cenſure, which the Sorbonne paſſed upon the works " of Eraſmus, was ill received, inſomuch that the Miniſtry for " four years would not permit the printing of it: and it was not " till the year 1531, that Jodocus Badius Aſcenſius printed it."

II. 362.

" Polydore Virgil's [n] Collection of Adages was printed at Venice " in 1498, that is, two years before the firſt edition of the Adages " of Eraſmus, though Eraſmus had never ſeen it, or heard of it."

II. 388.

" The [o] Brief of Paul III, dated Auguſt 1, 1535, is very " obliging and favourable to Eraſmus. The Pope declares, " that

[i] Above, p. 112. [k] Above, p. 335. [l] Above, p. 396.
[m] Above, p. 432. [n] Above, p. 280. [o] Above, p. 564.

A. D. 1536. " that paying attention to the piety and probity of Eraſmus, to " his ſuperiority in various ſciences, and to the good ſervices " which he had done to the Apoſtolical See, by vigorouſly " attacking the deſerters of the faith, he gives him the Provoſt- " ſhip of Deventer, in the Dioceſe of Utrecht, vacant by the " death of John Vinchel, reputed to be worth ſix hundred florins " a year; that he gives it with great pleaſure, and as an earnest " of the recompenſes which he intended to beſtow upon his " virtue."

I. 404.

" The [p] true name of Petrus Sutor was *Pierre Le Couturier*, as " it appears from the Privilege of one of his books, intitled, *De* " *poteſtate Eccleſiæ in occultis.*".

II. 416.

" The [q] learned man, whom the Abbé Longuerue confuted, " and whom the Editor of the *Longueruana* hath not named, is " Huetius. I have often heard this related by the Abbé, who " would have thought the beſt part of his ſtory ſuppreſſed, if he " had ſuppreſſed the name of Huetius, for whom he had very " little eſteem, and by whom he was feared ſo much, that from " that time Huetius ſhunned him, and would not dine with the " Cardinal d'Eſtrées, without being firſt aſſured that Longuerue " would not be there."

II. 422.

" The [r] laſt will of Eraſmus ſhews that he was in good circum- " ſtances. It was reported, as Fellerus relates, that he left more " than *ſeptem millia aureorum*, ſeven thouſand ducats. In his " will, mention is made of his ſelling his library to John à Laſco. " The contract between them hath not, I think, appeared in " print, and hath been communicated to me by Cardinal Paſſionei. " Here it is:

" *Eraſmus*

[p] Above, p. 375. [q] Above, p. 577. [r] Above, p. 577.

" *Eraſmus Roterodamus bibliothecam meam univerſam vendidi* A. D. 1536.
" *clariſſimo Poloniæ Baroni Joanni à Laſco trecentis coronatis*
" *aureis, hac lege, ut quoad vixero, uſus librorum ex amicitiæ jure*
" *ſit illi mecum communis, proprietas tota penes illum ſit perpetua:*
" *quod jus tranſibit etiam in illius hæredes, ſi, quod Deus avertat,*
" *contingat illum prius ex humanis decedere. Interim indicem*
" *librorum, velut arrabonem traditionis, habet. Quicquid interim*
" *accreverit, et hoc illius erit, niſi ſi quos codices manuſcriptos magno*
" *contigerit emere. In his, ex utriuſque conſenſu, fiet moderatio*
" *novi contractus, duntaxat quod attinebit ad illam acceſſionem. In*
" *cujus rei fidem dictus Eraſmus hoc chirographum mea manu*
" *deſcripſi, affixo peculiari annuli mei ſigno Termino, ann.* 1525,
" *duodecimo Cal. Julias. Dimidium pretii numeratum eſt Baſileæ*
" 1525, *alterum pretii dimidium poſtridie D. Martini anno* 1536
" *perſolutum eſt. Bonifacius Amerbachius, nuncupatus incompa-*
" *rabilis D. Eraſmi Roterodami hæres, mea manu atteſtor; et ego*
" *Joannes à Laſco prædicta manus meæ ſubſcriptione fateor eſſe*
" *verum.*"

II. 443.

" Under the ſtatue of Eraſmus are theſe verſes:

" *Barbariæ, &c.*"

M. Burigni hath cited theſe verſes careleſsly and faultily. There are other miſtakes of the ſame kind in his book; but I chuſe to paſs them over.

II. 513.

" Julius II granted to Eraſmus the diſpenſation, which he had
" requeſted in his Epiſtle to Grunnius."

The Pope, to whom Grunnius preſented the [s] Epiſtle of Eraſmus, was (I believe) Leo X. Eraſmus [t] ſays in that Epiſtle, that

[s] Ep. 442. c. 1829. [t] Above, p. 71.

A. D. 1536. he had before obtained of the Pope (that is, of Julius II) leave to accommodate his habit to the cuſtom of the places where he ſhould happen to ſojourn.

II. 517.

" It is to be preſumed, that, if Eraſmus had lived long enough, " he would have changed his opinion, and ſubmitted himſelf " to the deciſion of the Council of Trent, concerning Auricular " Confeſſion."

Are you in earneſt? It is to be preſumed, that, if he had lived to ſee that Eccleſiaſtical Cabal, he would have had the ſame opinion of it as Father Paul had. Who knows not that two hundred Logs of wood, cut out into the ſhapes of Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, and Scholaſtic Divines, and properly apparelled, would have made as good a *Set* of *Fathers*, as thoſe who were aſſembled at that venerable Council, each of whom (a few excepted) was,

——— *nervis alienis mobile lignum?*

II. 559.

" The firſt book *de l' Eutopie*, of the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas " More, was alſo aſcribed to Eraſmus.—And he likewiſe paſſed " for being the Author of a Lamentation upon the tragical death " of that excellent man—but it was the work of Joannes Secun- " dus. *Nænia in mortem V. Clar. Thomæ Mori, auctore Joanne " Secundo, falſo antehac D. Eraſmo Rot. adſcripta, ac deprava- " tiſſime edita. Lovanii*, 1636."

The *Utopia* ſhould be called in French *Utopie*, not *Eutopie*.

The Reader will find in M. Burigni's Book ſome accounts of *Hegius*, Tom. I. p. 16. *Rod. Agricola*, p. 17. *Anna Berſala*, p. 55. *Andrelinus*, p. 86. *Gaguinus*, p. 87. *Aldus Manutius*, p. 134.

p. 134. *Marc. Muſurus*, p. 136. *Scip. Carteromachus*, p. 146. A. D. 1536. *Warham*, p. 169. *Lambertus Campeſtris*, p. 523. *Etienne Poncher*, p. 240. *Alexander* VI, Tom. II. p. 15. *Silveſter Prieras*, p. 51. *Stunica*, p. 163. *Albertus Pius*, p. 179. *Aleander*, p. 191. *Beda*, p. 204. *Hereſbachius*, p. 304. *Gerardus Noviomagus*, p. 305, 331. *Sutor*, p. 404. *Gallandius*, p. 438. Of theſe perſons I alſo have given ſome account.

There is ſomething ſingular in M. Burigni's way of ſpelling. Whether it be the preſent faſhion to write ſo, I know not: but we find in his book;

Sometimes *Chriſoſtôme*, ſometimes *Chriſoſtome*, and ſometimes *Chryſoſtome*; ſometimes *Ciprien*, and ſometimes *Cyprien*; ſometimes *Porphire*, and ſometimes *Porphyre*.

We find, *Les Scithes*, *Hermonime*, *Eutichius*, *Chriſolore*, *La Scithie*, *Thucidide*, *Theophilacte*, *Thraſimaque*, *Chitreus*, *Pirrhonien*, *l'Eutichianiſme*, *Polidore-Virgile*, *Polimneſtor*, *Pirrhoniſme*, *Didimus*, &c.

And yet we find, *Cyrille*, *Syndic*, *Symbole*, *Apocalypſe*, *Denys*, *Chryſippe*, *Syneſe*, *Sibylles*, *Style*, &c.

It is a bad cuſtom to throw the letter *y* out of words of Greek extraction, which have the Υ ψιλὸν, and to ſubſtitute in its place the letter *i*. I mean not to depreciate the induſtrious and uſeful Work of my Fellow-Labourer; but only to admoniſh thoſe whom it may concern, that they would uſe a little more accuracy in theſe things, and not quite neglect the rules of orthography, as beneath their regard.

EXTRACT [u] from a [x] ſecond letter of Profeſſor Burcard to my Friend above-mentioned.

" All the things which [y] Bayle mentions in the Article of

" *Eraſmus*,

[u] Tranſlated from the French.

[x] See above, p. 599.

[y] See above, p. 598.

A. D. 1536. " *Eraſmus*, Not. H, are ſtill to be ſeen in our Library; to " which may be added the [z] hour-glaſs of Eraſmus.

" The writings belonging to Eraſmus, in our Library, which " are not inſerted in the Collections of his Works, may be found " in the *Bibliotheca Bremenſis* of *Haſæus*.

" The ſilver globe, mentioned in the [a] *Life* of *Thuanus*, is alſo " in the Cabinet: but I doubt whether it belonged to Eraſmus, " becauſe it hath no inſcription to ſhew that it was his, and " the Arms of the Family of Iſelin are upon it, and nothing " relating to it is found in the Will of Eraſmus, or in his [b] Letter " to Chriſtopher Meſia. I believe that it belonged to Amerbach, " who had it from ſome other perſon. The Reverend Mr. Zwinger " is at preſent poſſeſſor of a ſilver cup gilt, of which mention " is made in the Will of Eraſmus."

THE NUMEROUS teſtimonies of Authors for and againſt Eraſmus; Remarks upon all his Works; a collection of paſſages from his writings, to which we have made references; ſome of his Tracts, and ſome Epiſtles of him and of his Correſpondents, which have not been publiſhed, or which, though in print, are not in the Edition of Leyden, are reſerved for another Volume.

I have alſo ſome additions to this Life of Eraſmus, relating principally to the Notes and the Citations. As they will be a growing work, they alſo ſhall be reſerved for the next Volume, and there inſerted under the title of *Addenda*.

[z] Eraſmus received an hour-glaſs from Joannes Turzo, and another from Schydlovietz. Above, p. 212, 412.

[a] See above, p. 598.

[b] Ep. 1103, in which he mentions the preſents, which he had received from his friends. See above, p. 495.

FINIS.

Ad hoc habebitis me pro viribus adiutorem
Unus tamen [illegible] omnibus impertitur. Moria.
Basil. Calend. Martiis An. 1527.
Erasmus Rot. mea manu

Vale vir integerrime & me certo futura hebdomade expecta
Lambethe postridie Joannis bap^tae Anno 1550 Jo. a Lasco
manu propria

G. & pacem in Christo. Respondi tandem Mi Bucere
Helmwolk literis quas Smalkaldii reddidisti excusabis
moram meam. Ut qui scias mihi Cadaveri per
morbos & [illegible] &c. [illegible] Die 6 Decemb. 1537
T. Martinus Luther

S. D. Reverende vir & cariss. frater. Si pr cogita
vi [illegible] ipsi aliquando, hoc quod accidit, ut prin-
cipes &c. Bene & foeliciter vale die 4 Augusti
Philippus Melanthon

Salve in Christo. Mi frater Coronatos obsignatos, [illegible] ut
redditi fuerunt, consilio nostro [illegible], [illegible] in causa
agendum consilii; porro Zuinglio [illegible] atque [illegible] scripsi &c.
Oecolampadius

Specimen of the hand-writing of ERASMUS, *&c.*

I.

Ad hoc habebitis me pro viribus adjutorem. Nunc tametſi machinis omnibus impetunt mona (chorum) — Baſil. Natali Divi Martini, An. 1527.

Eraſmus Rot. mea manu.

II.

Plain enough.

III.

Gratiam et pacem in Chriſto. Reſpondi tandem, M. Bucere, Helvetiorum literis: quas Smalcaldi reddidiſti. Excuſabis moram [illegible]am. Ut qui ſcias mihi cadaveri præter morbos et ſenectutem (imp[illegible]itas eſſe curas Eccleſiæ noſtræ.) Ipſo die S. Nicolai, 1537.

T. Martinus Luther.

IV.

S. D. Reverende vir et cariſs (ime) frater. Sæpe cogitavi futurum eſſe aliquando hoc quod accidit, ut principes (politica ſapientia con[illegible]overſias ita° tollerent.)

Bene et feliciter vale die 4 Auguſti.

Philippus Melanthon.

V.

Salve in Chriſto, mi frater. Coronatos obſignatos, mox ut redditi fuerunt, conſuli noſtro obtuli, et quid in cauſa agendum conſului; Porro Zuinglio iterum atque iterum ſcripſi, &c.

Oecolampadius.

VI. Gratiam

° From the Library of Corpus-Chriſti College, Cambridge.

VI.

Gratiam et pacem a Deo Patre per Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum. Scripſeram quas hic vides prolixiores literas, priuſquam tuas a Baſilea accepiſſem. Cum enim exceptæ eſſent a [illegible] 2 Octobris, ad 14 demum ejuſdem menſis reddebantur. Cernens autem illa in his quæ ſcripſiſti de Benedicto Evandro, &c.

15 Octobris, 1537.

H. Bul[illegible]

VII.

S. D. Profuit mihi illa ad te, eximie D, Docto[illegible]deambulatio, tametſi te non licuerit convenire. Volebam, ſi otium fuiſſet tibi, de communi Profeſſione noſtra colloqui, et audire tuum conſilium de rite moderandis meis.

M. [illegible]

totus tuus.

VIII.

Itaque poſt expleta principum veſtrorum mandata, poſt abſoluta in totum negotia veſtra, ſi non gravabimini nos inviſere, veſter ad nos acceſſus admodum gratus erit.

Manus Cuthberti [illegible]talli.

IX.

The king willeth you neither to ſpare his aut[illegible] for n[illegible] good money or ſubſtance: ye may be aſſured [illegible] promiſe ſhal be performed. And our Lorde ſend y[illegible]de.

Your lovinge fre[illegible]

T. Car[illegible] Ebor. [illegible]ey.]

Gratiam et pacem à Deo patre et domino nostro Jesu Christo. Scrips[illegible] quas hic vides prolixiores literas, postquam tuas à Basilea accepissem. cum scriptae essent à te 2 Octobris ad 14 demum ejusdem mensis reddebantur. Ceterum autem illa in his quae scripsisti de Benedicto Eunadio &c.

15. Octobris 1537. H. Bullingerus tuus

S. D. Reddita fuit mihi illa ab te, per [illegible] D. Docto[illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] non licuit Com[illegible] voluit [illegible] omni fuisset tibi, de [illegible] nostra colloqui, et audire tuum consilium de [illegible] [illegible] meis

M: Burrus
totus tuus

Itaque post expleta principum vestrorum mandata post absoluta in totum negotia vestra si non gravabimini nos invisere vester ad nos accessus admodum gratus erit

Manus Cutberti Tunstalli

---

the kyng willeth you nevertheles to spare the auctorite now for good money or substance ye maie be assured whatsoever ye promise shalbe performed And our Lorde send you good spede/

Your lovinge frende

T. Car^lis Ebor

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